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EDITORIAL

With the publication of the present issue the *New Indian Antiquary* commences the third year of its existence. The services rendered by it to the cause of Indology are now before the world of scholars in the form of two completed volumes, of over 800 pages each, which will speak for themselves. In addition two volumes in the *New Indian Antiquary Extra Series* have already appeared as Congratulatory Volumes presented respectively to Prof. F. W. THOMAS and Sir E. Denison ROSS. These services as compared with those of the old Indian Antiquary of almost classic fame are but a trifle in this ocean of Indology. The financial difficulties under which the work of the *New Indian Antiquary* was started have considerably increased on account of the present European War now sapping the vitals of all important nations in the world. The economic repercussions of this cataclysm have now affected the whole civilized world. Our Publishers who have shouldered the entire financial burden of running this journal share in common with the rest of the world the economic effects of war and we must congratulate ourselves that instead of closing this concern altogether on account of war they have decided to continue its publication with a slight reduction of size with a view to cut down partially the heavy annual deficit which would have necessitated proportionate increase in the annual subscription. We hope, therefore, that our subscribers, contributors and sympathisers will join with us in congratulating our Publishers on this decision arrived at after mature consideration but prompted with the sole desire to render some signal service to the cause of Indology in general and Indian Scholars in particular. Will it be too much to expect that all Indian Scholars who are interested in the promotion of Indology will make it a point to subscribe to this journal and help it in all possible ways to enable it to continue its useful career in spite of the financial handicaps consequent upon the Great War now raging in different parts of Europe and Asia?

* * * * *

The two features of Indology in Current Literature and the Review Articles on the different phases of Indology summarising the advance made therein each year, which we had announced in the September 1938 issue of the *New Indian Antiquary* as forming part of the second volume of this journal, had to be withheld on account of difficulties caused by the uncertain conditions since prevailing in Europe. The international Editorial Board formed for this purpose could not begin to function in these directions. The Editors are glad to announce here, however, that arrangements are being made to incorporate the first feature in the nature of a monthly topical bibliography of Indic Research published in all the important journals of the world. The aid of several Research Institutes in India is being sought in this direction, and the Editors of the *New Indian Antiquary* will act as co-ordinating officers

and publish the joint results in its pages every month with effect from October 1940. Further announcements will be made as soon as the arrangements are complete.

It is hoped that this new feature will attract all the Indian Scholars and enable them to subscribe to this journal which will give in a nut shell all the important results of research published every month in all the journals of the world.

* * * * *

We regret to announce the tragic and premature death of Mr. Ganesh Ramakrishna MALLAPUR which took place on March 13, 1940 at Bombay, as a result of an accident at his home in Khar. Since the very commencement of the *New Indian Antiquary* Mr. MALLAPUR was in charge of all the printing work connected with this journal and but for his efficient and careful supervision the *New Indian Antiquary* would not have attained that fineness of form which has won for it a good name among its readers and contributors. The Editors, therefore, would not only be voicing their feelings, but also those of all the admirers of the *New Indian Antiquary* in placing on record their sense of irreparable loss in the sad and sudden demise of their friend Mr. G. R. MALLAPUR.

Born in 1901 of a respectable family he was educated for a business career after his Matriculation and passed creditably the numerous examinations connected therewith. After serving in different Business Houses in Bombay in various capacities he sought service in the Karnatak Printing Press and within a very short time won recognition for his abilities and became the head of the English Department of the Karnatak Printing Press and Publishing House. In the execution of all work entrusted to him by the Editors of the *New Indian Antiquary* he was prompt and painstaking, and in his tragic death our Publishers have lost a devoted worker of penetrating intelligence and genial disposition. We offer our heartfelt condolences to all the members of Mr. MALLAPUR's family.

S. M. KATHE
P. K. GODE.

ĀKIMCAÑÑĀ : SELF-NAUGHTING

By

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

Vivo autem jam non ego (Gal. 11.20)

Eyā diz solte du sēle scheiden von allem dem, daz iht ist (Eckhart, PFEIFFER 525).

Her umbe sol der mensch geflizzen sîn, daz er sich entbilde sîn

selbes unt aller créature noch keinen vater wizze denne got alleine . . .

Diz ist aller menschen fremde . . . Ich wolde, das irz befunden hêtet

mit lebenne" (Eckhart, PFEIFFER pp. 421, 464).

"When thou standest still from the thinking of self, and the willing of self" (Jacob Bohme, *Of the Supersensual Life*).

An ego-mania occasioned the fall of Lucifer, who would be "like the Most High" (Is. XIII. 14), thinking "Who is like me in Heaven or Earth?" (Tabārf, Ch. XXIV), and desiring to deify himself (Augustine, *De qu. vet. Test.* CXIII) not in the way discussed below by an abnegation of selfhood, but as St. Thomas Aquinas says "by the virtue of his own nature" and "of his own power" (*Sum. Theol.* I. 63.3 c). We are all to a greater or less extent ego-maniacs, and to the same extent followers of Satan. Act V. 36 refers to a certain Theudas as "boasting himself to be somebody".

In the vernacular, when a man is presumptuous, we ask him "who do you think you are", and when we refer to someone's insignificance we call him a "nobody", or in earlier English a "nithing". In this worldly sense it is a good thing to be "someone" and a misfortune to be "nobody", and from this point of view we think well of "ambition" (*iii-bhavābhava tanhā*). To be "someone" is to have a name and lineage (*nāma-gotta*), or at least to have a place or rank in the world, some distinction that makes us recognizable and conspicuous. Our modern civilisation is essentially individualistic and self-assertive, even our educational systems being more and more designed to foster "self-expression" and "self-realisation": and if we are at all concerned about what happens after death, it is in terms of the survival of our treasured "personality"² with all its attachments and memories.

On the other hand, in the words of Eckhart, "Holy scripture cries aloud for freedom from self". In this unanimous and universal teaching, which affirms an absolute liberty and autonomy, spacial and temporal, attainable as well here and now as anywhere else, this treasured "personality" of ours is at

1. Mainly based, as the title implies, on Christian and Buddhist sources.

2. We write "personality" because we are using the word here in its vulgar sense and not in the stricter and technical sense in which the veritable "person" is distinguished from the phenomenal "individual", e.g. in *Āitareya Aranyaka* II 3.2 and Boethius, *Contra Eutychen*, II.

once a prison and a fallacy, from which only the Truth shall set you free :^a a prison, because all definition limits that which is defined, and a fallacy because in this ever changing composite and corruptible psycho-physical "personality" it is impossible to grasp a constant, and impossible therefore to recognize any authentic or "real" substance. In so far as man is merely a "reasoning and mortal animal" tradition is in agreement with the modern determinist in affirming that "this man", so-and-so, has neither free will^a nor any element of immortality. How little validity attaches to this man's conviction of free-will will appear if we reflect that while we speak of "doing what we like", we never speak of "being when we like" and that to conceive of a spatial liberty that is not also a temporal liberty involves a contradiction. Tradition, however, departs from science by replying to the man who confesses himself to be only the reasoning and mortal animal that he has

3. The doctrine is one of escape and the pursuit of happiness. It will not be confused with what has been called escapism. Escapism is an essentially selfish activity, failure to "face the music" (as when one "drowns one's sorrows in drink"), and the choice of easier paths; escapism is a symptom of disappointment, and cynical rather than mature. We need hardly say that to "wish one had never been born" is the antithesis of the perfect sorrow that may be occasioned by the sense of a continued existence: we are born in order to die, but this death is not one that can be attained by suicide or suffering death at the hands of others; it is not of ourselves or others, but only of God that it can be said in the words of St. John of the Cross, "and, slaying, dost from death to life translate."

At the same time, the true way of "escape" is by far more strenuous than the life that is escaped (hence the designation of the religious in India as a 'Foster', *śramaṇa*), and it is the degree of a man's maturity (in Skt the extent to which he is *pakva*, "pukka", and no longer *āma*, "raw") that is the measure of the possibility of his escape, and consequent beatitude.

"The minds of some are set on Union (*voga*), the minds of others on comfort (*kṣema*)" (TS V 2. 17, cf. KL II 1-4).

4. The denial of freewill in "this man", the individual, is explicit in Sū 350 "It does not belong to the many-folk to do what they will *eva kamakāro hi puthujjanānam*, cf. "Ye cannot do the things that ye would", Gal. V. 17) and this denial is made in a very striking manner in S. III. 60-67 where for the usual formula according to which the body and mentality are *anatta*, not I, not mine, the proof is offered that this body, sensibility, etc., cannot be "mine", cannot be "I", for if these were myself, or mine, they would never be sick, mine in this case one could say "Let my body, sensibility, etc. be thus, or not thus", nothing being really *ours* except to the extent that we have it altogether in our power, nor anything variable any part of an identity such as the notion of a "very person" (*satparaṣa*) intends. A further consideration is this, that if the becoming (*bhava*) of the finite individual were not absolutely determined by "fate", "mediate causes", or "karma" (the terms are synonymous), the idea of an omniscient providence (*prajñā*, *paññā*; knowledge of things not derived from the things themselves) would be unintelligible. In this connection we may remark that we are not, of course, concerned to prove any doctrine whatever dialectically, but only to exhibit its consistency, and therewith intelligibility. The consistency of the *Philosophia Perennis* is indeed good ground for "faith" (i.e. confidence, as distinguished from mere belief), but as this "Philosophy" is neither a "system" nor a "philosophy", it cannot be argued for or against.

"forgotten who he is" (Boethius, *De Consol.*, prose vi), requires of him to "Know thyself",⁵ and warns him "If thou knowest not thyself, begone" (*si ignoras te, egredere*, Cant. I. 8). Tradition, in other words, affirms the validity of our consciousness of being but distinguishes it from the so-and-so that we think we are : the validity of our consciousness of being is not established in metaphysics (as it is in philosophy) by the fact of thought or knowledge ; on the contrary, our veritable being is distinguished from the operations of discursive thought and empirical knowing, which are simply the casually determined workings of the "reasoning and mortal animal", which are to be regarded *yathābhūtam*, not as affects but only as effects in which we (in our veritable being) are not really, but only supposedly involved. Tradition, then, differs from the "nothing-morist" (Skr. *nāstika*, Pali *natthika*) in affirming a spiritual nature that is not in any wise, but immeasurable, inconnumerable, infinite and inaccessible to observation, and of which, therefore, empirical science can neither affirm nor deny the reality. It is to this "spirit" (GK. *pneuma*, Skr. *ātman*, Pali *Attā*, Arabi *ruh*, etc.) as distinguished from body and soul, i.e. whatever is phenomenal and formal (Gk. *soma* and *psyche*, Skr. and Pali *nāma-rūpa*, and *saviññāna-kāya*, *saviññāna-kāya*, "name and appearance", the "body with its consciousness") that tradition attributes with perfect consistency an absolute liberty, spatial and temporal. Our sense of free will is as valid in itself as our sense of being, and as invalid as our sense of being So-and-so. There is a free will, a will, that is, unconstrained by anything external to its own nature ; but it is only "ours" to the extent that we have abandoned all that we mean in common sense by "ourselves" and our "own" willing ; only *His* service is perfect freedom. "Fate lies in the created causes themselves" (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 116. 2) : "Whatever departeth farthest from the First Mind is involved more deeply in the meshes of Fate (i.e., *karma*, the ineluctable operation of "mediate causes") ; and everything is so much the freer from Fate, by how much it draweth nigh to the pivot of all things.

5. E.g., Avencebrol, *Fons Vitae*, I. 2, quid est ergo quod debet homo inquirere in hac vita ? . . . hoc est ut sciat se ipsum. The reader will not confuse the "science of self" (*ātmavidyā*) here intended the psychologist, whether ancient or modern ; as remarked by Vansteenberghe, the *gnōthi seautōn* with which Nicholas of Cusa opens his *De docta ignorantia* "n'est plus le 'Connais toi-même' du psychologue Socrate, c'est le 'Sois maître de toi' (Dh. 160 *attā hi attano nātho*) des moralistes stoïciens" (*Autour de la Docte Ignorance*, 1915, p. 42). In the same way, the only *raison d'être* of "Buddhist psychology" is not "scientific", but to break down the illusion of self. Whereas the modern psychologist's only concern and curiosity are with the all-too-human self, that very self which even in its highest and least suspected extensions is still a prison. Traditional metaphysics has nothing in common with this psychology which restricts itself to "what can be psychically experienced" (JUNG's own definition).

6 The phenomena of this "spirit" (the realisations of its possibilities of manifestation under given conditions) are all phenomena whatever (amongst which those which are called "spiritualistic" have no privileged rank,—on the contrary, "A mouse is miracle enough . . .").

And if it sticketh to the constancy of the Supernal Mind, that needs not move, it is superior to the necessity of Fate" (Boethius, *De Consol* prose IX). This freedom of the Unmoved Mover ("That which, itself at rest, outgoeth them that run," *Isā Up.* 4) from any *necessitas coactionis* is that of the spirit that bloweth where and as it will (*hōpou thlēi pnei*, John III.8; *carati yathā vāsam*, RV. X.168.4);⁷ to possess it, one must have been "born again... of the Spirit" (John III.7-8), and thus "in the spirit" (St. Paul, *passim*), must have "found and awakened to the Spirit"⁸ (*yasyamuvrttāḥ pratibuddha ātmā*, BU. IV.4.13), must be in *excessus* ("gone out of" one-self, one's senses), in *samādhi* (etymologically and semantically "synthesis"), unified (*eko bhūtaḥ*), or in other words "dead" in the sense that "the kingdom of God is for none but the thoroughly dead" (Eckhart) and that Rūmī speaks of a "dead man walking" (*Mathnawī*, VI. 742-755), or again that of initiatory death as the prelude to a regeneration. There is not, of course,

7. RV. X. 168. 3-4, John III. 7-8 and Gylfingning 18 present remarkable parallels.

8. "He who sees, thinks and discriminates this Spirit, whose pleasure and play are with the Spirit, whose dalliance is with the Spirit (as in BU. IV. 3. 21. "All creation is female to God") and whose joy is in the Spirit, he becomes autonomous (*svatā*), he becomes a Mover-at-will (*kāmācārin*) in every world; but his worlds whose knowledge is otherwise than this are corruptible, he does not become a Mover-at-will in any world" (CU. VII. 25. 2). The conception of Motion-at-will is developed in very many texts, from RV. IX. 113.9. "Make me undying there where motion is at will" (*yatrānukāmaṁ carāṣam . . . mām amṛtaṁ kṛdhi*) onwards. The Christian equivalent can be found in John III. 8 and X. 9 ("shall go in and out and find pasture" like Taitt. Up. III. 10.5 "he goes up and down these worlds, eating what he will and assuming what aspect he will").

Motion-at-will is a necessary consequence of filiation or dedication; the Spirit moving "as it will" in virtue of its omni-and total presence, and because "He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit" (I Cor. VI.17), all possession of "powers" (*śakti*, *iddhi*, such as flying through the air or walking on the water) being gift of the Spirit and depending upon a more or less *ablatio omnis alteritatis et diversitatis* (Nicolas of Cusa). In other words, our freedom and beatitude are the less the more we are still "ourselves", *un tel*. The "miracle" is never an "impossibility", but only so according to our way of thinking: performance is always the demonstration of a possibility. It is not opposites (as "possible" and "impossible", but contraries (for example rest and motion, both of which are "possibles") that are reconciled in *divinis*. "Primitive" languages retain the stamp of this polarity in words which may mean either of two contrary things (cf. FRIED on ABEL, "Gegensinn der Urwort" in *Jahrb. für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen*, Bd II, 1910, and Betty HEIMANN, "The Polarity of the Infinite" in *Journ. Indian Society of Oriental Art*, V, 1938).

It may be added that because of the identity of the immanent and transcendent Spirit (I Cor. VI. 17: "That art thou" of the Upaniṣads, etc.) we make no real distinction in the present article between "my spirit" (the "ghost" that we "give up", at death) and "the spirit" (the Holy Ghost), although sometimes writing "spirit" with reference to the immanent essence (*antahātman*) and "Spirit" with reference to the transcendent essence (*paramātman*). So far as a distinction can be made, it is "logical but not real" (*secundum rationem, non secundum rem*).

any necessary connection between liberation and physical death :⁹ a man can as well be liberated "now in the time of this life" (*ñvan mukta*), as at any other time, all depending only upon his remembering "who he is", and this is the same as to forget oneself, to "hate one's own life" (psyche, "soul" or "self", Luke, XIV. 26), *deficere a se tota* and *a semetipsa liquescere* (St Bernard),¹⁰ the "death of the soul" (Eckhart), "nothing else than that the spirit goeth out of itself, out of time, and entereth into a pure nothingness" (Tauler), becoming thus "free as the Godhead in its non-existence" (Eckhart); to have said "Thy will be done, not mine" or in other words, to have been perfected in "Islām"

Man has thus two selves, lives or "souls", one rational and mortal, the other spiritual and not in any way conditioned by time or space, but of which the life is a now "where every where and every when is focussed" (*Paradaso*, XXIX, 12), and "apart from what has been or shall be" (KU.II.14), that "now that stands still" of which we as temporal beings knowing only a past and future can have no empirical experience. Liberation is not a matter only of shaking off the physical body—oneself is not so easily evaded—but, as Indian texts express it, of shaking off all bodies, mental or psychic as well as physical. "The word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even unto the dividing asunder of soul (*psyche*) and spirit (*pneuma*),¹¹ Heb. IV.12. It is between these two that our choice

9. "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it" (Eccl. XII. 7). Our sense of being may be "in the dust" or "in the spirit", and so either "saved or lost". It is well for him "who has been of strength to awaken before the body is unstrung" (KU. VI.4).

10. For St. Bernard see GILSON, *La Théologie Mystique de Saint Bernard*, Paris 1934, Ch. V. How close to Indian formulation St. Bernard comes appears in his distinction of *proprium* from *esse* (*mamu* from *attā*) and in ROUSSELET's summary (*ib.* p. 150, note 2) "Cela revient à dire qu'on ne peut pleinement posséder dieu sans pleinement se posséder soi-même", at the same time that (*ib.*—152, note 1) "Il n'y a plus de *suum*, l'être s'est vidé de lui-même", as in SB. III. 8. 1. 2-3, where the initiated sacrificer is "as if emptied out of himself" (*iricāna ivātmā bhavati*) in order to enter into possession of his "whole self" (*sarvātmānam*), or as in A. I. 249 where the man who "has brought into full being-body, will and foreknowing (*bhāvita-kāyo*, -*citta*, -*pañña*, i.e. whole self) is not emptied out (*aparito aprarikta*) but the Great Spiritual-Self of which the way is beyond all measure" (*mahattā appamāna-vihāri*).

11. As far as possible this clear distinction of "soul" (psyche, *anima*, *nafs*, *vedanā*, etc.) from "spirit" (*pneuma*, *spiritus*, *rūh*, *ātman*, etc.) is maintained in the present article; cf. Origen, cited by Eckhart, PFEIFFER p. 351 *din geist ist dir niht genomen: die krefte diner sele sint dir genomen* ("It is not thy spirit, but the powers of thy soul that art taken from thee"). It must also be recognized, however, that in the European tradition the word "soul" is used in many senses (for example, "animal" is literally "ensouled", *anima* here as *spiraculum vitae*, cf. Skr *prāṇa-bhūt*) and that in one of these senses (which is strictly that of Philo's "soul of the soul", *Heres.* 55, cf. Augustine, *De duobus animabus contra Manicheos* "soul" means "spirit". In what sense "soul" is or is not to be taken to mean "spirit" is discussed by William of Thierry in the *Golden Epistle*, 50 (p. 87 in SHEWRING's English version, London, 1930). In the same way *ātman* may refer to

lies ; between ourselves as we are in ourselves and to others, and ourselves as we are in God—not forgetting that, as Eckhart says, “Any flea as it is in God is higher than the highest of the angels as he is in himself”. Of these two “selves”, the psycho-physical and spiritual, one is the “life” (*psyche*) to be rejected, the other the “life” that is thereby saved of Luke XVII. 33 and Math. XVI. 25 : and of these again the former is that “life” (*psyche*) which “he who hateth in this world shall keep it unto life eternal” (John XII. 25) and which a man *must* “hate, if he would be my disciple” (Luke XIV. 26). It is assuredly all that is meant by *psyche* in our word “psychology” that is in this way “le moi haïssable” ; all of us, in fact, that is subject to affects or affections or wants of any sort, or entertains opinions “of its own”.¹²

The unknown author of the *Cloud of Unknowing* is therefore altogether in order when he says (Ch. 44) so poignantly that “All men have matter of sorrow : but most specially he feeleth matter of sorrow, that wotteth and feeleth that he is . . . And whoso never felt this sorrow, he may make sorrow : for why, he never yet felt perfect sorrow.¹³ This sorrow, when it is had . . . maketh a soul able to receive that joy, the which receiveth from a man all witting and feeling of his being”. And so also BLAKE, when he says “I would go down unto annihilation and Eternal Death,¹⁴ lest the last Judgment come and find me Unannihilate, and I be seiz'd and giv'n into the hands of my own Selfhood”. In the same way St. Paul, *Vivo, autem jam*

the psycho-physical “self” or to the spiritual self ; from the latter point of view, the psycho-physical self is *anatī*, “not spiritual”. It is because both “out” and “spirit” are selves, although of very different orders, that an equivocation is inevitable—the use of the words in their context has always to be very carefully considered ; the proper sense can always be made out.

12 Cf the citation from Jacob Bohme at the head of this article. It is comparatively easy for us to admit that a “self-willing” is egotistical ; it is far more difficult, but equally indispensable to realise that a “self thinking”, i.e. “thinking for oneself” or “having opinions of one's own” is as much an error, or “sin,” defined as “any departure from the order to the end” as any willfulness can be. A good case of “thinking for oneself” is what is called the “free examination of scripture” ; and here, as was lately remarked by Mr David MacIVER, “the number of possible objections to a point of doctrine is equal to the number of ways of mis-understanding it, and therefore indefinite”.

13. *Varāgya*, “dis-gust”, as distinguished from *āśa bhaṅga*, “disappointment” *nekkhamana-sīta* as distinguished from *geha-sīta* in D. II. 279, or *kata than lupā* as distinguished from *tu kosmou lupē* in II Cor. VII. 10.

14. As remarked by St Thomas Aquinas (*Sum Theol* I. 63. 3), “no creature can attain a higher grade of nature without ceasing to exist”, which self denial is a thing “against the natural desire”. It is not of its “own” will that the creature can desire its own “annihilation” or “death”. But our consciousness, of being (as distinguished from any conceit of being So-and-so or such and such) is precisely *not* the “creature” ; it is another will in me than “mine”, the lover of another (S IV. 158) self than “mine” that “longs intensely for the Great Self” (*mahattam abhiskhankatā*, *M* II. 21) i.e. for Itself ; this does not pertain to *our* self love, but God's, who is in all things self-intent and loves no one but himself.

non ego : vivit in me Christus (Gal. 11. 20).

We are sometimes shocked by the Buddhist disparagement of natural affections and family ties. But it is not the Christian who can thus recoil, for no man can be Christ's disciple "who hateth not father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren, and sisters", as well as himself (Luke XIV. 26). These uncompromising words, from one who endorsed the command to honour father and mother and who equated contempt with murder, show clearly enough that it is not an ethical doctrine of unselfishness or altruism that we are dealing with, but a purely metaphysical doctrine of the transcending of individuation. It is in the same sense that he exclaims "Who are my mother and my brethren?" (Mark III. 34 etc.), and accordingly that Eckhart warns "As long as thou still knowest who thy father and thy mother have been in time, thou art not dead with the real death" (PFEIFFER, p. 462).

There can be no return of the prodigal, no "turning in" (*niivrtti*) except of same to same. "Whoever serves a God, of whom he thinks that 'He is one and I another', is an ignoramus" (BU I.4 10): "If then you do not make yourself equal to God, you cannot apprehend God: for like is known by like" (Hermes, *Lib.* XI. 11. 20 b). The question is asked of the home-comer, "Who art thou?" and if he answers by his own or a family name, he is dragged away by the factors of time on the threshold of success (JUB. III. 14. 1-2):¹⁵ "that ill-fated soul is dragged back again, reverses its course, and having failed to know itself, lives in bondage to uncouth and miserable bodies. The fault of this soul is its ignorance"¹⁶ (Hermes, *Lib.* X. 8 a). He should answer "Who I am is the light Thou art. What heavenly light Thou art, as such I come to Thee", and answering thus is welcomed accordingly, "Who thou art, that am I; and who I am, art thou. Come in" (JUB. III. 14. 3-4): to the question "Who is at the door?" he answers "Thou art at the door" and

15. The traveller, at the end of life's journey, knocks at the Sundoor (as in JUB. etc.); which is the door of the house of Death (as in KU.), and that of Yama's paradise (as in RV.), and would be received as a guest; or as expressed in Pali, *amala-dvāram āhacca tiṭṭhati*. Admission, however, depends upon anonymity, with all its implications of "being in the spirit" (*ātmany etya mukha ādalte*, "going in the spirit, the gate receives him", JUB. III. 33. 8). There can be no doubt that the same mythical and profound eschatology underlies the Homeric legend of Ulysses and Polyphemus. The latter is assuredly Death (his one eye corresponds to Siva's third; that is blinded and thus "closed" means that the world illumined by sun and moon, the *two* eyes of the Gods, is to persist for Ulysses and his companions; it must be an initiatory, not in final death that is overcome, as is also suggested by the "cave"); his land which yields crops untilled is a Paradise, like Yama's or Varuṇa's, Ulysses would be his guest. The story as told by Homer (and Euripides) has become an adventure rather than a myth, but it remains that the hero who overcomes Death is the one man who when he is asked "who art thou" answers "No one"; and it is noteworthy that in the Euripides version when the blinded Cyclops cries out "Where is Nobody", the Chorus answers "Nowhere, O Cyclops". It would be hard to say whether or not Homer still "understood his material": it may be taken for granted that Euripides did not.

16. Cf. Dh. 243 where after a list of "faults", we have "the supreme fault is ignorance" (*avijjā paramam maḷam*).

is welcomed with the words "Come in, O myself" (Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, I. 3062-3); it is not as *un tel* that he can be received,— "Whoever enters, saying 'I am So-and-so', I smite him in the face" (Shams-i-Tabrīz); as in Cant. I. 7 *si ignoras te, egredere*.

"He that is joined unto the Lord, is one spirit" (I Cor. VI. 27). But this Spirit (*ālman*), Brahman, God, the "What?" of JUB. III.14, "hath not come anywhence nor become anyone" (KU. II.18); the Imperishable has neither personal nor family name (BU. III. 8.8, *Mādhyaṛdhina* text), nor any caste (Munḍ. Up. I. 1.6); "God himself does not know what he is, because he is not any what"¹⁷ (Erivgena); the Buddha is "neither priest nor prince nor husbandman nor any one at all (*uda koci na'mhi*).... I wander in the world a veritable naught (*akimcana*).... Useless to ask my kin (*gottam* Sn. 455-6).¹⁸

The outlines of the universal doctrine of self-naughting and of self-sacrifice or devotion in the most literal sense of the words having been drawn above, we propose to devote the remainder of our demonstration to its specifically Buddhist formulation in terms of *ākimcaññāyatana*, "the station of no-what-ness", or more freely "the Cell of Self-naughting". "When it is realised that 'There is no aught' (*n'atthi kimci*), that is 'Emancipation of the

17. The deformed soul in which an *ablatis omnis alteritatis et diversitatis* has been effected (Nicolas of Cusa) is therefore beyond our speechways (*vādapatha*, Sn. 1076), "unknown to herself or any creature, she knows well that she is, but does not know what she is" (Eckhart, PFEIFFER, p. 537).

18. In the same way the famous Ode of Shams-i-Tabrīz (XXXI in NICHOLSON), "... I know not myself. I am not of Adam nor of Eve. . My place is the Placeless, my trace is the Traceless; nor body nor life, since I am of the life of the Beloved" (*na tan nāsad na jān nāsad, ki man az jān jānām-am*). NICHOLSON comments, "'I am nought' means 'God is all'". From the Indian point of view, the "Beloved" is, of course, "the Spirit which is also one's own spiritual essence". "For one who has attained, there is none dearer than the Spirit", or "than the Self" (*na prīyataram attanā*, S.I. 75, cf BU. 1.48 *tad etat prīyah putrāt vad ayaṃ ātmā... ātmānam eva prīyam upāsita*; II.4; IV. 5, CU. VII. 25 etc.). With "traceless" compare Dh. 179 *tam buddham anantagocaram apadam, kena padena nessatha*, "That Buddha, whose pasture is without end, the footless (or trackless), by what track you find him out?" (complementary to the usual doctrine of the *vestigium pedis*, according to which the intelligible Buddha (or Agni) can be tracked by his spoor, *pādā* or *padām*). "A Tathāgata, I say, is actually (*dhamme*) beyond our ken (*anānuvejjo*, M J 140), and in the same way of Arihats "there is no demonstration" (*tesam natthi paññāpanāya*, ib) "I'm neither gods nor men can see" (*tam ce hi nādakkhum*, S.I. 23). The last is spoken in the Buddha's physical presence, and corresponds to the well known text of the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*, "Those who see me in the body (*rūpena*) or think of me in words, their way of thinking is mistaken, they do not see me at all, the Blessed Ones are to be seen only in the Body of the Law, the Buddha can only be rightly understood as the Principle of the Law, assuredly not by any means"; cf St Thomas "Therefore if anyone in seeing God conceives something in his mind, this is not God, but one of God's effects" (*Summa Theologica*, III. 92 1 ad 4) "We have no means for considering what God is, but rather how He is not" (*ib* I.3.1).

will¹⁹ (*ceto-vimutti*) in the 'Station of No what-ness' (S. IV. 296, cf. D. II. 112). The exact meaning of "There is naught", i.e. "naught of mine"²⁰ is brought out in A. II.177 "The Brāhman²¹ speaks the truth and no lie when he says 'I am naught of an anyone anywhere, and therein there is naught of mine anywhere soever'" (*nāhaṃ kvacanu kassaci kimcanam, tasmīn na ca mama kvacani kaṭṭhaci kimcanam n'atthi*, also in A.I 206),²² the text con-

19. *Ceto-vimutti* (often rendered "Heart's release") is contrasted with *pañña-vimutti*, "Intellectual emancipation" (*ceto-* and *pañña-* denoting both the means or way of liberation and the respect in which liberation is obtained); the texts often speak of a "being free in both departments" *ubhato-bhāga-vimutti*, as well as of other types of liberation, and it is evident that the two ways, which are those of the will and the intellect converge and ultimately coincide. A.II.36 *ceto-visippato hoti vitakka-paṭhesu*, "He is a past master of the will in matters of choice" or "matters of counsel", brings out very clearly the conative connotations of *ceto*, which are evident also for *cetas* in AV. VI. 116. 3. S. III 60 defines *sāṅkhārā* as *saṁcetanā*, rendered by Mrs. Rhys Davids "seats of will". It is clear, then that the connection of *ceto-vimutti* with *ākimcañña* is intrinsic; since it is just to the extent that one ceases to feel that one is anyone and to the extent that one loses all sense of *proprium* (*mama*) that self-willing and self-thinking must cease. It is just because *ceto* implies both willing and thinking that it is difficult to represent it by a single English word; however, it is in just the same way that English "to have a mind to" is the same as "to wish to" or "to want to", and so too that Skr. *man* to "think" and *ham* to "wish" or "want" are virtually synonymous in many contexts. *Paññā* is not, of course, "thought" in this sense, but much rather "speculation" in the strict sense of this word (*ādiṭṭhā mahat. ādarṣe pratirūpaḥ* Kauś Up. IV. 2, with very many Christian and other parallels, e.g. St. Thomas Aquinas, Sum. Theol. I. 12. 9 c "All things are seen in God as in an intelligible mirror", i.e. *the speculum aeternum*). It is asked in M. I. 437, How is it that some are liberated in one way and some in the other, the Buddha replying that it depends upon "a difference in faculties" (*indriya-vmattalam*). The difference is, in fact, typically that of the royal from the sacerdotal, Kṣatriya from Brahman character; because of which difference it is that a *bhakti-mārga* and *karma-mārga* are stressed in the Bhagavad Gita and a *jñāna-mārga* in the Upaniṣads. The two ways, of *ceto-vimutti* (in *thoulbaka* 19 identified with *mettā*, "charity") and *pañña-vimutti* correspond to and are essentially the same as the *bhakti-mārga* and *jñāna-mārga* of Brahmanical texts.

20. It will be seen that the Arhat or Brahman who has attained to self-naughting and confesses accordingly "n'atthi" or "n'atthi kiṁci" might have been called a "natthika", or *natthikavādā* ("Denier"). If he is never in fact so called (but rather, *śūnyavādī*), it is because these were designations current in a very different sense, with reference viz to the "materialist" or "sceptic" who denies that there is another world or hereafter (as in M. I. 402-3) or takes the extreme view (*natthitā*) that there is absolutely nothing in common between the individual that acts and the individual that experiences the results of the act (S.II.17). We propose to discuss this other "Denier" upon another occasion.

21. Pali Buddhism not only equates *brahma-bhūta* with *buddha*, *brahma-cakka* with *dhamma-cakka*, etc., but (where there is no polemic involved) maintains the old and familiar distinction of the Brāhman by birth (*brahma-bandhu*) from the Brāhman as Comprehensor (*brahma-vit*), in the latter sense equating Brāhman with Arhat, passim.

22. *Netti* 62 (cited in *Gradual Sayings*, p. 184) explains *kimcana* here by *rāga-moha-dosa*, i.e. ethically, and this is true in the sense that when self is let go,

tinuing "Therewith he has no conceit of being 'a Toiler' (*samāna*) or 'a Brahman', nor conceit that 'I am better than', or 'I am equal to', or 'inferior to' (anyone). Moreover, by a full-comprehension of this truth, he reaches the goal of veritable 'naughting'" (*ākimcaññam yeva paṭipadam*). What is neither "I" nor "mine" is above all body, sensibility, volitional con-formations, and empirical consciousness (i.e. the psycho-physical self), and to have rejected these is "for your best good and beatitude" (S III, 33, chapter entitled *Natumahāka*, "What is not 'Yours'"). Accordingly, "Behold the Arhats' beatitude! No wanting can be found in them: excised the thought 'I am' (*asma*);²³ delusion's net is rent...Unmoving, unoriginated...Brahma-become...true 'Persons' (*sappurisā*), natural sons of the Wake...That heart-wood of the Brahma-life is their eternal-reason; unshaken in whatever plight, release from 'still-becoming' (*pinabbhava*), on ground of 'dompted (-self)' they stand, they in the world have won their battle...They roar the 'Lion's Roar'. Incomparable are the Wake" (*Buddhā*, S. III, 83-84). No question of a post-mortem "annihilation" here, then, but of "Persons" triumphant here and now; their unconditionality will not be changed by death, which is not an event for those who have "died before they die" (*Rūmī*), not an event for the *jīvan-mukta*, the veritable *dīkṣita* for whom the funeral rites have already been performed and for whom his relatives have already mourned (JUB III, 7-9): of these it is only the mani-

there remains no ground for any "selfish" passion: *kimcana* is the "somewhat" of the man who still feels that he is "somebody", and accordingly the ground in which interest, delusion and ill-will can flourish.

In all respects equivalent to *n'atthi* (Skr. *nāsti*) is Persian *nāst* in Shams-i-Tabrizi (T. 139.12 a, cited by NICHOLSON, p. 233), "Be thou naught (*nēst shū*), naughted of self, for there is no crime more heinous than thine existence".

23. This does not imply that the Arhat "is not", but excludes from an ineffable essence the process of thought. From this point of view, *Cogito ergo sum* is altogether without validity; what I call "my" thinking is by no means my Self. The Arhat does not wonder whether he is, or what he is, or how he is, or has been, or will be (S II, 26, Sn 774). "He does not worry about what is unreal" (*asatā na paritassati*, M 1.135) he is self-synthesised (*ajjhatam susamūhita*, passim), and in this state of synthesis (*samādhi*) though he is unaware of anything, yet there is awareness in him" (S. V, 7, cf BU. IV, 3, 28-30). The Buddha neither teaches that *nibbāna* is a "nothingness" nor that the Arhat "comes to naught". "there is (*atthi*) an unborn, unbecome, uncreated, uncompounded, and were there not, there would be no way out of this here born, become, created and compound existence" (*Udāna*, 80), a Tathāgata, whose "I am has been cast off" (*asammāno pahīna*) is not "destroyed",—"It is in the very presence of such a Tathāgata that I call him 'past finding out' (*anānuvuccī*) and yet there are some who naughtily, vainly, falsely and contrary to what is the fact (*asatā tucchā mūsa abhūta*) charge that the Tathāgata is a misleader (*venayika*, cf *dunnaya*, heresy) who propounds the cutting off, destruction and ceasing to be of essences. That is just what I am not, and what I do not propound. The stoppage (*nirodha*) that I have preached, both of old and now, is nothing but the stoppage of Grief" (*dukkha*, i.e. of that which is *anattā*, not I nor mine), M. I. 139-140 (the coincidence of *anattā* with *dukkha* correspond exactly to the *esa tu ātmā sarvāntarah atānyad aram* of BU. III. 4.2).

festation in terms of "name and appearance" (*nāma-rūpa*) that comes to an end (as all things must that have had a beginning), so that after death they will be sought for in vain by Devas or men in this world or any other (S. I. 23, D. I. 46 etc.), just as one might seek in vain for God anywhere, of whom it is asked "Whence did he come to be?" (*kula ā babhūva*, RV. X. 168 3), "In what quarter is He or in what?" (TS. V. 4. 3. 4), and "Who knows where He is?" (KU. II. 25),—"Thou canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth. so is everyone that is born of the Spirit" (John III. 8) : in spite of all which it must be remarked that the attainment of infinite is not a destruction of finite possibility, for the deceased Comprehensor, being a Mover-at-will (*kāmacārī*), can always therefore reappear if, when, where and as he will; of which "resurrection" examples may be cited in JUB. III 29-30 (where the *noli me tangere* offers a notable parallel to the Christian resurrection), and in the Parosahassa Jātaka (No. 99) where a Bodhisattva is asked on his deathbed "What good he has gotten?" and answers "There is naught" (*n'atthi kiñci*) and this is misunderstood by his disciples to mean that he has gotten "no good" by his holy life. But when the conversation is reported to his chief disciple, who had not been present, he says "You have not understood the meaning of the Master's words. What the Master said was that he had attained to the 'Station of No-what-ness' (*ākimcaññāyatana*).²⁴ And thereupon the deceased Master reappears from the Brahma-world to confirm the chief disciple's explanation.²⁵

The man self-naughted is a happy man, not so those still conscious of their human ties. "Look you, how they are blest, these 'Nobodies', yea these Comprehensors who are 'men of naught': and see how hindered he for whom there is an 'aught', the man whose mind tied up with 'other men'" (*Udāna* 14).²⁶ For "to have known the forthcoming of not being 'any-

24. It may be noted here that Alāra Kālāma's doctrine and realisation extended to the *ākimcaññāyatana* (m. 165).

25. Again a sufficient proof that even in "late" Hīnayāna Buddhism, to have become "no one" was by no means the same as to have been "annihilated". The Buddhist position is in no way inconsistent with the "Never have I not been and never hast thou not been nor ever shall not be" of BG. II. 12. It should be observed that the resurrections of JUB. III. 29-30 and J. as cited above are wholly "in order", and have nothing in common with the phenomena of spiritualism. An almost identical situation is described in J. I. 143. It is as much a Buddhist as is a Brahmanical commonplace that "the dead are not seen again amongst the living as asked in J.

26. The context is with reference to a man who steals for his wife. The contrasted terms are *akimcana*, "man of naught" and *sakimcana*, "man of aught" the man, that is, who "has" what he calls "his" individuality, which individuality in this case "expresses itself" in an act of partiality. This "man of aught" is hindered by the notions of "him-self" and of "his" wife, the "tie" being as between these two selves, subjective and objective; in so far as he does not "hate" both himself and his wife, he is not the Buddha's disciple, but is troubled and gets into trouble. In all these contexts it must be remembered that it is a question of the *summum bonum* and man's last end, and not of the "good of society", which is not a final end. The man's first duty is to work out his own salvation. Aban-

one' (*ākimcaññā-sambhavaṃ ñālvā*)...that is 'gnosis'" (*etan, ñānam* Sn. 1115): this is Way, "Perceiving that there is 'No-what-ness' (*ākimcaññam*)...convinced that 'There is not' (*n'althi*, i.e. 'naught mine', as above), so cross the flood" (Sn. 1070). And this is not an easy matter: "Hard to perceive what's false (*anattam*, here probably = *anytam*),²⁷ nor is it easy to perceive the truth (*saccam* = *satyam*); he knows, whose wanting has been smitten through, who sees that 'There is naught'" (*n'althi kimcamam, l/dāna* 80), "who hath overpast becoming or not becoming in any way" (*iti-bhavā bhavam*, all relativity, *Udāna* 20).²⁸

It will be seen that anonymity is an essential aspect of *ākimcaññā*. All initiations (*dīkṣā*), and likewise Buddhist ordination (*pabbajana*), which as in monasticism elsewhere is a kind of initiation,²⁹ involves at the outset

donment of self and of all ties is not only literally "un-self-ish," but it is also both better and kinder to point out the way to happiness by following it than to be "sympathetic", i.e. to "suffer with" those who will not "seek peace, and erase it."

27. The PTS. editor (Paul STEINTHAL) reads *anattam*, but what is admittedly the best Ms. (A) has *analam*, which is the form that would be assumed by *anytam* in Pali (cf. *anytam*, *analam*). A commentary has *analam*, but apparently in the sense of the "not-bent", hence *nibbāna*, and it must be with this in view that WOODWARD translates by "infinite". But it is almost impossible to doubt that what we have is the familiar antithesis of *anytam* to *satyam*. The uncertainty of the reading nevertheless expresses a sort of double entendre; that which is *anattā*, "not what I really am" (*na me so attā*, *passim*) but "devoid of any spiritual-essence" (S. IV. 54), and "naught-y" (*asat*, M. I. 135) is equally from the Brahmanical point of view at the same time "false" and "human" as distinguished from what is "true" and "non-human", i.e. divine, as is explicit in VS I 5 and SB I. 9 3. 23. (Cf. AB. VII. 24), where the sacrificer (always in the last analysis the sacrificer of himself) when initiated and during the performance of the rite "has entered from the untruth (*anytam*) into the truth" (*satyam*), and when at the close of the operation he formally desecrates himself, but does not like to say plainly the converse of this, says instead "Now I am he that I actually (empirically) am", So-and-so.

28 "It is the Spirit in thee, O man, that knows which is the true and which the false (*attā te purisa jānāti saccam vā yadā vā musā*) the 'fair self' (*kalyanam*... *attānam*)... or the 'foul'" (*pāpam attānam*) (A. I. 149), in other words the "great self" (*mahattā*) or the "petty" (*appātumo*) of A. I 249, the "Self that is Lord of self" or the "self whose Lord is the Self" of Dh 380. The false view is to see "self in not-self" (*anattani*... *atta*, A. II 52 etc) i.e. in the empirical subject or its percepts (S III 130 etc). It is "well for him that knows himself" (*atta-saññato*, S I. 106, *attaññū* D. III 552), "whose light is the Spirit" (*atta-dīpa*, D. II 100), the "Self-lover" (*attakāmo*, S. I. 75, etc.), "inwardly self-intent" (*ajjhatam susamāhito*, A. II. 31 etc.), "in whom the Spirit has been brought to birth" (*bhūvitattā*, *passim*), and so "Go seek your Self" *attamam gaveseyyātha*, *Mahāvagga* I 23), "Quicken thy Self" (*coday' attanum*, Dh 379, for "Self is the Lord of self" (*ib.* 380).

29. The initiate is "nameless" in KB. VII. 2-3 and speaks of none by name; he is not himself, but Agni. In SB III. 8. 1 2 he is "emptied of self". Buddhist ordination (*pabbajana* from the point of view of the ordained, *pabbājana* from that of the ordainer, who during the Buddha's lifetime is the Buddha himself) has many of the characteristics of, and is sometimes called an initiation (S I. 226

a self-denial;³⁰ as is explicit in *Udāna* 55, where "Just as rivers lose their former name and lineage (*purimāṇa nāma-gottāni*) when they reach the sea, and are accounted just as 'the great sea', so men of the four castes (*khattiyā brāhmaṇo vessā suddā*), when they as-wanderers-are-ordained' (*pabbajitvā*), discard their former names and lineage, and are reckoned only to be 'Toilers', 'Sons of the Sakyan'". It is thus that the "exile" (*pabbajaka*) sets to work to "deform himself of himself" as Eckhart expresses it (*daz er sin entbulde sin selbes*), or in other words to "transform" himself.

The anonymity which we have described above as a doctrinally inculcated principle is by no means only a monastic ideal but has far-reaching repercussions in traditional societies, where our distinctions of sacred from profane (distinctions that are, in the last analysis the signature of an internal conflict too rarely resolved) can hardly be found. It reappears, for example, in the sphere of art. We have discussed elsewhere "The Traditional Conception of Ideal Portraiture"³¹ (citing, for example, the *Pratimānāḷaka*, III. 5, where Bharata, though he exclaims at the artists' skill, is unable to recognize the effigies of his own parents): and may point out here that there is a corresponding anonymity of the artist himself, not only in the field of the so-called "folk arts" but equally in a more sophisticated environment. Thus, as H. SWAZENSKI has recently remarked, "It is in the very nature of Mediæval Art that extremely few names of artists have been transmitted to us... the entire mania for connecting the few names preserved by tradition³² with well-known masterpieces,—all this is characteristic of the nineteenth century's cult of individualism, based upon ideals of the Renaissance"³³. Dh. 74 exclaims,

Comm. explains *cira-dīkhhita*, "long since initiated" by *cira-pabbājita*, "long since ordained"; in *Jātakamālā* X. 32 a Bodhisattva is *dīkṣita*).

The primary senses of *pabbājati* are to "wander", "travel" and "be in exile"; and so to become a fellow in the "Companionship" (*saṅgha*) of Mendicant Travellers (*bhikkhu*, *padbājaka*), a true Wayfarer; cf. my "Pilgrim's way in JBORS. XXIII and XXIV, 1938,—the Traveller is bound for a World's End that is within himself.

30. The ethical aspect of this self-denial is a dispositive means to the end of self-naughting and Self-realisation, not an end in itself. *Tapas*, whether Brahmanical or Buddhist, is never a "penance", but in its disciplinary aspect a part of that training by means of which the petty self is subjected to the Great Self, or in a familiar symbolism, by which the steeds are brought under the driver's control, apart from which the man is "at war with himself" (S. I. 71-72, like BG. VI. 5-6); and in its intrinsic character, a radiance, reflecting his "Who glows (*tapati*) yonder".

31. To appear in the third issue of "Twice a Year" (New York), 1939.

32. "History", rather than "tradition" in our stricter sense.

33. *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, I, 1938, p. 55. Cf. STRZYGOWSKI, "the artist in Viking times is not to be thought of as an individual, as would be the case today... It is a creative art" (*Early Church Art in Northern Europe*, 1928, pp. 159-160: and with respect to this distinction of "individual" from "creative" art, "I do nothing of myself" (John VIII. 28) and "I take note, and even as He dictates within me, I set it forth" (Dante, *Purgatorio*, XXIV. 52). Better to be an amenuensis of the Spirit than to "think for oneself"!

"May it be to religious and profane that 'This was my work'³⁴...that is an infantile thought." DhA I. 270 relates the story of thirty three youths who are building a 'Rest Hall' at four cross roads, and it is explicit that "The names of the thirty-three comrades did not appear," but only that of Sudhammā, the donor of the roof plate (the keystone of the dome)³⁵. One is irresistibly reminded of the "Millennial Law" of the Shakers, that "No one should write or print his name on any article of manufacture, that others may hereafter know the work of his hands."³⁶ And all this has not only to do with the body of the work and its æsthetic surfaces, it has just as much to do with its "weight" (*gravitas*) or essence (*ātman*); the notion of a possible property in ideas is altogether alien to the *Philosophia Perennis* of which we are speaking. It is of ideas and the inventive power that we can properly say, if we are thinking in terms of the psycho physical ego, that this is not "mine," or if self has been naughted so that, to use the Brāhmaṇa phrase, we have "come into our own," that these gifts of the Spirit are truly "mine"; since it is the Synteresis, the Divine Eros, inwit, in genium immanent spirit, daimon, and not the natural individual that is the ground of the inventive

34. The words of the original could mean either my "work" or my "doing," *kamma* covering both things made and done. The same ambiguity, or rather ambivalence, is present in the corresponding text of BG. III. 27, "One whose self is confounded by the concept of an 'I' imagines that 'I am the doer,'" and V. 8, where the Comprehensor does not think of "himself as the doer of anything," the word for "doer," *kartṛ*, meaning equally "maker" or "creator"; cf. JOB. 1. 5. 2. "Thou (God) art the doer," and IV. 12. 2 "I (God) am the doer," or "maker." Like BG. as cited above is *Udāna* 70 "Those who give ear to the notion 'I am the doer' (*ahamkāra*), or are captivated by the notion 'Another is the doer' (*paraṃkāra*), do not understand this matter, they have not seen the point."

We need hardly remind the reader that this is a metaphysical position, and must not be confused with the *akṛiyavāda* heresy, that viz. of the man in *Udāna* 10 is represented as saying, even while acting, 'It is not I that am agent' *eva c'apṇ katvā na karomī 'ti c'āha* "I," "this man," *an tel*, have no right to evade "my" responsibility in this way, by maintaining that it does not matter what I do, because it is not really I that am doing it. It is only when the non entity of the "I" has been *verified* (*sacchikīṇā*) that in the sense of I John III. 9 being "born of God, cannot sin," or that of Gal V. 18 "am not under the law."

35. In early Indian art, the names of donors are constantly met with, those of artists almost never. The donor's name is recorded, because he wishes to "acquire merit" for what has been done; the artist is not, as such, in this specifically moral sense, acquiring merit, but on the one hand earning his wages, and on the other working for the good of the work to be done, neither of these points of view implying any wish for fame.

36 E.D. and F. ANDREWS, *Shaker Furniture*, 1937, p. 44. In all these connections, however, it is the spirit rather than the letter that matters. In the same community, for example, furniture could not be owned "as private property, or individual interests," and yet might be marked with a person's initials "for purposes of distinction", and it was in just the same way in order for a Buddhist monk to say "I" or "mine" when convenient. In the same way an artist's signature need not be an advertisement, but can be, like a hall mark, a simple guarantee of quality and acceptance of responsibility.

power, and it is precisely of this inwit, this intellectual light, and not our own "mentality" of which it is said that "That art thou."

In conclusion, the student must not be misled by such terms as self-naughting, non-being, or any other of the phrases of the negative theology. Non-being, for example, in such an expression as Eckhart's "non-existence of the Godhead" is that transcendent aspect of the Supreme Identity which is not, indeed, being but that to which all being, even God's, can be reduced, as to its principle; it is that of God's which is not susceptible of manifestation, of which therefore we cannot speak in terms that are applicable only to states of manifestation, yet without which God would be only a "pantheon," a "pantheistic" deity, rather than "all this" *and* "more than this", "within" *and* "without." In the same way it must be realised that of one assimilated to God by self-naughting, and therefore no longer anyone, we have no longer any human means or speechway (*vādapatha*) to say what he is, but only to say that he is not such or such; it would be even more untrue to say that he is not, than that he is; he is simply inaccessible to analysis. Even a theoretical grasp of metaphysics is impossible until we have learnt that there are "things which our intellect cannot behold . . . we cannot understand what they are except by denying things of them" (Dante, *Convito*, III. 15), and that these very things are the greater part of man's last end. If, for example, the Arhat no longer desires, it is not because he is in human language "apathetic," but because all desires are possessed, and pursuit has no longer any meaning; if the Arhat no longer moves, it is not as a stone lies still, but because he no longer needs any means of locomotion in order to be anywhere; if he is not curious about empirical truths, whether "this is so" or "not so," it is not because he does not know, but because he does not know as we know in these terms; for example he does not think in terms of past or future, but only is now. If he is "idle," from our point of view who still have "things to do," it is because he is "all in act" (*kṛtakṛtyah, katakarmīyo*), with an activity independent of time.

But if we cannot know him, it does not follow that he cannot know or manifest himself to us. Just as in this life whilst in *samādhi* he is inaccessible and for all practical purposes dead, but on emerging from this synthesis and "returning to his senses" can conveniently make use of such expressions as "I" or "mine" for practical and contingent purposes without attainer of his freedom (S. I. 14), so after death, by which he is not changed, a resurrection is always possible in any guise ("he shall go in and out, and find pasture," John X. 9, with many Indian parallels, e.g., Taitt. Up. III. 5 "he goes up and down these worlds, eating what he desires and assuming what aspect he will"), this possibility by no means excluding that of reappearance in that very (dis-)guise by which he had been known in the world as so-and-so. Examples of such resurrection can be cited not only in the case of Jesus, but in that of Uccaiśravas Kaupayeya (JUB. III. 29-30), in that of the Bodhisattva of the Parosahassa Jāṭaka, and in that of the former Buddha Prabhūtaratna. Such a resurrection, indeed, is only one of innumerable "powers" (*iddhi*),

such as those of walking in the water, flying through the air, or disappearing from sight, which are possessed by one who is no longer "in himself" but "in the spirit," and inevitably possessed precisely because they are the powers of the Spirit with which he is "one" (I Cor. VI. 27): "which powers (as listed for example in S. II. 212 f., A. I. 254 f., and S. V. 254 f.) are precisely the "greater works" of John XIV. 12, "the works that I do shall he do also: and greater works shall he do" There can, indeed, be no question for those who know the "facts," that in so far as the Yogin is what the designation implies, "joined unto the Lord," these "powers" are at his command: he is only too well aware, however, that to make of these powers an end in themselves would be to fail of the real end.

It will be seen that in speaking of those who have done what was to be done, we have been describing those who have become "perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect." There will be many to say that even if all this hold good for the all-abandoner, it can have no meaning for "me": and it is true that it cannot have its full meaning for "me" who, *en étant un tel* am insusceptible of deification and therefore incapable of reaching God. Few or none of "us" are yet qualified to abandon ourselves. But so far as there is a Way, it can be trodden step by step. There is an intellectual preparation, which not merely prepares the way to a verification (*sacchakiriya*) but is indispensable to it. So long as we love "our" selves, and conceive of a "self-denial" only in terms of "altruism," or cling to the idea of a "personal" immortality for our or other selves, we are standing still. But a long stride has been taken if at least we have learned to accept the idea of the naughting of self as a good, however contrary it may be to our "natural" desire, however *aller menschen fremde*. For if the spirit be thus willing, the time will come when the flesh, whether in this or in any other ensemble of possibilities forming a "world," will be no longer weak. The doctrine of self-naughting is therefore addressed to *all*, in the measure of their capacity, and by no means only to those who have already formally abandoned name and lineage. It is not the saint, but the sinner, that is called to repent of his existence.

37. This unification is to be understood in the same way that the "eternal reasons" are one with the intellect that entertains them, and yet distinguishable amongst themselves, so as to be in posse to project their images upon the walls of our cave. Filiation or theosis by an *ablatio omnis alteritatis et diversitatis* can be expressed in terms of "glorification" as a becoming consciously a ray of the Light of lights. the relation of a ray, although of light throughout its course, is that of identity with its source at one end, and separate recognizability at the other, where its effect is observed as colour. In no better way than by this adequate symbol, made use of in all traditions, can we express or suggest the meaning of Eckhart's "fused but not confused," or Indian *bhedābhedha*, "distinction without difference."

EXPANSION OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA AND ABROAD*

By

BIMALA CHURN LAW

VII. Korea²⁶

Korea has its importance in the history of Buddhist expansion from the fact that it was from Korea that Buddhism first entered Japan and the earliest extant edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka known only by a single copy was preserved in Korea and thence taken to Japan. Buddhism entered Korea as early as the last half of the 4th century A.D. In the middle of the 6th century Korea fell out with Japan, and anxious to have an alliance with the Emperor of Japan, sent him presents which included Buddhist texts and images. Korea maintained friendly intercourse with the Táng Dynasty in China and became largely imbued with Chinese Buddhist culture. In the 7th century the capital of Silla came to be a centre of Buddhist culture and trade. Merchants and missionaries from India and Tibet visited Korea and Korean pilgrims made journeys to India. From the 10th to the 14th century under the patronage of the Wang and Yuan dynasties Buddhism had a flourishing existence but in the domain of scholarship and learning it was more or less sterile. Magnificent monasteries were founded and the religion received state patronage in many ways. Towards the end of the 14th century, however, the reigning dynasty was overthrown by a revolution which was mainly the work of a section of the nobility that came to be attached to confucianism. In the 15th century restrictive measures, sometimes amounting to persecution, were imposed against Buddhism. Buddhist statues were broken or melted down and Buddhist learning was forbidden. Towards the end of the 16th century, Korea successfully withstood a Japanese attack, but Buddhism does not seem to have enjoyed any very serious consideration in the succeeding centuries. Since the annexation by Japan in 1910, conditions have changed and the religion is being encouraged.

VIII. Japan²⁷

Japan received the doctrine of the Buddha from China through Korea in about the middle of the 6th century A.D. but there are many elements of

* Continued from p. 709 of Vol. II.

26. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Korea, See ELIOT—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III.

27. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Japan, See ELIOT—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III; E. STEINLHER OBERLIN, *Buddhist Sects of Japan: Their History, philosophical Doctrines and Sanctuaries*.

difference between Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. Buddhism in Japan had always an intimate connection with social, political and even military matters of the country and from the 7th century until the Meiji era all Shinto shrines with a few exceptions were according to an agreement handed over to the custody of the Buddhist priests.

Among the undernoted twelve sects of Japanese Buddhists the first eight called by the Japanese Hasshū are all imported from China and represent the Buddhism of the Nara and Hei-an periods. The rest are later than 1170 A.D. and were "all remodelled, if not created, in Japan"

The twelve sects are as follows :

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. <i>Kusha</i> | 7. <i>Tendai</i> |
| 2. <i>Jo-jitsu</i> | 8. <i>Shingon</i> |
| 3. <i>Ritsu-Shu</i> or <i>Risshu</i> | 9. <i>Jōdo</i> |
| 4. <i>Saichō</i> | 10. <i>Zen</i> |
| 5. <i>Hossō</i> | 11. <i>Shin</i> |
| 6. <i>Kegon</i> | 12. <i>Nichiren</i> |

All Japanese sects of importance are Mahāyānists. The Hinayāna is represented only by the Kusha, Jo-jitsu and Risshu. The two former are both extinct : the third still numbers a few adherents but is not anti Mahāyānist. It merely insists on the importance of discipline.

Of the above twelve sects, the Tendai and Shingon, onwards for 700 years from the 9th century, played a very great part in the history of Japanese art and literature as well as in political and literary matters. The culture of the Fujiwara period was almost entirely their contribution. Of the four remodelled sects, the Jōdo and Shin Shū are Amudists, i.e., those who have absolute faith in the mercy of Amida. The Nichiren sect is purely Japanese and is a protest against Amidism and an attempt to restore the historical Buddha to his proper position. Zen is the Japanese equivalent of Chinese Ch'an and is the name given to the sect founded in China by Bodhidharma. It is said to have been introduced into Japan in the 7th century, but died out till it was later revived under the patronage of the Hōjō-Regents and specially during the Ashikaga period. Zen monks profoundly influenced the art and literature of Japan.

IX. Ceylon²⁸

Ceylon along with Burma and Siam is one of the three countries which still adheres to Theravāda Buddhism. According to tradition, Ceylon was colonised from India from a region known as Lāṭa by a Kshatriya prince named Vijayasingha but the introduction of Buddhism did not take place

28. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Ceylon, see *Dīpaṃsa*, ed. by GEIGER; *Mahāvamsa* ed. by GEIGER, *Mahāvamsa Commentary*, 2 Vols. (PTS) ed. by MALALASEKERA; DE SILVA—"History of Buddhism in Ceylon" (in *Buddhist Studies* ed. by B. C. LAW), ELIOT *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, GEIGER—"A Short History of Ceylon" (in *Buddhist Studies* ed. by B. C. LAW).

earlier than the reign of Asoka, when the king of Ceylon sought the friendship of the great emperor and sent an embassy to him with presents. King Asoka sent two representatives of his own family, Thera Mahinda and Therī Saṅghamittā to Ceylon to propagate the religion there. The reigning king of Ceylon, Devānāṇpiya Tissa accorded them a cordial reception and became a patron of the religion and thus the religion gained a foothold in the island-country, according to tradition. Even within the life-time of the two vanguards, hundreds of men and women sought refuge in the religion and the religion was well-established. Monasteries, Stūpas and other Buddhist establishments came to be founded, hundreds became Bhikshus and Bhikshuṇīs receiving support from the laity, and studies in the three piṭakas commenced in full earnest. After the death of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā the hierarchy of the disciples was continued in pupillary succession. In the 2nd century B.C. King *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi* gave a good fillip to the religion and during the two centuries that followed Buddhism became almost the sole channel through which the social and cultural development of the island followed. The religion of the Ceylonese people during this period came to be purely and entirely Buddhist and traditions as recorded in the chronicles of the island indicate much practical activity in religious affairs, both in endowment and maintenance of religious institutions and the practice of religious principles. Towards the beginning of the 1st century B.C., during the reign of King *Vaṭṭagāmaṇi*, two important events that concerned the Buddhist religion took place; the first was the committing of the Buddhist teachings into writing and secondly the introduction for the first time of a schism in the Buddhist church of the island. The order of monks at *Mahāvihāra* at *Anurādhapura* held a convocation and under the patronage of the king appointed scribes to commit into writing the teachings of the religion.

The schism that occurred in the church of Ceylon in about the 1st century A.D. was due to the infringement of certain rules of monastic discipline. Outside the precincts of the established church there was another Vihāra known as *Abhayagiri* where the dissentient Bhikshus had taken up their abode. They were later on joined by disciples of Dhammaruci Āchāryya. They adopted the Vaitulya piṭaka and proclaimed it to be the teaching of the Buddha. For centuries the Mahāvihāra monks carried on successfully under the patronage of the reigning kings a long struggle against the Vaitulya fraternities of the Abhayagiri vihāra. But intercourse with India during all these centuries was so frequent that from time to time non-orthodox doctrines and their followers occasionally found their way to Ceylon and were favoured by certain classes of monks. But these had no marked effect on the general progress or the stability of the orthodox church.

In about the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. an ascetic of the *Vajraparvata Nikāya* clad in the robes of a Buddhist monk came to Ceylon obviously from the mainland of India and converted the reigning king into his secret doctrine. To-day it is difficult to find any books of either the Vaitulya piṭaka or any other heterodox teachings. But the ruins of Anu-

rādhapura and archæological explorations on other sites in Ceylon have yielded not only inscriptions but also images that are definitely not only Mahāyānistic but also frankly tantric.

To resume the story of the orthodox church one must refer to the activities of the great Thera Buddhaghosa in about the first half of the 5th century A.D. Buddhaghosa came from South India to Ceylon where under the patronage of the reigning king, Mahānāma, he engaged himself in the work of compilation of the celebrated *aṭṭhakathās* or commentaries of the Buddhist piṭakas. His well-known works, the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, the *Papañcasudani*, the *Manorathapurāṇi*, the *Sāratthapakāsinī* and a host of other works were all written down in Ceylon. Buddhaghosa thus raised the position and prestige of the Theravāda Church of Ceylon to a great extent.

Towards the end of the 8th century Ceylon suffered severe political unrest and the Ceylonese Church felt the consequences for more than two centuries, so much so that towards the middle of the 11th century, it was once found difficult to get a chapter of ordained monks to continue valid ordinations. This was, however, restored by the help of a number of learned Theras who were brought out from Arakan by king Vijayavāhu. In the middle of the 12th century, under the patronage of the king Parākramavāhu, the religion received infusion of new life. Parākramavāhu restored vihāras and monasteries, built new religious edifices and brought about the unification of the three contending sects, namely, the *Mahāvihāra Nikāya*, the *Abhayagiri Nikāya*, and the *Vaitulya Nikāya*, and also brought about the restoration of the power and influence of the orthodox church, the Mahāvihāra Nikāya. He also brought into existence, probably for the first time, a code of regulations for the guidance of the Bhikṣhus. From the time of Buddhaghosa upto the time of king Parākramavāhu, numerous Buddhist works by celebrated scholars were composed in Pali and Sinhalese. During the reign of Parākramavāhu the Great, a systematic compilation of sub commentaries took place under the guidance of Kassapa Thera. After his death unfortunately there were again political unrests in the island. Within a hundred years, the Bhikṣhus were again disorganised, but the *sāsana* was again restored (1266 A.D.) with the help of monks brought from the Coja country in South India. Monasteries were again established and there was again activity in the cause of religion.

The reputation of the Saṅgha in Ceylon became so well established that towards the middle of the 15th century when Burma was faced with a crisis of the cessation of valid ordination, the reigning king of the country sought the help of the *Mahāvihāra* in Ceylon for restoration of the *Sāsana*. From Burma at a later period the ordination of this Nikāya was carried to Siam. "The connection of Burma at this period has an important bearing on the fortunes of the Saṅgha fraternity and of Buddhism in Ceylon. For through these embassies the books that existed in Ceylon were taken to Burma, Siam and Cambodia and the Mahānikāya was established in these countries, which

helped Ceylon to get back the books and the ordination at a subsequent period when ordination had disappeared in the island and books were lost."²⁹

In about this time the Portuguese arrived at the island and established a fort in Colombo, besides introducing Christianity into the island. The then reigning king Bhuvanekavāhu III (1552 A.D.) allied himself with the Portuguese and brought ruin not only upon himself but also upon the religion. But a still more severe blow came from king Rājasingha I. He did havoc with the monks and monastic establishments. The king of Kotte with whom the Portuguese gained influence also pursued more or less the same policy. The king of other provinces also turned against Buddhism. But with the arrival of the Dutch in the 17th century conditions took a better turn. Their attitude was more conciliatory towards the religion and the subsequent kings were able to devote their times and energy to restore the status of Buddhism. During this time a great man arose in *Saranākara* who was a *Sāmaṇera* as ordination had disappeared in the land. He made known to king Śrī Vijaya Rājasingha (1734 A.D.) that the religion of the Buddha had deceased in the island because the order of the Bhikshus had become extinct. He prevailed upon the king to bring out a mission of Bhikshus from Siam for the restoration of the order. The Siamese mission started for Ceylon but the voyage was eventually abandoned. Saranākara persisted in his attempt and finally prevailed upon the succeeding king *Kittisiri Rājasiha* to send another mission to Siam. This mission was cordially received by King *Dhammika* of Siam who sent *Upālī Thera* with a chapter of Ten *Bhikshus* and the order was eventually restored in Ceylon and Saranākara was appointed *Saṅgharāja*, the head of the *Saṅgha*. In 1815 the island came into the possession of the English who pledged for the protection and maintenance of the Buddhist religion.

X. *Siam*³⁰

The Buddhism of Siam belongs to the Theravāda school. The Siamese belonged to Thai family of a South Chinese people. The history of Thai rule in Siam may roughly be described as a succession of three kingdoms with capitals at Sukhothai, Ayuthia and Bangkok respectively.

The Southern regions of Siam came into contact with Buddhism at a considerably early period. The eastern coasts in India had intercourse not only with Burma but also with the Malaya Peninsula. Epigraphic evidence proves that the reign of Ligor came into contact with Buddhism as early at least as the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. and it is only probable that Siam was also touched by this wave of Indian religious expansion. In fact, some of the ancient sites of Siam, e.g. *Dvārāvātī* have yielded sculptures and other antiquities that are either frankly Buddhist or are affiliated to Buddhism. An

29. De Silva, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon in Buddhistic Studies*, ed. B. C. Law, p. 502

30 For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Siam see ELIOT—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III.

inscription of about the 4th century found in Kekah and another of the 7th or 8th century from Pra Pratomb, both contained the well known Buddhist formula of causation. The latter inscription and also one from Margui seem to be in mixed Sanskrit and Pali.

In an important inscription found at Sukhothai and now preserved at Bangkok and probably datable in about 1300 A.D. it is stated that the Siamese kingdom of the time extended on the South to the sea as far as Lagor and on the west to Pegu. From the same inscription we derive the knowledge that the court and the inhabitants of Sukhothai were devout Buddhists regularly observing the *Vassa* and the festival of *Kaphisa* and also that there were several arch monasteries, many Buddha statues and Buddhist relics. The form of Buddhism described seems to have differed little from the Hinayanism found in Siam to-day. In any case, it seems that at least during this period the Siamese were acquainted with Pali Buddhism. Whatever may have been the earlier form of Buddhism and wherever we may trace the source of the religion of earlier times, there seems to be very little doubt that when the Thai poured into Siam the religion was a certain kind of Hinayānism which in all likelihood was imported from Burma. We all know that towards the middle of the 11th century Buddhism in Burma received a new infusion of life and spread over very quickly to the Shan states and it is not altogether impossible that it found its way to the not very distant kingdom of Siam. In a subsequent period "the Siamese recognised the seniority and authority of the Sinhalese Church by inviting an instructor to come from Ceylon, but in earlier times they can hardly have had direct relation with the island. A Khmer inscription composed in 1361 or a little later shows that the reigning king learned both in Buddhist and Brahmanical lore was a cosmopolitan in religious practices. In 1361 he had a Saṅgharāja learned in the Pīṭakas brought from Ceylon. He was received with great honour and became eventually the head of the Buddhist Church. Two other inscriptions apparently datable in this period refer to the importation of a branch of the Bodhi tree from Ceylon and certain Buddhist relics, probably from India, which were all installed with great solemnity. To this date may also be referred series of engravings on stone illustrating about one hundred Jātakas.

Towards the middle of the 14th century the seat of power in Siam was transferred to Ayuthia where we have several gigantic images of the Buddha and the ruins of numerous Buddhist establishments. A curious inscription engraved on an image of Siva found at Sukhothai and dated 1510 A.D. asserts, however, the identity of Buddhism and Brahmanism. At Lophburi we have some ancient buildings which were originally constructed for the Brahmanic cult were later on adapted to Buddhist uses. Ayuthia continued to be the capital of Siam until 1767 when it was sacked and ruined by the Burmese who, though Buddhists, did not scruple to destroy and deface Buddhist temples, establishments and statues. Phāya Tāk Sin, a Chinese in origin, repulsed the Burmese attack, made Bangkok the seat of Government but was soon deposed in 1782 by Chao Phāya Chakkri who established a new

dynasty. This king convoked a council and had the whole Tripiṭaka revised by monk scholars and built a hall in which the texts were preserved. During the reign of one of his successors, Mongkut who spent 26 years as a monk and then became King, Buddhism in Siam received a new lease of life. During the reign of his successor, Chulalongkorn, an edition of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka was published and printed in Siamese type.

XI. *Burma*³¹

Tradition ascribes the introduction of Buddhism into Burma to Asoka. Four centuries later, in the 3rd century A.D., Chinese evidence points to the existence of Buddhism in a place called Lin-Yang which may be tentatively identified with a place in Burma. With the 5th and subsequent centuries we are on surer grounds. Epigraphic records provide us henceforward with definite evidences of a flourishing state of Pali Buddhism in the metropolis of the kingdom of the Pyus, Hwawan and old Prome, indicating at the same time a very intimate intercourse of Lower Burma with the Kadamba-Coḷa countries of South India. Buddhist records, in Sanskrit have been found in old Prome pointing to a very close relation with the Magadhan countries of Eastern India. Epigraphic records are supplemented by quite a good number of Buddhist monuments and sculptures and terracotta tablets which have been unearthed in old Prome and are datable from the 6th to the 10th and 11th centuries. All these evidences point to a resurgence of the religion in the old kingdom of Prome in about the beginning of the 5th century.

In 1057 A.D. took place the fateful invasion of Thaton by Anawrata. The story of this invasion really indicates a very flourishing state of the religion in Lower Burma. The story of the religion now centres round Pagan where the royal dynasty and gradually the people found in the Theravāda imported from Thaton, a purer and simpler faith, a religion with a more direct appeal and a fresh message of deliverance. The religion slowly but steadily secured a solid ground and spread far and near on all sides. Hundreds of Buddhist monuments and monastic establishments came to be erected and embellished with Buddhist sculptures and painting. Even during the reign of Ambadatta the fame of Pagan as a centre of the Theravāda faith was so well established that she exchanged religious gifts with Ceylon, with which she came gradually to be linked up in all matters concerning the religion. The clergyman of Burma looked up to the brotherhood of Ceylon as the source of all inspiration. This attitude of the Burmese brotherhood was in reality responsible for the introduction of the Sīhala Saṅgha in 1181-82 A.D.

The Sīhala Saṅgha gradually established itself also in Lower Burma. The splitting up of these two saṅghas into various factions naturally led to

31. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Burma, see ELIOT—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III; RAY—"Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma" in *Journal of the Greater India Society*; *Sāsanavamsa* ed. by BODE (Introduction); BODE—*Pali Literature in Burma*.

the degeneration of the religious order. A movement for reform was successfully initiated by king Dhammaceti of Pegu in 1472. The Ceylonese brotherhood again came to the aid of the Burmese church and Dhammaceti's reformation practically led to the final triumph of the Sīhala Saṅgha.

But Theravāda was not the only form of Buddhism in the country. Probably Sarvāstivāda, on the evidence of Sanskrit Buddhist epigraphs as well as on that of I-Tsing, was another form prevalent in about the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. Some sort of Mahāyānism and Mahāyānist Tantricism had also penetrated into upper Burma. Towards the end of the 17th century the church in Burma began to show signs of slackness of discipline and of transgression of rules by individuals and groups within the order. The order divided itself into two factions which came to engage themselves in a long struggle. The story of the religion in the 18th century is the story of this struggle but eventually the orthodox school won and again the word and spirit of the original teachings of the Buddha were strictly adhered to.

The dawn of the 19th century saw the introduction of the Amarapura school or Burma Saṅgha (Burmese order) in Ceylon. This event may be interpreted as the first return gift of Burma to Ceylon. About 60 years later two deputations from Ceylon came to Burma to receive valid ordination from the Burmese fraternity, and Burma was thus able to return the gift Ceylon had made in the 15th century. The last figure in the history of Buddhism in Burma is that of Mindon-Min who brought another triumph for the orthodox Buddhist church in Burma. Mindon-Min observed with regret that laxity in monastic discipline was much in evidence. He wanted to enforce the disciplinary code of the monks and thought it well to impose a vow enjoining strict conformity to Vinaya discipline and eventually acted up to his thought.

In 1885 the English occupied Mandalay and thus came in possession of the whole of Burma. It signalled the termination of the old order of things and the beginning of the new.

XII *Indo-China*:-

(Champa and Kamboj)

The earliest trace of Buddhism in Indo-China is indicated in a Sanskrit inscription palæographically datable in the 2nd or 3rd century of the Christian era and found not far from modern Nhatrang. One cannot say definitely that it is a Buddhistic inscription but from some phrases and ideas used in the inscription it can more or less definitely be ascribed to Buddhistic inspiration. But more definite information about Buddhism in Champa is traceable not earlier than the 9th century. In the second quarter of that century,

32 For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Indo-China, See CHATTERJI—*Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*; MAJUMDAR—*Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol. I, *Champa*, ELIOT—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III; *Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China* by Louis FINOT (*Buddhistic Studies* ed. by B. C. LAW, p. 749 ff.).

a Buddhist of Pāṇḍurāṅga, Samanta by name, dedicated the monasteries and temples to the Jina and Siva. This indicates a very close association of Buddhism with Saivism which remained up to the end as one of the salient features of Indian religious life in Champa, as in other places of Indo-China as well as in Java and Sumatra. The growing importance of Buddhism is affirmed by the foundation of the great monastery of Lokeśvara, a pious work of King Indravarman II. In 902 A.D., a Mahāyānist sthavīra set up another Lokeśvara monastery and in the foundation charter one finds a clear resumé of the Mahāyānist theogony. All these inscriptions prove definitely that Mahāyānism was the prevailing form of Buddhism in Champa. At the end of the 12th century a King of Pāṇḍurāṅga boasted of practising the Mahāyāna Dharma and erected in the district of Buddhhaloka an image of Buddha Lokeśvara. Even as late as the 2nd half of the 13th century a fragment of inscription begins with the invocation "Om Namo Buddhaya" proving that Buddhism was not extinct even at that time. The ruins of Champa have yielded a large number of bronze and stone statues of Buddha Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā. A number of clay medallions bearing images of the Buddha and Lokeśvara were picked up in the caves of Northern Annam.

But it is only likely that Mahāyānism in Champa was preceded by Hīnayāna period. According to him, the Buddhists of Champa in the 7th century A.D. belonged to the Ārya Sammiti School and there were also a few followers of the Sarvāstivāda School. But the evidence of I-Tsing is open to doubt, for the pilgrim never visited Champa and there has not been found any archæological evidence to support his contention. Towards the end of the 15th century Champa was seized by the Anamites who burnt down the capital and took possession of the whole kingdom where they introduced a debased mixture of Mahāyānism.

Funan, a great empire that had its centre of power in the modern territory of Cambodia, is known to us only through Chinese historians. The hey-day of its glory occupies the first five centuries of the Christian era. As in Champa so also in Funan Saivism and Buddhism peacefully existed side by side. I-Tsing testifies that the people of the country were mostly worshippers of Devas but later on Buddhism came to flourish there. By the time the pilgrim wrote his account a wicked king had expelled and exterminated all Buddhists and there were no members, of the Buddhist brotherhood at all. Śākyā Nāgasena, who went to the court of China as an ambassador in 484 A.D. saw a Buddhist monk. The Bhikshus of Funan went to China for the translation of the holy books of Buddhism, among them were Saṅghapāla and Mandrasena.

In the south of Funan the Malay Peninsula was essentially a Buddhist country. The inscriptions found in Ligor and in the province of the Wellesley prove that in the 4th century A.D., there were some important Buddhist centres on the coast. Inscriptions discovered on the south of the Isthmus of Kra dating from the 8th and 9th centuries prove that the religion was con-

tinued in those countries. One of these inscriptions commemorates the construction of three Caityas in honour of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, and Buddha in 775 A.D.

Towards the middle of the 6th century the Kambojas came into prominence and overthrew the kingdom of Funan. An inscription of 661 A.D. praises two eminent Bhikshus of the realm. Another inscription of the same period refers to the worship of Maitreya Avalokiteśvara and the Buddha. Lokeśvara who is often associated with Vajrapāṇi and Prajñāpāramitā was a very popular Buddhist divinity in the Mahāyānist pantheon of Cambodia. Tantrism seems to have exercised very little influence upon the Khmer cults although several images of Hevajra have been found in the ruin of Angkor; cult of Bodhidharma was also a popular one. Surjavarman I who probably belonged to the Buddhist religion as is shown by his posthumous name *Taramarivānāpada* was probably indirectly responsible for the first Khmer inscriptions found at Lophburi in Siam. One of these inscriptions makes a distinction between the Sthaviras and Mahāyāna Bhikshus. It is, however, probable that the regions round Lophburi were the meeting ground of Mahāyānism of Cambodia. The Khmer kings had to abandon their capital in the course of the 15th century and their disappearance marked also the disappearance of Hinduism and Mahāyānism.

XIII. Java-Sumatra-Bali¹

The trace of Buddhism in Java is available in the account of Fa Hien who visited the island in about 413 A.D. The Chinese pilgrim states that in that country there were many Brāhmanas but that the Buddhist religion was not of sufficient importance. Prince Gunavarman of Kashmir who turned the Buddhist missionary, visited the island in 423 A.D. but we do not know how far he succeeded in preaching religion in the island. Towards the end of the 6th century Central Java rose into importance which lasted for about two centuries. Towards the middle of the 8th century Java, especially Central and Western Java, passed from the hands of the Śaiva rulers into the control of a Mahāyānist dynasty from Sumatra, known to historians as the Sailendras of Śrīvijaya, who had a mighty empire extending over the Malay Peninsula and Central Java besides Sumatra. These Sailendras were fervent Buddhists professing the Mahāyāna faith. The temple of Kalasan in Central Java was erected by one of their kings in honour of the Mahāyāna divinity Tara in 778 A.D. The magnificent monument of Borobudur in Central Java also was the work of the Sailendras. Towards the end of the 7th century I-Tsing had visited Sumatra and described it as a great centre of Hīnayāna learning, but evidently after I-Tsing it had become a great stronghold of Mahāyāna Buddhism under the patronage of the

33 For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Java-Sumatra-Bali see CHAKRAVARTY & CHATTERJEE: *India & Java*, 2nd Ed. G. I. S. Bulletin, MAJUMDAR—*Svāradīpa*, 2 Vols N. J. KROM—*The Life of Buddha* 1926 *The Life of Buddha on Borobudur*.

Sailendras who had extended their supremacy over Central Java as well. In the 10th century a Buddhist temple was constructed at Negapatam near Madras at the expense of a king of the Sailendras with the permission of a Coja Prince Nalanda. A copper plate of Devapāla records the grant of some villages by the Pāla sovereign of Bengal for the upkeep of a monastery at Nālandā which was built at the instance of Balaputradeva of the Sailendra dynasty out of devotion to Buddhism. Dharmapāla the famous Guru of Nālandā passed his last days in Sumatrā. Under the Pala kings the Mahāyāna doctrine flourished in Bengal and Magadha as they did nowhere else in India and it was Mahāyāna tinged with Tantrayāna. We find exactly the same blend of Buddhistic and Tantric doctrines in Sumatrā, Java, and to some extent in Cambodia. The earliest Mahāyāna inscriptions of the Śrī Vijaya kings in Java are also written in South Indian Grantha characters but in a Central Indian script almost exactly like that of the 9th century inscriptions discovered at Nālandā.

All sorts and varieties of Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna, Bodhisattvas and Śaktis, Ādi-Buddhas, Dhyāni-Buddhas, etc., have come to our view and iconographically they follow the Eastern School of Indian art. The study of Buddhistic literature in Java is proved not only by the discovery of important Buddhist texts but also by the sculptures of Barabudur and other religious monuments which presuppose a wide range of knowledge in its various branches. The later phases of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India are also met with in Java especially in Eastern Java. We may note in particular the adoption of Hindu gods in Buddhist Pantheon, the introduction of minor and miscellaneous divinities, of Tantric mode of worship etc.

Towards the middle of the 10th century the Śaiva princes who had been ousted from Central Java and had settled in Eastern Java, won back their lost territories from the Sailendras and there was a Śaivite revival in Central Java which, however, was soon abandoned. The scene now shifts to modern Java where it took some time for Buddhism to establish itself. The famous image of Prajñāpāramitā now in the Leiden Museum is ascribed to the second quarter of the 13th century to the reign of Ken Arok. To the middle of the 14th century belong the curious inscriptions of Ādityavarman, a prince of Sumatrā, who was a relation of a vassal to the Queen of Madjapahit, the centre of royalty in eastern Java. The language of these inscriptions clearly shows the prevalence of Tantric doctrine in Sumatrā and Java. After his death Ādityavarman was supposed to be identified with Avalokiteśvara. In this connection may also be mentioned the Tantric practices ascribed to Kṛetanāgara by Prapañcha. The Nāgarkṛetāgama also refers to the Tantric chakra rites diligently carried out by Kṛetanāgara.

In the reign of Hyam Wuruk, there was a set of royal officials called Bhūjaṅgas or learned priests. They were Brahmanical as well as Buddhistic. The Nāgarkṛetāgama gives a detailed account of the capital city, namely, Madjapahit. In the southern part of the city lived the Buddhists, the head

of the Saṅgha was Sthavira Rengkarnedi. Contemporary sources seem to point out that Buddhism flourished mostly in aristocratic circles; this explains the large number of fine Buddhist shrines which arose during this period but the religion does not seem to have entered much into the life of the people. Javanese literature is Brahmanical. Buddhism could not make much headway in Bali, and though the religion still survives in the island, Hinduism is in the ascendant.

YASNA HĀ XL.—HŌM YAST *

By

ERVAD MANECK F. KANGA

(1) The three righteous (creatures), the ox, the horse and the haoma, openly utter imprecations.¹ The ox curses the Zaothar :² 'mayest thou be childless and followed by disrepute, who dost not distribute me when cooked,³ but thou makest me fatten for the belly⁴ of the wife, or of the son or of thy own.'

(2) The horse curses the rider : 'mayest thou not bridle race-horses, mayest thou not mount race-horses, mayest thou not drive race-horses, who dost not demand (any feat of) strength from me in the much-attended festival⁵ meeting of the country⁶ thronged-with-men.'

* Chapters IX-XI of Yasna Literature, which comprise the Hōm Yast are specially recited in preparing the Haoma as part of the sacrifice. The term Haoma which is the same as the Vedic word Soma, is used in a double sense in the Avesta. In the first place it is the name of a yazata occupying a definite place in the Avestan Pantheon. In the second place it is the name of a Plant of magical and healing properties used in the Yasna Ceremony. Now-a-days only a few dry twigs of the Plant are used by the Parsi priests for the purpose.

1 Āfrivacah-adj lit. 'speaking benedictions'; here used euphemistically in the sense of "pronouncing curses, maledictions" (BARTHOLOMÆ ALTIRANISHES *Wörterbuch*, 331). The Pahlavi rendering āfrin-gobishnīh and Skr. version āśirvacasā are both used here euphemistically and this is quite obvious from Pahlavi and Skr. glosses : "they pronounce curses". Cf. Pahl. "ku nafrin kunand" and Skr. "kila śapam kurvanti" resp. For Av. word āfrī meaning 'curse' see Sitzungsberichte der philol. und historischen klasse der k. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München. 1868. 2. 536

2 The chief priest entrusted with the recitation of the Gāthās; he conducts the religious ceremonies usually with seven subordinate priests called 'ratav's'. This name is a relic of an Aryan Age, for it is also found in the Veda, where it appears as Hotar. (*Ār. Wb.* 1653) He is the representative of the priestly class.

3 Adj meaning 'cooked'. The Pahlavi version curiously translates it by Xr-āstak, Ir. hēr meaning "wealth, riches." This passage indicates that the custom of offering animal sacrifice to Hōm was prevalent in the period of the Later Avesta.

4 gen. sg. instead of dat. sg.

5. Av. pourumaiti. loc. sg. from pourumant 'having or containing many'; hence 'much-visited, attended' (BARTH. *Ār. Wb.* 901). The Pahlavi version curiously translates it by "vas mat ēstēnd" as though av. suffix maiti. is derived from √gam—to come.

6 Av. Karshū-subs. fem. 'cultivated land, agricultural borough from √karsh—to cultivate, to till (*Ār. Wb.* 458). Pahlavi version incorrectly translates it by "kartār" meaning "doer, performer" as though the word is derived from √kar—to perform. SPIEGEL reads karshyo and translates "family-circle." Ervad KANGA translates "a meeting, a thick crowd" (Dictionary p. 129).

(3) Haoma curses the partaker : 'mayest thou be childless and accompanied by infamy, who dost keep me, when I have been pressed, in custody, like a thief sentenced-to-death. I who (am) Haoma, the righteous, warding off death, am not one-sentenced-to-death.'

(4) The Holy Father Ahura Mazdā has assigned to me, the Haoma, as a portion the cheek with the tongue and the left eye

(5-6) Whoso deprives me of that portion viz. the cheek with the tongue and the left eye, or steals it or takes it away, which the Holy Ahura Mazdā gave me, never in this house will be born a priest, neither the warrior nor even the prosperity-bringing agriculturist ; but in this house will be born the Dahaka, mūraka as well as the varshna* of various sorts

(7) Quickly cut off the portion of the ox for the most powerful Haoma. May Haoma not bind thee just as he bound the wicked Turanian Frangarasyan who was surrounded by iron in the middle third part of this earth "

(8) Thereupon Zarathushtra spoke : 'Obesance (be) unto Haoma, created by Mazdā ! Good is Haoma created by Mazdā ' Homage (be) unto Haoma !'

(9) When from us comes one, those which have come to us from you are two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten.

(10) I dedicate to thee, O Righteous, Asha increasing, Haoma ! this body which appears to me beautiful, for Haoma's energetic intoxication, for good life and for the possession of the highest claim. Mayest thou grant me, O righteous Haoma, warding off-death ! the heaven of the holy, bright and all-comfortable.

(11) At will and desire, Thou, O Ahura Mazdā, rulest over Thine own creations : at will, the waters, at will the trees and at will all the good

7. frērēnaot Imperfect 3rd pers. sg. from *y'* at with fra prefix he assigned, he bestowed. (Air Wb. 185) The Pahlavi rendering is *frānāft* from caus. inf. *frānāftan*, "to go forth, to take a course". Av. word at has various meanings : (1) to move (u) to grant, to allot & (m) to stick. Here the Pahlavi translator has derived the av. word from the stem *at* to move.

8 The names of Dævaic Creatures, they are the antitheses of the Ahuman priests, warriors and agriculturists. The Pahlavi translator translates the av. word *dahakāca* by "*dakhshak-kāhēnūtār*" meaning "the diminisher of sign" and explains in the gloss "*ke dakhshak i Ohrmazd hē kāhenet*" i.e. "who diminishes the sign of Ohrmazd". I compare *dahaka*, subs. mas with av. *dahāka* and translate "man of the type of *azi-dahāka*". The Pahlavi rendering of av. word *mutakachā* is *mūtakkartār*, meaning "making weak, destructive". This is further explained by the gloss thus : *Chich tapāh hē kunēt* i.e. he destroys everything. Cf. av. *maodhanō-kara* in yas IX 32, where the Pahlavi translator translates "*mutak-kartār*". Av. *maodhanō-kara* (Air. Wb. 1109) means voluptuous, lascivious, preparing lust. The word *mūtak* is the Pahl. rendering of av. *mrūrō* "destructive" in Vend II. 22. Av. word *varshna*—is curiously translated into Pahlavi by *varzītār*. See BARTH. Air. Wb. 704, 1189 and 1380.

9 Reference to the subterranean iron fortress of Afrāsīyāb, where he took shelter after being defeated by Kay Husrav. It is known in the Shāhnāme as *Hang-i Afrāsīyāb*. Cf. *Ābān Yašt*, 41.

(creation), the seed of Asha. Make you (O Ahura Mazdā!) the righteous one powerful (but) the wicked without power.

(12) May the righteous (man) be ruling-at-will, but may the wicked be without-free-power, defeated, suppressed¹¹ and thrown-out from the creations of the Holy Spirit. (May he who) turned away¹² (from the Religion be) without-free-power.

(13) Even I who am Zarathushtra, shall incite the leaders of the houses, villages, countries and provinces to think in conformity with, to speak in conformity with and to act in conformity with this Religion, which is of Ahura, revealed by Zarathushtra¹³

(14) I pray for affluence and ease to the world of the righteous, and distress and difficulty to that of the wicked

(15) I praise good thoughts, good works, and good deeds through thought, through word and through deed. I hold fast all good thoughts, good words and good deeds. I renounce all evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds. I dedicate unto you, O Holy Immortals, worship and praise, with thought, with word, with deed, with the impulse of the soul, with the very life of my body. I praise righteousness.¹⁴

10. Av. havanghva, sub. n. "good life, blessedness" which is translated into Pahlavi by hu-okh vih. This is further explained by the commentator in yas Hā LXII. 6. 17. as nēvak diliḥ pa t̄chyān vitarg. Vendidad Fargard XVIII 6 adds a gloss to this word thus tak-diliḥ pa t̄chyān vitarg, meaning "courage on the Chinvat Bridge." Dr. DHALLA reads vindagariḥ "acquisition" which is wrong. From a comparison of these glosses it follows that the word nēvak-diliḥ and tag-diliḥ are one and the same.

11. Hamistō, BARTII. (*Air. Wb.* 1778) takes it as perf. part pass. of ham + √ maēd and translates "thrown down" "defeated". In Pahlavi version of Hōshbām it is translated by "hamistān" antagonism, opposition. (DHABHAR khurtak Avistāk p. 13.)

12. Vare tō (var varatō) nom. sg. of vare ta, adj. "captive, captured, taken, driven away as booty. BARTHOLOMÆ translates "surrounded, i.e. deprived of free movement", deriving it from the stem var - to surround. Pahlavi. pa vartakāh.

13. Sections 11-13 occur in the hymn Hōshbām-prayer which is addressed to the Dawn, in Yasna Hā VIII 5-7, Hā LII. 5-7, LXVIII. 16-18. and LXXI. 26-28.

14. This section is known as "Frastuyē-prayer", which is written in the Gāthic style and dialect. Spiegel remarks that this section has nothing in common with this Hā, but that it forms a sort of prelude to the yasna Hā XII, which deals with the Confession of Faith of a Zoroastrian. Note that this Hā XII is also one of the pieces written in the Gāthic Dialect. We have the Pāzand version of this section with some additional glosses, which forms part of the first karda of the Patēt Pashēmāni.

(3) Haoma curses the partaker · ‘mayest thou be childless and accompanied by infamy, who dost keep me, when I have been pressed, in custody, like a thief sentenced-to-death. I who (am) Haoma, the righteous, warding off death, am not one-sentenced-to-death.’

(4) The Holy Father Ahura Mazdā has assigned⁷ to me, the Haoma, as a portion the cheek with the tongue and the left eye

(5-6) Whoso deprives me of that portion viz. the cheek with the tongue and the left eye, or steals it or takes it away, which the Holy Ahura Mazdā gave me, never in this house will be born a priest, neither the warrior nor even the prosperity-bringing agriculturist; but in this house will be born the Dahaka, mūraka as well as the varshna⁸ of various sorts

(7) Quickly cut off the portion of the ox for the most powerful Haoma. May Haoma not bind thee just as he bound the wicked Turanian Frangarayan who was surrounded by iron in the middle third part of this earth.⁹

(8) Thereupon Zarathushtra spoke: ‘Obeisance (be) unto Haoma, created by Mazdā! Good is Haoma created by Mazdā! Homage (be) unto Haoma!’

(9) When from us comes one, those which have come to us from you are two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten.

(10) I dedicate to thee, O Righteous. Asha-increasing, Haoma! this body which appears to me beautiful, for Haoma’s energetic intoxication, for good life and for the possession of the highest claim. Mayest thou grant me, O righteous Haoma, warding off-death! the heaven of the holy, bright and all-comfortable.

(11) At will and desire, Thou, O Ahura Mazdā, rulest over Thine own creations · at will, the waters, at will the trees and at will all the good

7 frēnaot—Imperfect 3rd pers. sg. from √ ar—with fra-prefix = he assigned, he bestowed (*Air Wb* 185) The Pahlavi rendering is franāft. from caus. inf. franāftan, “to go forth, to take a course” Av word ar—has various meanings. (1) to move (u) to grant, to allot & (uu) to stick. Here the Pahlavi translator has derived the av. word from the stem ar—to move

8 The names of Dævaic Creatures, they are the antitheses of the Ahurian priests, warriors and agriculturists The Pahlavi translator translates the av word dahakāca by “dakhshak-kāhēnītār” meaning ‘the diminisher of sign’ and explains in the gloss “ke dakhshak 1 Ohrmazd bē kāhēnēt” i.e. “who diminishes the sign of Ohrmazd” I compare dahaka, subs mas with av dahāka and translate “men of the type of azi-dahāka”. The Pahlavi rendering of av. word mūrakacha is mūtāk-kartār, meaning “making weak, destructive” This is further explained by the gloss thus Chich tapāh bē kunēt i.e. he destroys everything Of av maodhanō-kara in yas. IX. 32, where the Pahlavi translator translates “mūtāk-kartār” Av maodhanō-kara (*Air Wb* 1109) means voluptuous, lascivious, preparing lust The word mūtāk is the Pahl rendering of av mrūrō “destructive” in Vend II 22. Av word varshna—is curiously translated into Pahlavi by varzītār See BARTH. *Air. Wb.* 704, 1189 and 1380

9. Reference to the subterranean iron fortress of Afrāsyāb, where he took shelter after being defeated by Kay Husrav. It is known in the Shāhnāmeh as Hang-i Afrāsyāb. Cf. Ābān Yašt. 41.

(creation), the seed of Asha. Make you (O Ahura Mazdā!) the righteous one powerful (but) the wicked without power.

(12) May the righteous (man) be ruling-at-will, but may the wicked be without-free-power, defeated, suppressed¹¹ and thrown-out from the creations of the Holy Spirit. (May he who) turned away¹² (from the Religion be) without-free-power.

(13) Even I who am Zarathushtra, shall incite the leaders of the houses, villages, countries and provinces to think in conformity with, to speak in conformity with and to act in conformity with this Religion, which is of Ahura, revealed by Zarathushtra.¹³

(14) I pray for affluence and ease to the world of the righteous, and distress and difficulty to that of the wicked

(15) I praise good thoughts, good works, and good deeds through thought, through word and through deed I hold fast all good thoughts, good words and good deeds I renounce all evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds I dedicate unto you, O Holy Immortals, worship and praise, with thought, with word, with deed, with the impulse of the soul, with the very life of my body I praise righteousness.¹⁴

10 Av hayanghva, sub. n. "good life, blessedness" which is translated into Pahlavi by hu-okh vih This is further explained by the commentator in yas Hā LXII 6. 17 as nēvak-dilīh pa + chyān vitarg. Vendīdād Fargard XVIII. 6 adds a gloss to this word thus: tak-dilīh pa + chyān vitarg, meaning "courage on the Chinvat Bridge." Dr. DHALLA reads vindagarīh "acquisition" which is wrong From a comparison of these glosses it follows that the word nēvak-dilīh and tag-dilīh are one and the same

11. Hamistō. BARTH (*Air. Wb.* 1778) takes it as perf. part. pass. of ham + √ maēd and translates "thrown down" "defeated". In Pahlavi version of Hōsh-bām it is translated by "hamistārīh" antagonism, opposition. (DHABHAR khurtak Avistāk p 13.)

12 Vare tō (var varatō) nom sg of vare ta, adj "captive, captured, taken, driven away as booty BARTHOLOMÆ translates "surrounded, i.e. deprived of free movement", deriving it from the stem var--to surround. Pahlavi. pa vartakāh.

13 Sections 11-13 occur in the hymn Hōshbām-prayer which is addressed to the Dawn, in Yasna Hā VIII. 5-7, Hā LII. 5-7, LXVIII. 16-18 and LXXI. 26-28.

14. This section is known as "Frastuyū-prayer", which is written in the Gāthic style and dialect. Spiegel remarks that this section has nothing in common with this Hā, but that it forms a sort of prelude to the yasna Hā XII, which deals with the Confession of Faith of a Zoroastrian Note that this Hā XII is also one of the pieces written in the Gāthic Dialect. We have the Pāzand version of this section with some additional glosses, which forms part of the first karda of the Patēt Pashēmāni.

MISCELLANEA

PRATYABHIJÑĀ AND ADVAITA

ABHINAVA'S MAHOPADEŚA-VIMŚATIKA AND ŚAṆKARA'S

NIRGUṆA-MĀNASA-PŪJĀ

After a critical examination of the *Paramārtha-sāra-saṅgraha* of Abhinava-gupta in its relation to the Āryās of Śeṣa in *NIA*, 1 i. pp. 37-72, Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana SASTRI observes: "The conclusion reached here has a significance not confined to the *Paramārtha-sāra*. It is possible that more than one Pratyabhijñā work has derived from Advaita sources." One more Pratyabhijñā work of this nature, deriving, though in part, from an Advaitic minor work, is the minor poem of Abhinava called the *Mahopadeśa Viṃśatika* edited by Dr. K. C. PANDEY at the end of his book on Abhinava, (pp 407-408, Chowk. Series, Studies I). Of these twenty verses of Abhinava, the verses 13 to 18 forming the latter part of the poem are more or less completely taken from a minor poem ascribed to Śaṅkara called variously *Nirguṇa-mānasa-pūjā*, *Ātma-pūjā*, *Parā-pūjā* and so on.

This minor work of Śaṅkara is printed as *Nirguṇa-mānasa-pūjā* in volume 18 of the Complete Works of Śaṅkara of the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, but in this text there are a few omissions. The two Stotra Collections of the Gujarati News Press of Bombay give this work as *Nirguṇa-mānasa-pūjā* and the texts here are full. (*Bṛhat-stotra-ratna-hāra*, part 2, pp 801-3 and *Bṛhat-stotra-muktāhāra*, part 2, pp. 424-427). The text comprises two parts, the first being the pupil's questions as to how one could do the ritual of worship in the case of the one, attributeless and all-comprehending Ātman, and the second part being the teacher's answers setting forth a scheme of 'ideal' worship. Abhinava takes the former question-part and incorporates it in his work with an introduction, a few elaborations and a brief finish, of his own. When we examine the mss of this work of Śaṅkara we find that it is available in a shorter version also containing the former question-part only, but with a verse or two at the end containing a brief reply or explanation. We also see that the name of the work varies with each ms almost.

In the Tanjore Descriptive Catalogue, No. 7400 is the same work, but called *Svātma-pūjā* and containing only the answer portion. This is the BURNELL Ms. noted by AUFRECHT on p. 75lb of his *CC*, I. In the Descriptive Catalogues of the Madras Government Oriental Library, No. 8610 gives, like the Tanjore ms, only the latter answer-part but calls the work *Ātma-mānasika-pūjā*, No 8611 in the same Catalogue represents a ms of the whole work with both the question-part and the answer-part, but the work is here named *Ātma-līṅgārcana*; the next number, 8612, in the same Catalogue, contains only the former part of question and is described in the colophon as *Dakṣināmūrti-mānasa-pūjā (vidhi)*, and this last is the same ms as noted by AUFRECHT in *CC*, III p 52b, Sg I. 112. In the Triennial Catalogues of the same Madras Library there are two more mss, Nos. R. 1419 (n) and 1419 (o). These two texts contain only the answer-part with a few lines at the end by way of answer. The former of these two mss is called *Ātma-pūjā* and the latter *Nirguṇa-stāka-pūjā*. The readings of these two mss agree with those known to Abhinava, and the concluding verse of the latter, R 1419 (o), seems to be the germ out of which the first 12 verses of Abhinava's *Mahopadeśa-viṃśatika* have grown. We have the same work of Śaṅkara in the *Ātma-līṅga-pūjā-paddhati* in HALL, p. 132.

The 7th verse in the text in ms R. 1419 (n) describes this worship as 'Parā

pūjā', and this expression is retained by Abhinava in the last verse. In the *Bṛhat-stotra-ratnākara* of the N. S. Press and in the first part of one of the Stotra Collections of the Gujarati Press, this shorter version is printed with the title *Parā-pūjā*. AUFRECHT notes also a ms. of this work with the name *Parā-pūjā*. (B. iv. 68 C. C. I, 327a).

I give below the correspondences between the latter part of Abhinava's *Mahopadeśa-vimśatika* and the former part of the *Nirguṇa-mānasa-pūjā* of Sankara, showing also the differences which are only slight.

MAHOPADEŚA-VIMŚATIKA	NIRGUṆA-MĀNASA-PŪJĀ
<p>अरूपस्य कुतो ध्यानं 12c. } निर्गुणस्य च नाम किम् 12d. } पुर्णस्यावाहनं कुत्र 13a. सर्वीधारस्य चासनम् 13b स्वच्छस्य पाद्यमर्घ्यं च 13c. शुद्धस्याचमनं कुतः 13d. निर्मलस्य कुतस्स्नानम् 14a. वस्त्रं विश्वोदरस्य च 14b. निलेपस्य कुतो गन्धः 14c. रम्यस्याभरणं कुतः 14d.</p> <p>निरालम्बस्योपवीतम् 15a.</p> <p>पुष्पं निर्वासनस्य च 15b</p> <p>अप्राणस्य कुतो धूपः 15c.</p> <p>चक्षुर्हीनस्य दीपकः 15d.</p> <p>नित्यतृप्तस्य नैवेद्यम् } 16 a-b. ताम्बूलं च कुतो विभोः }</p> <p>प्रदक्षिणमनन्तस्य 16c.</p>	<p>Additions of Abhinava.</p> <p>same 2a. same 2b. same 2c. same 2d. same 3a.</p> <p>वासो विश्वोदरस्य 3b. same 4a.</p> <p>same 4b in Madras ms. R. 1419 (o); same in R. 1419(n) but 3d here. In the printed texts we read as 4c-d: निर्विशेषस्य का भूषा कोऽलंकारो निराकृतेः । same 4c in R. 1419 (o) and same 3c in R. 1419 (n). but in the printed text we have 3c-d: अगोत्रस्य त्ववर्णस्य कुतस्तस्योपवीतकम् । same 4d in R. 1419 (o); 4b in R. 1419 (n). 4b in printed texts: अग्राणस्य कुतो धूपः 5a in R. 1419 (o). निर्गन्धस्य कुतो धूपः 4c in R. 1419 (n). निरञ्जनस्य किं धूपैः 5a in printed texts.</p> <p>चक्षुर्हीनस्य दीपकम् 5b in R. 1419 (o). स्वप्रकाशस्य दीपकम् 4d in R. 1419 (n). दीपैर्वा सर्वसाक्षिणः 5b in printed texts. same 5c-d in R. 1419 (o). नित्यतृप्तस्य नैवेद्यं निष्कामस्य फलं कुतः । ताम्बूलं च विभोः कुत्र 5a-b-c in R. 1419(n). निजानन्दैकतृप्तस्य नैवेद्यं किं भवेदिह । विधानन्दयितृप्तस्य किं ताम्बूलं प्रकल्पते ॥ 5c-d and 6a-b in printed texts. same 7a in R. 1419 (o). same 6c in R. 1419 (n).</p>

अद्वितीयस्य कुतो नतिः 16d.

स्वयं प्रकाशमानस्य
कुतो नीराजन विभोः } 17a-b

वेदवाचामवेदस्य
कुतस्तोत्रं विधीयते । 17c d.
अन्तर्बहिश्च पूर्णस्य
कथमुद्गासनं भवेत् । 18a-b

भेदहीनस्य विश्वत्र
कथं च हवनं भवेत् । 18c-d
पूर्णस्य दक्षिणा कुत्र 19a.

नित्यतृप्तस्य तर्पणम्
नित्यर्जनं व्यापकस्य
अप्रत्यक्षस्य क्षमापणम् } 19b-c-d.

same 7c in printed texts.

same 7b in R. 1419 (o).

अद्वितीयस्य का नतिः 6d in R. 1419 (n).

same 7d in D. 8612.

प्रमाणोऽद्वयवस्तुनः 7d in printed texts.

same 6c-d in R. 1419 (o) but with भवेत्
for विभोः

same 6a-b in R. 1419 (n) but with नीराज-
नविधिः at the end.

स्वयंप्रकाशचिद्रूपः योऽसावर्कादिभासकः ।

गीयते श्रुतिभिस्तस्य नीराजनविधिः कुतः ॥

6c-d. 7a-b in printed texts.

same in printed texts ; 8a-b.

same in R. 1419n ; 7a-b.

same except for विभो in place of भवेत्
in D. 8612.

अन्तर्बहिः संस्थितस्य चोद्गासनविधिः कुतः ।
8c-d in printed texts.

an addition of Abhinava.

लक्ष्मीनाथस्य दक्षिणा 6b in R. 1419 (o)

नित्यानन्दस्य दक्षिणा 5d in R. 1419 (n)

additions of Abhinava.

Madras

V. RAGHAVAN.

THE UTTARA KĀŚĪ PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF GUHA.

This inscription was discovered at Uttara Kāśī in Tehri-Gharwal, by Pandit Chiddure Maṭha Virabhadra ŚARMA of Secunderabad (Deccan), who took an impression of it and has published some preliminary notices.¹ The inscription is engraved on the *dhvaja stambha* before the temple of Śiva at the Uttara Kāśī. The pillar is called a *Sakti stambha* in the inscription and was erected to commemorate the victories of the ruler Guha. The pillar is now called a *triśūla* and current legends assert that Śiva's *triśūla* after the destruction of Tripurāśura, was established in this place.

The inscription is engraved in late Gupta characters of about the sixth century, but earlier than the Banskhera grants of Harsa. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the florid Kāvya style of the record is reminiscent of the Allahabad inscription of Harṣeṇa and the Mehrauli inscription of Candrar. The metres used

1 Vishnū, 1939, *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, 1939.

are *Sardūla-vikrīḍita* and *Sragdharā*. The text begins with the symbol for *Om*, and ends with the letter *ṭha* (○).

Text.

*Om Āsīd yaḥ kṣitipo Gaṇeśvara itī prakhyāta kirttirnaraiḥ
Cakre yena Bhavasya veśma himavacchṛṅgōchchṛtam dīptimat |
Kṛtvānūr Vanaṣṭādhipaḥ svakṛpanaiḥ sāmāya bhūgya śrīyam |
Smṛtvā śakra suhṛttvam utsukamanā yātaḥ Sumērvūlayam |
Pratyastasya mahābhujō vipuladr̥k pīnomatōrasaḥ |
rūpa tyāga nayaḥ anamga dhanada Vyāsāntitōdgataḥ |
nāmnā Śrī Guha ityudāra caritaḥ saddharma dhuryas satām |
śaktim śatrumānoratha pramathanim Sambhoś cakārāgrataḥ ||
Prātaḥ prātaḥ mayūkhair urubhir avnalam śārvaṇam dhm ā(dhva) ntaṃōghnam
nāluncan ścāru tārāmkara parīkarōdāra śārodaratvam |
svambimbam citra bimbāmbara tala tilakam yāvadar̥kko vidhattē
tāvat kīrtis sukīrtis cīramarimathanasyāstu rājñāḥ sthureyam.*

Summary.

There was a ruler named Gaṇeśvara whose praises were sung by men and who erected the resplendant temple of Bhava, high as the peak of Himavat. This forest-ruler (*vanajādhipa*) considering all his wealth (including *amātya* etc.) as less than an atom and remembering the friendship of Indra, went to Sumeru with a cheerful mind. After him, his son, Guha by name, strong-armed, wide-eyed, broad-chested, who had surpassed Manmatha, Kubera and Vyāsa in good looks, charity and *naya* respectively, leading a gracious life and engaged in righteous activities, made this *śakti* (pillar) in front of Sambhu, to frustrate the ambition of the enemies. As long as the sun exists destroying darkness, like an ornament in the heavens, so long will remain the good fame of this king, who was the destroyer of his enemies.

This Gaṇeśvara, who was the ruler of the forests (unless *vanajādhipa* is a mistake for *manujādhipa*) may have been an *āṭavika rāja* as indicated in the inscription of Samudra Gupta.¹ As is well known Samudra Gupta is said to have uprooted the kings of Āryāvarta and to have been served by all the rulers of the forests.

*Rudradēva Matila Nāgadatta Candravarma
Gaṇapati-nāga Nāgasēna-Acyutanandī Balavarma-
āḍyanēka Āryāvarta rāja prasabhōddharaṇōd-
vṛtta prabhāva mahataḥ ; paricārīkikṛta sar-
vāṭavika rājasya . . .*

Gaṇapati-nāga however cannot be identified with Gaṇeśvara of the present inscription, though the names appear to be similar. The Allahabad inscription is far earlier and moreover Gaṇapati-nāga is a ruler of Āryāvarta and is distinguished from the *āṭavika rājas*. The present inscription does not mention the servitude of either Gaṇeśvara or Guha to any other paramount ruler. Gaṇapati-nāga's coins have been found at Narwar and Besnagar. K. P. JAYASWAL assigns him to c. 315-340 A.D. and says he is the author of the *Bhāva Sataka*.² But WINTERNITZ has rejected the reading *Gajavaktra Śrī* and says that JAYASWAL's conjecture is baseless.⁴

The *āṭavika rājas* of the Allahabad inscription are usually taken to mean the forest-chiefs of the south. Dr. Roy CHAUDHURI points out that *Āṭavika* may be the equivalent of *Ālavaka* (Ghazipur?) and the forest territory near Dabhāla. Sandhyākara Nandin in his *Rāma Carita* mentions *Kōṭāṭavi*. Rao Bahadur K. N.

2 C. I. I. III Allahabad Inscription I. 19 ff.

3 *History of India* 150 to 300 A.D.

4 *I.H.Q.*, March 1936.

DIKSHIT,⁵ with reference to *Kōta Kulaja* of the Allahabad inscription mentions the find of Kōta coins in north-east Rajputana and Delhi, while RAPSON⁶ mentions coins with the legend "Kota" near the Śrāvastī region. The connection with Kōtas of Nīlagiris in the south seems to be far fetched. But in the Allahabad inscription the āṭavika rājas are mentioned soon after the rulers of Uttarāpatha and before the southern rulers, implying that they belonged to the Himālayan regions. Therefore it may be conjectured that the ancestors of Gaṇeśvara may have paid tribute to the Guptas, but in the sixth century Gaṇeśvara seems to have thrown off the allegiance after the decline of the Gupta power.

Gaṇeśvara is said to have been the friend of Śakra. Yuwan-Chwang mentions one Buddha Gupta (*Fo-to-kuo-to*) who was the son of Śakrāditya. Śakrāditya is identified by some scholars with Mahēndrāditya i.e. Kumāra Gupta I (413-456 A.C.). But the palæography of the present inscription seems to prove the impossibility of the contemporaneity of the Gaṇeśvara and Kumāra Gupta I. Therefore the natural meaning of Śakra as Indra should be accepted.

Another point of interest is in the mention of Kubera and Vyāsa as well known for renunciation (*tyāga*) and *Naya*. Kubera as far as is known is a hoarder and not a dispenser of wealth. Vyāsa's proficiency in *naya* may refer to Vyāsa Smṛti, quoted by Aparārka and the *Smṛti Candrikā*.⁷ But it is doubtful whether the Vyāsa Smṛti is so old and it is more probably a reference to the Rājāniti portions of the Mahābhārata.

Mysore.

S. SRIKANTHA ŚĀSTRĪ.

VĀMADEVA-PĀD-ĀNUUDHYĀTA

Verse 66 of the Malkāpuram inscription of Śaka 1183 (A.D. 1262) runs :—

अथ नृपशेखरमालालितपादोत्र वामशंभुभूत ।

अद्यापि कलत्रुरीश यच्चरणाशयकाः प्रशस्यन्ते ॥

The predecessor's predecessor of this Śaiva pontiff Vāmaśambhu was Sadbhāvaśambhu who founded the Golakī-maṭha in Dāhala at the time of Kalacuri Yuvarāja (I or II). Vāmaśambhu was therefore very probably a contemporary of Karna. Some early Çālukya grants, moreover, prove that a king was sometimes mentioned as *pādānuudyāta* of (or, by) his religious teacher. Considering all these facts, we thought that the identification of Vāmaśambhu with Vāmadeva of the passage *Vāmadeva-pādānuudyāta* found in the inscriptions of Kalacuri Karna and his successors is now proved beyond doubt, in spite of the royal titles attributed to Vāmadeva. I tried to explain the significance of these titles in my paper in *IHQ*, IV, p. 96 ff, in which a few suggestions of Prof. H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI were also incorporated.

In *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F W Thomas*, p. 152 ff, Prof. V. V. MIRASHI has offered a new suggestion regarding the problem. He refers to an inscription at Saugor, which is placed about the middle of the eighth century on grounds of palæography. According to Prof. MIRASHI's reading, this epigraph refers to King Sankaragana who was *pādānuudyāta* of (or, by) VĀMARĀJADEVA (previously read by HIRALAL as Vāgharājadeva). This Vāmarājadeva has been identified by the Professor with Vāmadeva mentioned in the Benares grant (1042 A.D.) of Karna and several later Kalacuri inscriptions. It is however difficult

⁵ *Proc. First Oriental Conference; Indian Museum Cat. I.* p. 258

⁶ *JRAS* 1898.

⁷ KANE, *History of Dharma Śāstra*, Vol. I.

to believe that Vāmarājadeva of the Saugor record was remembered *after full three centuries* by Karna and his successors who called themselves *Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta* in their records. We know of no such thing from the epigraphical literature of ancient India. This difficulty therefore has got to be explained. I am afraid, Prof. MİRASHI's suggestion cannot be accepted without further evidence.

Calcutta.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

KOVIDĀNANDA WITH KĀDAMBINĪ OF ĀŚĀDHARA

Day by day the Ujjain Oriental Mss Library is becoming a store-house of precious gems. Starting as an infant institution with only 676 MSS. in 1931, it has secured over 600 MSS of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and other modern Indian languages. Recently it purchased a collection of MSS. from a local Pandit in which there are several unpublished works on literature and other sections of the Sāstras. The *Kovidānanda* is one of them. Notices of this work of Āśādhara are found in *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Theodore AUFRECHT and the published edition of the *Sāhityadarpana* by KANE but no reference to the existence of this work is found in any of the Oriental Libraries in India. From the information given in the works noted above, it appears that there were two authors of the same name. The first was a Jain author, his father and grandfather being Sallakṣṇa and Cāhaḍa respectively. He belonged to Vyāghreraṇvāla varṇśa and compiled अष्टांगहृदयोद्योत, काव्यालंकारटीका, ग्रह-गणित etc. and his supposed time was about 1200 A.C. The author of the present work prepared कुवलयानन्दकारिका टीका, त्रिवेणिका and अद्वैतविवेक besides कोविदानन्द, and therefore appears to have flourished in the 17th century; for, Appaya Dikṣita's supposed time was between 1520 to 1592 A.D. (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, by KANE, p. 680).

The MS. is dated Śaka 1733, Kārtika, bright fortnight, Tuesday the 5th i.e. 1811 A.D., the 22nd, of October and is legibly written on Straw-paper in fine black ink by one Rama Kṛṣṇa Kadamba- the ancestor of the present holder Hari Sāstri KALAMAKA of Ujjain for his own use and is therefore 128 years old. It is only in 16 leaves and is of the size in 10"×4½". Half an inch space is left for margin. The text is written in the middle space of the page while the commentary is given on either sides of the text. Red pigment is used for marking the number of ślokaś, colophons, etc. There are no mistakes committed by the scribe. The Commentary mentions the following works and authors: वृत्तिवार्तिक, निरुक्त, विश्वकोश, अमरकोश, Pāṇini, शिशुपालवध, प्रातिशाख्य, कुमार संभव, कुवलयानन्द, वाक्यपदीय, महाभाष्य, शिवतत्त्वविवेक, कालिकापुराण, अभिधानचिन्तामणि, छांदोग्योपनिषत्, स्फोटवाद, व्यास, वामन. Quotations from unknown Smṛtis are also recorded. The language of the author's *Kādambinī* is easy to understand and is a good production of the text which only defines three powers of a word, viz. अभिधा, लक्षणा and व्यञ्जना. 'गंगायां घोषः' used generally as an example for indicating and suggesting the different meanings of powers by other authors, is altogether absent in this work and its place is taken up by a new similar example रेवायां उष्कारलिंग. The following is a table showing the number of Ślokaś of chapters:—

I	अभिधा परिच्छेद	number of ślokaś	51
II.	लक्षणा	number of ślokaś	32
III.	व्यञ्जना	number of ślokaś	42

In this way there are altogether 125 verses. The Kārikās are easier than those appearing in other works such as काव्यप्रकाश or साहित्यदर्पण and the idea is expressed by the author commenting on the मंगलाचरण verse. The MS. begins thus :—

Com. —

श्रीमन्नृणेशरामचंद्र गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीः ॥

प्रणम्य शंकरं सांभं कोविदानंदनामकं ।

ग्रंथं व्याख्यामि संक्षेपात्स्वकृतं बोधसिद्धये ॥ १ ॥

अथात्र शब्दव्यापारसंशयविश्रुतिकामैः शिष्यैः प्रेरित आशाधरभट्टनामा कविः संक्षिप्तं युक्तियुक्तं कोविदानंदाख्यग्रंथं कुर्वन् शिवोत्कर्षरूपवस्तुनिर्देशात्मकं मंगलमाचरति ॥ त्रिनयनेति ।

Text :—

त्रिनयनलसत्पंचास्यश्रीः षडानननन्दनः

सततमहिमा सप्तर्ष्याद्यैः कृतस्तुतितोषितः ।

जयति जगतां व्याकुर्वाणो जयाकृति नामनी

पुनरपि दधत्कंठेकालः सकालकलोद्दिशतः ॥ १ ॥

प्राचां वाचां विचारेण शब्दव्यापारनिर्णयं ।

करोमि कोविदानंदं लक्ष्यलक्षणलक्षितं ॥ २ ॥

End of the text :—

शब्दब्रह्मविचारेण परंब्रह्मावगम्यते ।

शब्दवृत्तिविचारोयं कृतस्तस्माच्छिवप्रदः ॥ ४१ ॥

शिवस्य भक्त्या समवाप्तसिद्धि-

धीनीरधी रामजिभट्ट आसीत् ।

तत्सूनुनाशाधरभट्टनाम्ना

ग्रथः कृतोयं सुधियां मुदेस्तु ॥ ४२ ॥

इति तृतीयपरिच्छेदः ॥

End of the Com :—

शब्दब्रह्मेति । शिवप्रदः कल्याणदायकः यथाह भगवान्भाष्यकारः । एक. शब्दः सम्यक्प्रयुक्त. स्वर्गे मर्त्ये च कामधुग्भवति ॥ ४१ ॥ अंते शिवशब्दो मंगलार्थः ॥ ४२ ॥

Colophon —

इति श्रीपदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञ रामजी भट्टात्मजाशाधर भट्ट विरचितायां कादविनी रागाख्यायां स्वकृतकोविदानंद व्याख्यायां व्यजनापरिच्छेदस्तृतीयः ॥ ३ ॥ इदं पुस्तकं कदंब रामकुरणेन शके १७३३ कार्ती [ति] क शुद्ध पचम्यां भौमे जवूसरसि लिखित ॥ श्रीरामाय नमः ॥

There is a slight difference in the colophon for the word 'पारावारीण' is found added in the colophon given at the end of the MS कुवलयानन्द कारिकाव्याख्या by the same author (B O R I, Poona, Cat of Alamkāra, p 176). The MS is in a fine condition and deserves publication. The author gives no clue as regards his residence but the following verses in the text attributed in describing the present river Narmadā and its adjacent sacred temple of Sri Omkārēśvara clearly tell us that he

was a resident of that place which was somewhere near to it, i.e. in Nimar. These verses are given below.—

ॐकारलिंग रेवायां शोणैरर्च्यं दिने दिने ।
यतः प्रफुल्लः पद्मिन्यः तन्नेत्यादौ यथाक्रम ॥
प्रासादा संति रेवायां यष्टव्यः प्रविशन्ति यत् ।
प्रदोषे जनसंवाधे शंभावंभः क्षिपति च ॥
रेवा वारीशालिगानि पुष्पिता यत्र पादपाः ।
धन्यः स देश इत्यत्र पूजैत्सुक्यं प्रतीयते ॥

In the 15th verse of the last chapter the author definitely describes his inability of proceeding to Benares as a lone person and says that his last wishes can be fulfilled here at Omkāreśvara. The verse reads thus :—

एकाकिना मया काशी गंतुं शक्या कथं द्विजाः ।
तदीयसहकारेच्छा सन्निधे रत्र गम्यते ॥

It can clearly be seen from the verse and others in Chapters I & II that he was a staunch devotee and lover of Śrī Śiva and Goddess Bhavānī.

Ujjan.

N. V. ATHALEY

PURVĀCĀRYA SAMJÑĀS FOR LAKĀRAS

The ten Pāṇinian *Lakāras* are .

- (1) द series—लट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लेट्, लोट् ।
- (ii) ङ् series—लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ् ।

These names appear to be *pāṇini-upajñā*, but they were preceded by *saṃjñās* which perhaps had a better claim to express the tenses and moods they indicated. The earlier terms belonged to the category of *anvārtha-saṃjñās*. It is not a little significant that some of these should have been employed by Kātyāyana himself though the Pāṇinian terms were well-known to him. They were as follows :—

1. लट्=भवन्ती

Kātyāyana, III. 2. 123. 1, III. 2. 102. 4; III. 3. 133. 5.

Kātyāyana, II 3. 1. 11

Kariya explaining III. 2. 123 says—भवन्तीति लटः पूर्वाचार्यसंज्ञा, and the same is repeated on III 3. 133. 5 and II. 3. 1. 11

2. लिट्=परोक्षा

Patañjali on I. 2. 18 quotes a *śloka-vārtikā* in which the older *saṃjñā* is used.

3. लुट्=श्वस्तनी

Kātyāyana on III. 3 15, has a *vārtikā* in which the older term is employed .

परिदेवने श्वस्तनी भविष्यन्त्यर्थे । KIELHORN, Vol II. p. 140.

4. लृट्=भविष्यन्ती

The *vārtikā* quoted above uses this *saṃjñā* also.

5. लेट् — I am unable to trace its earlier equivalent in the writings of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. The Atharva Prātiśākhya edited by Pt. Viśva Bandhu SASTRI, uses the term NAIGAMĪ (II. 3. 2) which is in all probability the name of *Leṭ*.

6. लोट्=प्रेषणी

This is also found in the Atharva Prātiśākhya in sūtra II. I. 11 and II. 3. 21.

7. लङ्=ह्यस्तनी

This samjñā is used in the Atharva Prātiśākhya in III. 2. 5. The distinction between *Svastanī* and *Hyastanī* is brought out in the Pāṇinian system by a single word *anadyatana* as applied to *bhaviṣya* and *bhūta kālas*. Patañjali in one place (*ibid*, Vol. II. p. 57) distinguishing the three tenses (*kāla-viśeṣān*) uses the terms *adyatana*, *hyastana* and *śvastana*.

8. लिङ् — I have not yet traced the older samjñās for the *āśiṣ* and *vidhi liṅs*.

9. लुङ्=प्रयतनी

This *samjñā* is used both in Kātyāyana, II. 4. 3. 2, III. 2. 102. 6, VI. 4. 114. 3 and in the Atharva Prātiśākhya, II. 2. 6. *Adyatani* is equivalent to *sāmānya-bhūta*. The *Udyota* remarks on II. 4. 3, 'प्रयतनीति लुङः संज्ञा', and this is supported in clearer terms by *Nyāsa*, 'लुङः पूर्वाचार्यप्रणीता एषा संज्ञा ।'

10. लृङ् — The *pūrvacārya* term for this mood is not yet available.

The prevalence of these terms in Kātyāyana shows his adherence to a tradition other than that of Pāṇini and perhaps older than the great grammarian. The lengthy discussions by Kātyāyana on the pivot of Pāṇini's sūtras frequently show that the Vārtikakāra did not confine himself strictly to the legitimate scope of the system with which he was primarily dealing.

Lucknow

VĀSUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

TOCHARIAN AND THE INVALIDITY OF THE SATEM-CENTUM HYPOTHESIS FORMING A PARALLEL TO THE HITTITE AND THE RATHAS-PATĪṢ HYPOTHESIS

In my paper, "Postulation of two probable degrees of abstraction in the primitive Indo-European tongue in the light of compound accentuation",¹ I have shown how unexpected and decisive confirmation for the theory of Holger PEDERSEN to explain the identity of the nominative and genitive singular forms of *-a*-stems of Hittite is furnished by my *Rāthas-pāṭiṣ*-hypothesis. I have also drawn attention to the fact that what seems to be an actual demonstration of this has been given by H. PEDERSEN in his recent work² which is in large part an argument against the Indo-Hittite hypothesis.³

1 *Thomas Commemoration Vol* Bombay March, 1939, pp. 227-8

2 H. PEDERSEN, *Hittitisch und die anderen Indo-Europäischen Sprachen*, 1938, Copenhagen, p. 26.

3 Cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language*, Vol. XIV, 1938, p. 290.

One interesting feature about my hypothesis is, whether we accept the Indo-Hittite hypothesis or not,⁴ the proposal to interpret *Ráthas-páti-š* as containing the stem *rátha-* to which the genitive singular termination *-s* was added in pre-historic times most satisfactorily explains the curious phenomenon of *-a-* stems in the Hittite being identical both in the nominative and genitive singular.⁵ The *-o-* declension in the primitive Indo-European has been hitherto supposed by all scholars to have the genitive singular in *-s(1)o* or (In Italic, Linguan, and Celtic) in *-is*. Nevertheless Holger PEDERSEN, always distinguished for his original and challenging ideas, has made an attractive suggestion⁷ that the identity of the nominative and the genitive singular of the *-a-* stems may be an archaism in Hittite.⁸ Until quite recently, E. H. STURTEVANT⁹ was wavering between the theory of W. PEDERSEN (already referred to) and that of H. PEDERSEN. The value of my hypothesis lies in the fact that it gives an external proof from the old Indian to H. PEDERSEN's theory.

Here is a parallel to the question of Tocharian and *satem* -centum hypothesis. It was shown by MEILLET¹⁰ that Tocharian cannot be assigned to the western group

4 This I have already hinted in my paper *Op. Cit.* p. 221, Footnote 2. BENVENISTE [*Origines de la formation des Noms en Indo-Européen I.* Paris 1935, pp. 100-8] establishes certain Hittite archaisms [cf. also E. H. STURTEVANT, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, 1933, p. 131. *Language*, Vol. 13, 1937, pp. 285-91, and also *Language* Vol. 9, 1933, pp. 1-11] which go to prove the Indo-Hittite hypothesis. In this connection it must be noted that Tocharian *ylār* 'way' the Lat. *iter* gen. *itineris* 'way, road' shows the original heteroclitic *n*-stem. Walter PETERSEN, *Lang.* 15-1939, p. 75. [Contra BONFANTE, *Indo-Germanische Forschungen*, Vol. LII, p. 221. Benveniste himself does not seem to accept the Indo-Hittite hypothesis]. See E. H. STURTEVANT, *American Journal of Philology*, 1938, LIX, pp. 96-7.

5. For several theories regarding this question, see my paper *op. cit.* p. 228, footnote 1. In addition to them, it is interesting to note that E. H. STURTEVANT formerly advanced the theory that in the *a-* stems (originally *o-* stems) the ending might have represented original *eso* with loss of a final vowel, cf. *Language* pp. 30, 31, Vol. II, 1926. COUVREUR did not accept W. PETERSEN's theory of analogy with the genitive of *ā-* stems in I. E. *-ās*, cf. COUVREUR, *De hettitische h een bijdrage tot de studie van het Indo-Europeesche vocalisme* Bibliothèque du Muséon 5, Leuven, 1937, p. 211. E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language*, Vol. XIV, p. 75, 1938. Walter PETERSEN, *Lang.*, IX, 1933, p. 24.

6. See LOUIS H. GRAY, on Indo European Noun-Declension especially of *-o-* and *-ā-* stems. *Language*, Vol. 8, 1932, p. 182. Cf. H. PEDERSEN, *Op. Cit.* p. 26.

7. See H. PEDERSEN, *Etudes Lituanienes*, Copenhagen, 1933, p. 23.

8. For instance, Hittite *atas at-at-as*. In this connection, it is interesting to note that there is a Hindustani word *atah* whose spelling is *ata* but whose pronunciation is *ah-tah*. Cf. Amarnath JHA, some Indian words in the Oxford English Dictionary. *The Kuppaswami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, p. 65.

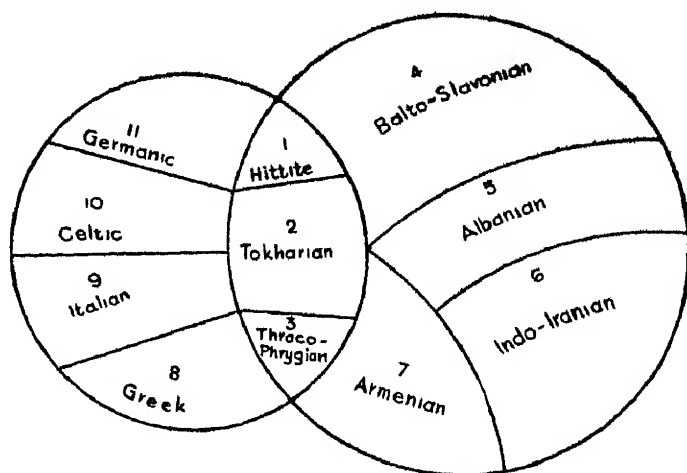
9. E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language*, Vol. XIV, p. 75.

10. MEILLET, *Indo-Germanische Jahrbuch*, Vol. I, pp. 14-17, 1914. OSTITIR joins to Thracophrygian the language of the ancestors of Scythians (Prescythian), which Herodotus mentions in book IV, chapter XI. The "Crimean" of "Crimea" preserves still perhaps the remnants [see OSTIR, *Illyro-Thrakisches Archiv za arbanasku starinu, jeziku etnologiju*, I, (Beograd, 1923), p. 133] VASMER, *Die Iranier in Südrussland (Veröff. des balt. und slav. Instit. III, Leipzig)*, p. 4. FEIST, *Kultur der Indo-Germanen*, p. 404. This hypothesis appears necessary because of Tocharian and Hittite. Sometimes Phrygothracian is assigned to the *satem* group and sometimes to the *centum* group according to the exigency of materials. See OSTIR, *Voridg, zahlw.*, p. 294, 290; E. HERMANN K. Z., 50, p. 307, 1922. J. POKORNY, *Die Stellung des Tocharischen im Kreise der idg. Sprachen* in the *Ber. d. Forschungsinst. f. Ost- und O. in Wien*, III, p. 24 ff. But in Tocharian and Hittite the change of *k*, > *k* is certain, and the preservation of *k*, uncertain. In Tocharian, the change of *k*, > *k* in all cases is convincing, for example idg. *g* *zei* 'A *Kakmu* "come, arrived" and A *Kum*, can easily be considered as a weak form, — idg. *pek*, : A *pakku* "cooked, done, dished" "B *pak* "to cook" etc.; cf. also SCHRADER-NEHRING, *Realexion*. "On ne se trompera sanadoute pas beaucoup en attribuant au tocharien une place intermédiaire entre l'italo-celtique d'une part, le slave et l'arménien d'autre" [MEILLET,

of languages. Tocharian does not seem to differentiate between the primitive Indo-European palatals and labio-velars. We find I. E. \hat{k} (c) as $-k$ in *kante* ('hundred'), *okt* ('eight').¹¹ In *Miço* ('urine') besides Gāthā-Avestan *māzāsi*, ('he urinates')

Indo Germanisches Jahrbuch, 1, 1914, p. 17]. OSTIR's view nearly comes to this. Likewise in Hittite, the preservation of the labiovelar is at least uncertain and not ensured by the form *Kuw*— "who, which" which is ambiguous. See *Idg. Zählw.*, p. 195.

ISOGLOSSES.



1 + 2 + 3 : Central Indo-European (mere velars).

4 + 5 + 6 + 7 : Satem languages ($K_s > K$).

8 + 9 + 10 + 11 : Centum language ($K_s < K$).

1 + 2 + 3 + 9 + 10 : languages with ending *r*.

9 + 10 + 11 : languages with mixed preterite.

6 + 7 + 8 : languages with augment.

Cf. J. SCHRIJNEN, *MSL*, Vol. 23, p. 62.

11 For the theory postulating the existing of the quartel system in the primitive I.E. from the word for eight, cf. J. MCKENZIE, *The quartel system in I.E.* pp 1-4 Leeds studies in English and Kindred languages. No. 6. 1937. J. MCKENZIE concludes 'the large number of elements both lexicocological and morphological, common to I.E. and Uralian' (i. e. Finno-Ugrian Plus Samoyede) forces us to conclude one of two things either I.E. and Uralian are related or primitive Indo-European and primitive Uralian were in contact at an exceedingly early period. It is therefore highly significant that Samoyede presents an expression of '8' as '2×4' (thus identical with our postulated formation of I.E. *oktōu*) [on account of analogy with this, even the original **séptm* has changed into **septm*. Cf. Hirt, *Handbuch der urgermanischen II*. Feil 1932, p. 107, which is quite anomalous from the Uralian point of view" See J. MACKENZIE, *Ibid* p. 4 Cf. B. COLLINDER, *Indo-Uralisches sprachgut* A. S. C. ROSS, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, Vol. VIII, pp 227-34. With regard to the theory of the Dravidic origin of the octaval system, cf. Mark COLLINS, *Dravidic Studies* No. 4, 1926, Univ. of Madras. Depuis longtemps on est convaincu que l'une des causes principales de l'altération de l'indo-européen primitif est le *substrat*, notamment en Europe qu'il s'est opéré fatalement un mélange de langue et de cultures. D'autre part, sans vouloir même parler de "œuvre sans doute géniale, mais renfermant trop de conclusions prématurées de M. Trombetti, des Savants, opérant d'après les méthodes les plus sévères voire même scrupuleuses, ont cru pouvoir rattacher à l'indo-européen les langues finno-ougriennes (avec le Samoyède) [Wiklund, Paasonen, Jokl], de même que le chamito-sémitique, peut-être avec plus de probabilité encore (Herm. MOLLER, *Semitisch und Indo-Germanisch Konsonanten* Teil I. Copenhagen, 1907. Die gemein-indo-germanisch-semitischen

palçalīe ('a burning') besides Avestan *brāzaiti* ('it shines') and Greek *phlēgō* ('I burn'), there is secondly assibilation before original front vowels *ç*. Likewise in *pinklē* ('fifth') and in derivative of the relative-interrogative pronoun such as *kuṇre* ('if') and *kuṛi* ('when'), the *k* is from the primitive Indo-European *q** (*k**).

In *kaknu* is to be traced the perfect reduplication *g^w em* (*g^w em*) of the primitive Indo-European root *g^w* (*g^w*). There is secondary assibilation of I.E. *q** (*k**) in *puç piç* ('five'), *çem* ('he has come') etc. The I. E. labiovelar and the original palatal came to be respectively represented by a sibilant and a stop sound in *ṣāka* ('fifty') besides Sanskrit *pañcāśat* and Greek *pentēkon*. Tocharian being neither *satem*- nor the *centum*-language, MEILLET's suggestion is that it probably lies between the two.¹² "Like a very deep furrow there runs through the Indo-germanic Linguistic stock a dividing line, broken into capriciously by secondary shiftings, between the *centum* and *satem* languages. These shiftings have brought it about that we can no longer separate *centum* and *satem* from each other by a single line, as even centuries ago there were already *centum* languages in the *satem* area, and even further afield.

However much stress we lay upon the division into *centum* and *satem* languages, there are still other considerations which open for us still deeper perspectives, still wider vistas. Through the whole of the Indo-Germanic mother language, cutting across both *centum* and *satem* there runs another, older, much more sharply defined line of division, which proves that the Indo-Germanic mother language itself was already a mixed language."¹³

Worttypen der zwei- und drei konsonantigen Wurzel und die indogermanisch-semitschen, Vokalischen Entsprechungen *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLII, 1909, pp. 174-91. *Indoeuropäisch-semitische Sammenlignende Glossarium*: Holger PEDERSEN Die idg-semitische Hypothese und die idg. Lautlehre. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Vol. 22, 1908, pp. 341-65. A Cuny, *Études Prégrammaticales sur le Domaine des Indo-Européennes et Chamito-Sémitiques*, Paris, 1924; *Contribution à la Phonétique comparée de l' Indo-Européen et du Chamito-Sémitique*, BSL, 32, 1931, pp. 29-53] J. SCHRIJNEN, L' Alarodien et l' accent D' intensité initial dans le langues Indo-Européennes. *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, Vol. 24, p. 53. For the existence of *Vigesimal system* in Albanian, Etruscan, Basque and then in Sumerian [especially in Etruscan, see OSTIR, *Vorindogermanische (= alarodische) Zählwörter auf dem Balkan II* [Archiv III, Beograd, 1926, p. 144]. On the *Vigesimal system* in India, see PRZYLUCKI, *Roznik Orientalistyczny* IV, 230g. Also O. STEIN, The Numeral 18 *The Poona Orientalist*, Volume I. 1936, p. 36 and f. n. 4. The predictions for the number 18 in the Indian literature may be due to compromise between the decimal and the octaval system. See Collins, *ibid.* p. 20. See also P. B. Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 13-14. Cf. "counting by twenties is still current amongst some lower castes of Bengal." *ibid.* p. 16, f.n. "Some philologists, including Isaac Taylor and Kossinna, in fact believe that the Indo-European and Ugro-Finnish linguistic families are sprung from a common agglutinating stock. It is in any way certain that the Winno-Vgrians borrowed many words from many Indo-European languages, beginning possibly (but not probably) with primitive Aryan and then assimilating Indo-Iranian, Slavonic and Teutonic vocables." CHILDE, *The Aryans*, p. 68. In Tocharian we have *okāt* 'eight' beside *okta-*, *ṣpāt* 'seven' beside *ṣapta-*. The dropping of the unstable vowel *a* is clearly seen in —*māt*—of 1 pl pres *saka-nt-ar* which with the pret *Kalpā-māt* gives good evidence of the detachability of *r*-endings in Tocharian, the endings with *r* being used in the present while those without *r* being used in the preterite or imperfect. Cf. Walter PETERSEN, Hittite and Tocharian *Language*, Vol. IX, 1933, p. 14. *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 53, p. 209, f. n. 33, 1932. See also SIEG, SIEGLING and SCHULZE, *Toch. Gram.*, pp. 325, ff. and Walter PETERSEN, The Personal endings of the middle voice. *Language*, Vol. 12, 1936, p. 158.

¹² E. H. STURTEVANT, Position of Hittite among Indo-European languages. *Language* Vol. 2, 1926 p. 28.

¹³ C. C. UHLENBECK, *The Indogermanic Mother language and mother tribes complex*, *American Anthropologist* Vol. 39, 1937. pp. 385-386. C. C. UHLENBECK thinks that the Indo-European Mother language was composed of two complexes of elements A and B. It is still an open question whether the correlation between

SOMMER¹⁴ has demonstrated that the intractable language Venetic retained the palatals as stop sounds and that in it there was no trace of a labialization of the velars. The Indo-European enclitic *qwe* appears as Venetic *ke*.¹⁵ SOMMER suggests that it might have lost the labialization on account of its lack of accent (see SOMMER, *Ibid.* p. 122). But E. H. STURTEVANT has shown that it is probable that Venetic *Ke* represents the regular treatment of the Velars in that language. His arguments are as follows:—Both Messapian and Albanian are without trace of the labialization of the Velars. Messapian of southern Italy is an off-shoot of Illyrian, and Albanian possibly descended from Illyrian. Herodotus, I, 196, included the Venetic among the Illyrians, and their personal names correspond closely with those of Illyrians.¹⁶ How the Veneto-Illyrian and Hittite and Tocharian invalidate the *Centum-satem* hypothesis has been demonstrated conclusively by E. H. STURTEVANT.¹⁷

the A complex and Centum languages can be definitely established. But "The Uralian character of the A-complex and mesocephaly of the centum speakers stands unchallenged." Cf. C. C. UHLENBECK, *Ibid.* p. 393. Cf. also C. C. UHLENBECK, *der-Indogermaneschen der Indogermanen in Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde*, Amsterdam, 1935, Vol. 77, Series A No. 4. "As a matter of fact, it is possible to demonstrate that between A and centum there exists an anthropological affinity, which is lacking between A and satem or between B and centum." C. C. UHLENBECK, *ibid.* p. 389. In this connection, it may be necessary if only in passing, to call attention to yet another problem. According to MEILLET (*Essai de chronologie des Langues Indo-Européennes. La Théorie du féminin*, pp. 1-28 (exp. p. 11). *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, Vol. 32, 1931 "En hittite, au 1^{er} opposition de l'animé et du neutre (inanimé) est nettement marquée, par les monyens qu'emploie l'Indo-Européen commun, on n'a pass, jusqu'ici, trouvé trace d'une caractéristique du féminin. Étant donné la conservation générale des anciennes formes nominales, il est difficile de croire que le hittite représente ici un état de langue où les caractéristiques du féminin auraient été déjà pleinement développées"), feminine gender is a relatively late development in the Indo-European UHLENBECK does not subscribe to this view. As he says, NIEUWENHUIS' attempt to explain the origin of grammatical differentiation of the sexes on the basis of primeval sexual-totemistic conceptions deserves serious considerations, if only in view of the possibilities which it opens up. UHLENBECK further thinks that the classification of nouns in the PIE should have been derived from the B language [C. C. UHLENBECK, *ibid.*, pp. 388-9.] Holger PEDERSEN [*Hittitisch und die anderen Indo-Europäischen Sprachen*, Copenhagen, 1938, pp. 13-18, 35 f. See E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language*, Vol. 14, 1938, p. 290] also does not subscribe to MEILLET's theory that the lack of the feminine gender is an archaic feature of Hittite. He seeks with ample justification traces of the former presence of this gender in Hittite. So it is certain that in the PIE if not in the Proto-Indo-Hittite, the feminine gender should have existed.

14. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Vol. 42, pp. 90-182, 1934.

15. See SOMMER, *ibid.*, p. 122.

16. See KRETSCHMER, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* 270 f. 1896 *Idg. Sprachwissenschaft*, 10-22, 54, 1925.

17. See *Language*, 1926, Vol. II, p. 128. There is a considerable dispute over the question whether Messapic is a *centum*-language or a *satem*-language. Usually it is assumed that Albanian (a *satem*-language) is a modern representative of an ancient Illyrian dialect and very often Messapic is compared with Albanian. But there is no doubt that the IE palatal stops were not represented by sibilants in Illyrian. [See H. HIRT, *Indo-Germanen*, Vol. II, 1907, p. 609, and 'Stellung des Illyrischen' in *Festschrift für Kiepert*, 181 ff. 1894. Here Hirt criticises Kretschmer's view.] In view of the fact that in Messapic, there is nothing corresponding to the labiovelars of the *centum*-languages, [Latin *quique*, Greek *pentos*, Albanian *peseë*, representing the IE velar stops (*penkue*)] it is possible to surmise that the palatals in Messapic might have been accorded the same treatment as in the *satem*-languages. Suggestion has also been made that venetic belongs to a stratum of IE speech earlier than the cleavage into *centum*- and *satem*-dialects, on the high degree of probability of non-labialisation of the velars and non-sibilisation of the palatals in venetic [cf. CONWAO, *Annual Brit. Sch. et Athens*, 8152, 1901-2]. Accepting this view, Albanian may be taken as a descendant of an Illyrian *satem*-dialect belonging perhaps to a later stratum of Indo-European speech. However, there are other explanations. [Cf. GILES in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* 2.26] J. Whatnough, on the phonology of the Messapic dialect

Now the *Centum-Satem* hypothesis can be invalidated purely through the method of reconstruction of the primitive Aryan. Leonard BLOOMFIELD has demonstrated¹⁸ that the Indo-European palatals came to be represented by stop sounds in the earliest Sanskrit for instance I.E. \hat{g} (j) appears in Sanskrit as j .¹⁹ COLLITS²⁰ advances the argument that the Indo-European \hat{g} (j) must have suffered some change before the Aryan change of g^w (g^w) to g^1 (j) before e and i .

But this can be explained away by the assumption that the original \hat{g} (j) and g^w (g^w) before e and i were distinguished during the Aryan period by pronouncing the former further forward in the mouth than the latter. Thus the primitive Aryan seems to be a *centum* language as far as the treatment of the inherited palatals go. Since in regard to velars, it is a *satem*-language, therefore BRUGMANN's argument²¹ that the classification of the I. E. languages according to the treatment of the palatals agrees with their classification according to the treatment of the labio-velars, falls to the ground.²² In other words, the reconstructed primitive Aryan itself invalidated the *centum-satem* hypothesis. Thus we have seen that even as the invalidity of the *satem-centum* hypothesis established purely through the method of reconstruction of the primitive Aryan alone gets confirmed by independent facts in Tocharian (in Veneto-Illlyrian and Hittite as well), the *râthas-pâris*-hypothesis is also verified by the unique phenomenon presented by the Hittite *-a*-stems where the nominative and genitive singular are identical, which is undoubtedly a feature of the oldest phase of the primitive Indo-European, if not of the proto-Indo-Hittite tongue.

Madras.

C. R. SANKARAN.

ADDENDUM.

There can be no doubt that Hittite and Tocharian have retained old characteristics of the PIE. This is attested by the existence of the labiovelar in these two languages as against the loss of the labialization in adjoining territory. Evidence of the past existence of the labiovelars is thus undoubtedly furnished [cf. E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language*, 6.224]. The palatal stops were developed from the older velars of the PIE, in the *satem*-languages which gave up also the labial element of the labiovelars of the PIE [cf. paper, *NIA*, Vol. I, 1939, p. 632]. H. HIRT came to the conclusion [H. HIRT, *Zur Lösung der gutturalfrage im Indo-Germanischen. Bezzenger's Beiträge*, 24, 218 ff. 1899, *Idg. Gram.* I, 233 ff.] that the palatal stops in the IE were secondary developments from the original velars. "We have only to assume that this change did not reach as far as the *centum*-languages of the West or as Hittite and Tocharian in the East. It was of central origin and failed to penetrate a large part of the IE territory in the one direction and comparatively small part in the other." [Cf. Walter PETERSEN, Hittite and Tocharian, *Language*, Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 12-3]. As regards the Indo-European labiovelars and palatals, both Hittite and Tocharian reflect an older state of affairs. It must be here remembered that J. KURYLOWICZ [*Études indoeuropéennes* I, 1935, Ch. I] advances cogent arguments for establishing definite conditions under which labialized velars must have occurred in the prehistory of the *centum* languages, but his thesis that the labialized velars arose quite independently, in the *centum* languages very late does not seem to be tenable and

Language, Vol. III, 1897, p. 26. [Compare also A. Mayer, *Der Satem charakter des Illyrischen. Glotta* XXIV, 161 ff. and also *Illyrisches K. Z.* 66, 1939, p. 100].

18. *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 36-57, 1911.

19. See my paper, *The New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, p. 632, 1939, E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language* II, pp. 26-27, 1926.

20. *Bezzenger's Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanschen sprachen*, Vol. III, p. 179. 1879.

21. BRUGMANN, K. V. G. 44.

22. See E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language* II, p. 27, 1926.

sound and it is a matter least susceptible of proof. [Cf. J. Whatmough, the development of Indo-European labiovelars with special reference to the dialects of ancient Italy. *Mélanges Linguistiques offerts à M. Holger Pedersen*. Aarhus 1937, p. 47.] It is not easy to agree with Kurylowicz [*op. cit.* pp. 22-23] that the earliest phase of the primitive Indo-European had only palatals and pure velars and that it is even inadmissible to put on the same chronology the problem of labiovelar series with those of the palatal series. [See also E. H. STURTEVANT, *Language*, 12, 1936, p. 141]. The identical treatment of IE explosives leaves us in no doubt as to the question of the early separation of Tocharian and Hittite from the parent language which must have taken place in common. [Cf. Walter PETERSEN, *ibid.* pp. 25-6].

Poona,

C. R. SANKARAN

REVIEWS

The Silappadikāram or The Lay of the Anklet, translated with an Introduction and Notes by V. R. Ramachandra DIKSHITAR, with a Foreword by Jules BLOCH. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, 1939, Royal 8-vo, XI + 392 Price Rs. 15/-

As Prof. Jules BLOCH mentions in his Foreword this translation of a Tamil classic serves two purposes : it brings to scholars not familiar with Tamil its literary excellences in a readable form, it lays before historians source material which would otherwise be inaccessible to non-Tamil scholars. It is based on the edition of *Silappadikāram* by Mm. Dr V. Swaminatha AIYAR.

The Sangam period in Tamil Literature is its Augustan age and Prof. DIKSHITAR demonstrates beyond doubt that the *Sil.* takes its legitimate place among the extant Sangam works and his own researches have shown its importance to the historians of South India. It also represents in a way the earlier musical and dramatic pieces which have been lost beyond recovery. The approximate period of its composition is assigned as the second century A.D. by Prof. DIKSHITAR.

In his learned introduction the translator deals with such topics as the story in the work, the place of *Sil.* in Sangam works, the date of *Ceran̄ Senguttuvan̄* and his achievements, an estimate of his character, *Karikāla* in the *Sil.*, political conditions in Northern India of the period, and of South India, some features of the administration, geographical and religious data, social conditions, superstitions, traces of Aryan culture, etc. It is worthy of the scholar whose contributions to South Indian History are of outstanding merit.

As a piece of literature, as a romance, as a source book for history and sociology, the *Sil.* ranks among the best works produced in early India, and all historians and sociologists should be thankful to Prof. DIKSHITAR for his successful translation of this Sangam masterpiece, presented in beautiful print. For a work printed in India it is remarkably free from misprints and very excellently produced.

S. M. K.

Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. VI, 1781—1785, 1938, Price 15-2-0.

The Imperial Record Department of the Government of India have recently issued the 6th volume of a very useful series of historical Correspondence known as the Persian Calendars, which contain an English summary of the vast amount of Persian letters that passed between the Company's officials in India and the numerous Indian powers. This Persian Correspondence gives a graphic inside picture of Indian politics and very materially supplements the historical information in numerous English papers already published by FORREST and other writers. This series commences with the year 1759, of which five volumes were already out and which had brought the story upto the year 1780. The present volume comprises an account of the transactions of the next five years, the culminating period of Warren Hastings' regime. A short introduction to the volume reviews the important events of this period and will be found suggestive and helpful by the reader in following the contents with interest and ease.

These five years cover the second half of Warren Hastings' administration and possess an absorbing interest in Indian history as they practically ensured the

establishment of British rule in India. The volume contains more than sixteen hundred (1600) letters that passed between the Governor General or his subordinates on the one hand, and the various Indian potentates and chiefs, such as the Emperor of Delhi and his agents, the Nawabs of Oudh, Bengal, Karnatak and Hyderabad, the Rajas of Benares and Nagpur etc. on the other. There are also many news-letters that came to the Government of the Company from the various Indian Courts. The work, it is understood, is to be continued to the end of the 18th century. When completed, it will indeed render a phenomenal service to Indian history.

Books of this kind are not expected to interest the general reader; they will be required mostly by the student-class in the higher grades of Universities. Thus their sale is likely to be very limited, particularly as the prices are rather prohibitive. Will not Government offer these Calendars to genuine students at some concession rates? If they do so, they will indeed earn the lasting gratitude of the poor Indian student.

G. S. SARDESAI.

NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA : THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION

By

V. M. APTE, Poona.

Introductory.

This study is an investigation into the *sources and interpretation* of all the mantras other than those taken from the RgVeda, liturgically employed in the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya Sūtra which belongs to the RgVeda. The connotation of the term *Mantra* is here extended so as to comprise all kinds of liturgical formulas viz. mantras from Samhitās other than the Rg-Veda, passages from the Brāhmaṇas, *Yajus*, *Praśas*, *gāthās* etc.

Only a very small number of such mantras have been traced to their *sources* in Professor STENZLER's edition of the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra in the 'Indische Hausregeln, Leipzig 1864' (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft III Band No. 4) and the translation of the work by Professor OLDENBERG in the Sacred Books of the East, Vol.

Sources. XXIX. In the other editions of the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra viz. the one with the commentary of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa in the Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta 1869), another with a translation in Marathi by LOKAHITAVADI, Bombay 1880, a third with the commentary of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, the Gṛhyapariśiṣṭam and Gṛhyakārikās (second edition by Bhavanishankar SUKHTANKAR, Bombay 1909), a fourth one with a Marathi translation by Nana Yadava TAKLE, (2nd edition by Mahadeo Gangadhar BAKRE, Bombay 1915) and the fifth with the commentary of Haradattācārya edited by T. Ganapati SASTRI, in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. LXXVIII 1923, not even an attempt is made to trace such mantras to their sources.

The Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-mantra-Vyākhyā edited by K. Sāmbaśiva ŚĀSTRĪ in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. CXXXVIII (Śrī Citrodāyamajjari No. XXVII) 1938, is a Sanskrit commentary on the mantras employed in the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra by Śrī Haradattamiśra and it was expected that it would throw some light on the sources of obscure and untraced mantras. But as regards 'sources' the commentator quotes Śaunaka :—

"Anukṛṣṭastu yaḥ kaścit kalpe'tha brāhmaṇe'pivā |
mantrah padyo'thavā gadyo Vāmadevyam nibodhata ||"

[Whenever a yajus is cited in Kalpa or a Brāhmaṇa text, Vāmadeva is to be taken as the Rṣi or author thereof]. A number of early Vedic texts have been published since (i.e. in the period of time following the editions of Professors

STENZLER and OLDENBERG, to date) and more aids in the form of concordances, indexes etc. are now available. I am, therefore, in a position to make the humble claim in the following pages that nearly every non-RgVedic Mantra cited in the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-Sūtra has been traced as a whole or in parts to some definite early source. This problem, I regret to say, has not received the attention it deserves from scholars because in the many excellent editions of Gṛhya Sūtras that have been published till now, the matter has but rarely been taken up with any zeal. This is all the more regrettable in view of the fact that after allowing for mantra variations in the different Vedic Schools we find a fair residuum of Gṛhya mantras common to nearly all the extant Gṛhya Sūtras and that therefore a very thorough-going attempt in connection with one Gṛhya Sūtra would have helped similar attempts in connection with other Gṛhya Sūtras. To take but one instance, in the very scholarly edition of the Vārāha-Gṛhya-Sūtra by Dr RAGHU VĪRA (published by the University of the Punjab, 1932), Appendix II gives a mantra index in which "Such of the mantras as are not to be found in the Vedic Concordance or as show some variations therefrom are marked with an asterisk" (p 54), but the problem is taken up no further, probably because it was not part of the original scheme. A number of mantras marked thus in that edition whose variants are employed in ĀG.* I. 7. 3, 6 & 13, I. 17. 6 & 7; I. 21. 1; I. 24. 32 etc. have been traced to their sources in the following pages.

In view of this almost general neglect of the valuable mantra-material (non-RgVedic, I mean) in the Gṛhya Sūtras, a few exceptions being the edition of the 'Mantrapāṭha', by Dr. WINTERNITZ, the edition of the Jaiminiya Gṛhya-Sūtra by Dr. CALAND and that of the Vārāha Gṛhya-Sūtra by Dr. RAGHU VĪRA, a special study of such mantras in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra is attempted in this paper, with respect to their interpretation and especially their *sources* in earlier Vedic literature.

The term 'sources' has been used here *in a special sense*. In the matter of the liturgical employment of Mantras, *a Vedic school did not regard as inviolable or unalterable, the text of a mantra which was not taken from the Saṃhitā to which it belonged*¹. A large number of such formulas, besides, belonged to the common stock of Gṛhya tradition and was drawn upon by the different Gṛhya texts and all possible variations of what virtually is the same mantra, are found in these texts. Compare for example the formula 'imam āsmānam āroha' etc. quoted in ĀG I 7 7 and the different versions of this same formula in ŚG I. 13. 12; PG. I. 7 1; ĀPMB. 1 5. 1 and IIG I. 4 1.

ĀG I 7 7. :— परिणीय परिणीयाश्मानमारोहयति "इममश्मानमारोहश्मेव त्व स्थिरा भव । सहस्व पृतनायतोऽभितिष्ठ पृतन्यतः" इति । ७ ।

ŚG I 13 12 — "एह्यश्मानमातिष्ठश्मेव त्व स्थिरा भव । अभि तिष्ठ पृतन्यतः सहस्व पृतनायतः" इति दक्षिणेन प्रपदेनाश्मानमाक्रमय । १२ ।

* For abbreviations see p 60 seq

- PG. I. 7. 1 :— अथैनामश्मानमारोहयत्युत्तरतोऽभेर्दक्षिणपादेन । “ आरोहेमश्मानमश्मेव त्वं स्थिरा भव । अभितिष्ठ पृतन्यतोऽववाधस्व पृतनायत ” इति । १ ।
- APMB. I. 5. 1 :— आतिष्ठेम मश्मानमश्मेव त्वं स्थिरा भव ।
अभि तिष्ठ पृतन्यतस्सहस्व पृतनायतः ॥ १ ॥
- HG. I. 4. 1 :— कुमारमास्थापयति । “ आतिष्ठेममश्मानमश्मेव स्थिरो भव । प्रमृणी-
हि दुरस्यून्सहस्व पृतनायतः ” ॥ इति । १ ।

It is impossible, therefore, in many cases to point to any particular early Vedic text as the source in the sense that the formula occurs there *in an identical form*. The only aim of a Gṛhya text was to see that the formula it cited was suitable to the particular context in which it was employed and to this end, the utmost liberty was taken with the text of a suitable mantra occurring in an early text. *A formula could also be improvised by joining together parts or lines of mantras drawn from different sources!* Compare, for example, the mantra cited in our text ĀG. II. 9. 2, which is made up of one pāda “Rtena sthūnām adhiroha Vamśa”, taken from AV. III. 12. 6^a and another from RV. X. 18. 3^a i.e. “Drāghīya āyuh prataram dadhānaḥ” ! Words of course, could be altered easily (compare the formula quoted in ĀG. I. 7. 6 where the last clause ‘jīveva śaradaḥ śatam’ has the dual ‘jīveva’ which is not found in any of the numerous parallel passages *though all the remaining words are the same everywhere!*).

I have therefore, adopted the following procedure in the paragraph on ‘sources’ under each sūtra. In the first place, an attempt is made to trace a mantra in the ĀG. to an earlier text where it occurs in an identical form. As, however, this is not always possible, a mantra or formula in an early Vedic text or failing that, a parallel Gṛhya text with the nearest approach in words and sense to the formula in our text *as a whole* is pointed out, if available, first. The formula is next considered part by part (whether it be a pāda or a line or a clause) and the ‘sources’ of each of these parts (in the sense of ‘passages or lines most closely allied in words and sense’) are pointed out, wherever available.

A survey of these *sources* reveals the following list of chapters or passages in early Vedic texts (i.e. Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas Āraṇyakas and Śrauta-sūtras), which treat of the same Gṛhya topics as are treated in the different chapters of the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-sūtra and *which may, therefore, have influenced the latter*. In certain cases, the identity of not only formulas but also of the sūtras in our text quoting them, with corresponding passages in these early texts, turns this probability into a certainty; e.g. for I. 3. 3 (the purification of Ājya) compare TS 1. 2. 1. 2 and VS. I. 31. For I. 7-8 (Kaṇḍikās treating of the marriage ceremony), compare AV. XIV. 2 (borrowing from RV. X. 85). For I. 10. 12 and 15 (the pārvāṇa sthālī-pāka) compare AV. XIX. 64. 2 and ŚB I. 6. 38 respectively. For Kaṇḍikās I. 13-15 (rites connected with pregnancy and the birth of a son) compare KBU.

II 8-10. For I. 17 6, 7 and 10 ('Caulam' or the tonsure of the child's head) compare AV VI 68 1-3; for I. 17. 8-9 (the same topic) compare TS. 1. 2. 1. 1 and for I. 17 16 (Caulam) and I. 18. 5 (the parallel 'Godāna' rite) compare AV VIII 2. 17 For I. 20. 6-8, (the ceremony of Upanayana) compare SB XI. 5. 4 1 seqq. For I. 23 (choosing of the Ṛtvijs) compare APŚ. X. 1. 4, 10-14. For I. 24 (guest-reception with the Madhuparka), compare ŚŚ IV 21. For II. 6. 1-4 (mounting a new chariot) compare LŚ. 2. 8. 2, 6-8 seqq. For II 8. 16 (house-building), compare AV. III. 12. 2 6-7. For III. 1-4 (the five daily sacrifices, especially Svādhyāya), compare TA. II. 10-15. For IV 1-3 (funeral rites on the death of an āhitāgni), compare ŚŚ. IV. 14. 17-35 and for IV. 8 (the Śūlagava sacrifice), compare ŚŚ. IV. 17.

This rapid preview of the sources of non-RgVedic Mantras in the Āśvalāyana Grhya-Sūtra discussed in the following investigation reveals that Grhya passages and not merely mantras crop up in the most unsuspected places in the earlier or pre-Grhya-sūtra literature! Already in my monograph¹ entitled "RgVeda Mantras in their ritual setting in the Grhya-sūtras with special reference to the Āśvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra", I have shown that genuine Grhya Mantras in the Rg-Veda *are not confined* to its Marriage and Funeral Hymns nor only to its *late* parts as was supposed by Professor OLDENBERG (S. B. E. Vol. XXX, Introduction : p. X seq.) but are scattered all over the RgVeda. The above preview of the sources of non-RgVedic Mantras has a similar story to tell. We find that among Samhitās other than the Rg-Veda Samhitā genuine Grhya-Mantras and passages and sections of Grhya origin are found not only in the Atharva Veda which is well-known as a treasure of Grhya verses but also in the Taittirīya and Vājasaneyi Samhitās. Again, notable texts from this point of view are the 'Śatapatha' among the Brāhmaṇas, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka among the Āraṇyakas, the Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇopaniṣad among the Upaniṣads and even the Śrauta-Sūtras of Sāṅkhāyana, Laṭyāyana and Āpastamba among the Śrauta-Sūtras. *Thus every phase of Vedic literature takes its place in this Grhya-pageant!*

Secondly, as regards the interpretation of these Non Rg-Vedic Mantras, quite a number of them remain obscure in spite of the help afforded by the two Sanskrit Commentaries of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa and Hardattācārya and the German, English and Marathi translations mentioned above. Professors STENZLER and OLDENBERG propose emendations in the text of a number of these formulas. In the majority of these cases, I have attempted to show that the emendations are unnecessary and that the Mantras admit of a natural and satisfactory interpretation *just as they stand* and have adduced parallel passages in support of the original readings they propose to emend unnecessarily in my opinion. Finally in the case of some formulas, I have given interpretations which are *new* and which in my humble opinion are more natural

1. Reprinted from *the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* . Vol. I (1939-40).

The plan adopted in the following investigation is this :—In the first paragraph is given the text of the sūtra in the ĀG. and the formula cited therein. The different parts, clauses or pādas of the formula are marked as (a), (b), etc. not only to facilitate reference but also because, for reasons stated already, the formula very often can be traced *only in parts* scattered in different earlier texts. Then follows my own translation of the sūtra and the mantra (which in many cases differs from that of Professors STENZLER and OLDENBERG). Next comes the paragraph on 'Sources' and I invariably state at the very outset, whether any such are pointed out by Prof. STENZLER or OLDENBERG. This is followed by a discussion of the text and interpretation of the formula *if these offer any difficulties* and of the emendations, if any such are suggested by Prof. STENZLER or OLDENBERG.

This whole material, therefore, I may humbly claim, is original except where Prof. STENZLER or OLDENBERG have made suggestions regarding the sources, *these being invariably acknowledged in the proper places.*

Sūtras in the text citing non-Rg-Vedic Mantras

ĀG I. 1. 4 ; 'Yo namasā svadhvara' iti (RV. VIII. 19. 5*), (a) 'Namas-kāreṇa vai khalvapi, (b) na vai devā namaskāramati, (c) Yajño vai nama' iti hi brāhmaṇam bhavati |

Trans. 'He who (as) a good sacrificer (sacrifices to Agni) with homage,' so (the RV. verse quoted above in Sūtra 3 goes on to say) ; 'even through homage, indeed, to be sure (a sacrifice may be said to have been offered) ; (b) not beyond (the reach of) homage, (are) the gods surely ; (c) homage, surely, is (itself) a sacrifice' thus (runs) a Brāhmaṇa.

The wording of the passage gives the impression that these three clauses form part of a single connected quotation from some Brāhmaṇa. As a matter of fact the three clauses are syntactically separate and represent bits of Brāhmaṇa sayings, picked up at random because of their general unity of sense.

Context The sacrificial character of the last two divisions of Pākayajñas viz. (1) the 'Prahutas' or those offered over something not the fire and (2) the 'Brahmanī-hutas' or those offered at the feeding of Brāhmaṇas is established by the citation of the RV. verse, VIII. 19. 5 which says that a sacrifice may be offered not only by pouring an oblation into the fire but also by placing a fuel-stick on the fire or by knowledge or homage. This (so-called) Brāhmaṇa is cited by way of comment on the last pāda of that verse.

Sources · (a) & (c) No dictionary, concordance or index gives a clue. The nearest Brāhmaṇa passage that I could find to (a) and (c) is ŚB. VII. 4. 1. 20 (also IX. 1. 1. 16) where, in connection with a salutation to serpents, it is said "Namo nama iti Yajño vai namo, Yajñenaivenān etan-namas-kāreṇa namasyati." When it is said 'A homage ! A homage !'—a homage, indeed, is a sacrifice—he worships them with a sacrifice when he worships them with homage (namaskāreṇa).

(b). The nearest approach to the words and sense of this part is found in GB 2. 2. 1. 18 (pp. 117 & 118, :—Na hi namaskāram ati devāh

"The gods are not beyond (the influence of) homage." A salutation to Prajāpati is the context. Very nearly identical is also the passage : ŚĀ. I. 5

ĀG. I 3.3 : "(a) *Savitṛṣṭvā prasava utpunāmy* (b) *achidrena pavitrena vasoh sūryasya raśmibhir*" *iti prāg utpunāti, sakṛn mantrena, dvistūṣm* |

Trans : (a) "At the inspiration of Savitr, I purify thee, (b) with (this) purifier without holes, with the rays of the Sun—the Vasu (the Beneficent one)" With this mantra he purifies (the Ājya), (in an) eastward (direction) once and twice silently.

The context is the purification of the Ājya with two Kuśa blades as strainers as a necessary preliminary of all Gṛhya sacrifices whose general outlines are described in this Kaṇḍikā.

Sources Prof STENZLER compares VS. I. 31, a mantra employed at the purification of the Ājya in KŚ 2. 7. 7 (not in KŚ. 2. 3. 31 as STENZLER states). This mantra is identical with ours except for the word 'Vasoh' in (b), which it omits. Part (b) with '*Vasoh sūryasya*' etc. i.e. in a form exactly identical with ours, is traced to TS 1 2. 1 2. where we have it after "Devastvā savitā punātu", the context being the purification of himself by the sacrificer. As pointed out in the Introduction, the tradition of these Gṛhya-mantras admitted of different parts from different sources being fitted together, to make a mantra suitable to a particular context.

ĀG. I. 3. 10 :—*Tad eṣābhīyajña-gāthā gīyate* :—

'*Pākayajñān samāsādyajñāyān ekabarhiṣah* |
ekasviṣṭakṛtaḥ kuryān nānāpi sati dāvate ||'

Trans : In this connection, the following sacrificial gāthā is sung. "If one has (before one, the performance of different) pākayajñas (at the same time), one should perform them with the same common Ājya, barhis and the same common Svīṣṭakṛt (oblations), though the deities (of these pākayajñas) may not be the same."

The context is the same as before :—general rules for the Gṛhya sacrifices

Sources : Kauś. VI 34 has "Athāpi Ślokau bhavataḥ | " followed by two Ślokas, of which the second is our verse. Both the commentators—Dārila and Keśava (p 21 BLOOMFIELD'S edition : JAOS vol. 14) remark that the Ślokas are from the Gopatha Brāhmana ; but in the existing edition of the Gopatha Brāhmana (Bibliotheca Indica), the Ślokas are not traced ! One can only hope that some manuscript of the Brāhmana contains the two Ślokas

ĀG. I. 5. 4 : *Astau pūḍān kṛtvā* (a) "*Rtam agre prathamam jñāne*, (b) *rite satyam pratīṣṭhatam* | (c) *yadiyam kumāry abhijātū* (d) *tadiyam iha pratipadyatām* | (e) *yat satyam tad dṛśyatām*" *iti pūḍān abhimantrīya kumarīm brūyāt* 'Esām ekaṁ grhān'eti |

Trans He makes eight lumps of earth (taken from different places) and consecrates these lumps with the Mantra "(a) *Rtam* (the world-order ordained beforehand) was born in the beginning, the primeval. (b) On *Rta*

is established Satya (Truth or conformity of events to this world-order) ; (c) What this girl is born to (d) that she may attain here. (e) What the Truth is, may that be seen ! ” He then should say to the girl ‘Pick up one of these’.

Context : Sūtra 3rd enumerates the characteristics which a girl to be married, must possess. As these, such as intelligence, character etc. are difficult to ascertain, the procedure described in this Sūtra is adopted, so that the character of the origin (field, pool etc.) of the lump of earth picked up by her, may reveal her characteristics.

Sources : Clauses (c), (d) and (e) constitute Mantra-parts evidently improvised to suit the particular occasion and cannot be traced in early literature.

As regards (a) and (b), there are numerous passages in early Vedic texts containing the words ‘Rtam’ and ‘Satyam’, describing their mutual relation and their relation to the ‘world-order’ but there is none that is identical with ours. Very similar to our (b) is “*Rtam satye'dhāyi, satyam ṛte'dhām*” in TS. 7. 1. 18. 2 and “*Rtam satye'dhāyi, satyam ṛte' dhāyi*” in TB. 3. 7. 7. 4, the context in both passages being the ‘Seasonal consecrations’. The latter part (in italics) of TB 3. 7. 7. 4 meaning ‘Satyam (Truth) was placed on Rta’ comes very near to our (b) in words and is identical in sense.

Among Sūtra-texts, the nearest parallel to our (a) can only be traced in GG. II. 1. 7 which reads :—“*Rtameva prathamam ṛtam nātyeti kaścana | ṛte bhūmir iyaṁ śrītā.*” TB. 1. 5. 5. 1 has also a very similar passage to this with ‘*paramēṣhī*’ for ‘prathamam’ and ‘*Kiñcana*’ for ‘Kaścana.’ So TB. 1. 5. 5. 1 and the source of GG. II. 1. 7 (i.e. some early Sāmaveda text, as GG belongs to the Sāmaveda) may be said to be the chief influences. The consecration of lumps of earth with a mantra describing Rta and Satya in our text is explained by the fact that VS. 11. 47 “*Rtam satyam, ṛtam satyam*” is a mantra to be recited *while the lump of clay for the construction of the fire-altar, is held above the goat (one of the victims at the ceremony).*

ĀG. I. 6. 3 : “*Saha dharmam caratām*” itī prājāpatyah . . . | . . .

Trans. ‘Fulfil (ye) the law together’—(when) this (is said, it) is the Prājāpatya (form of marriage).

Sources . All the available parallel passages, support the reading adopted above. Baudhāyana I. 20. 3 has ‘Dharmam cara’; Gautama Dharma-Sūtra 4. 7. has ‘Saha dharmas caryatām’; we read in the Manusmṛti. III. 30 :—“*Sahobhau caratām dharmam*” and Nārada Dh. 12. 40 has ‘Saha dharmam cara’, *which are all formulas addressed to the couple or the bridegroom.*

The commentator Haradatta pertinently remarks that although ‘fulfilling the law together’ is an essential condition of all marriage-forms, this special

1. Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG read ‘carataḥ’ (Third person dual of the Present Indicative) and translate accordingly.—“They fulfil the law together; this is the Prājāpatya” but I prefer the reading ‘caratām’ (Imperative, 2nd. person dual), of the Trivandrum edition which makes the part (in italics) a mantra addressed as an exhortation to the couple.

mention of the exhortation implies that the bridegroom is not to take a second wife, nor leave the householder's life for any other Āśrama (or mode of life)—which distinguishes the 'Prājāpatya' from other forms of marriage like the Brāhma and the Daiva.

AG. I. 6. 8. "*Hatvā bhittvā ca śīṣāni rudatīm rudadbhyo haret*" sa *Rākṣasaḥ* ||

Trans: Should he carry her off (while she is) crying from (her) crying relatives after a smashing and breaking of heads, that is (the form of marriage called) Rākṣasa. Prof. OLDENBERG says (p. 167 footnote) "The text of this sūtra seems to be based on a hemistich '*hatvā bhittvā ca śīṣāni rudadbhyo rudatīm haret*'; comp. Manu III, 33". This is an ingenious suggestion but it may be pointed out that the words of a Sūtra in our text as well as other sūtra-texts sometimes just happen to be arranged in such a way as to give them quite unintentionally the appearance of a pāda or hemistich e.g. AG. I. 5. 1: "*Kulam agre parīkṣeta*" is a perfect anuṣṭubh pāda! Besides, if such an Anuṣṭubh hemistich had existed, it should have been traced in late works employing Ślokas, as it conforms to the model of the later regular anuṣṭubh.

That this shocking recognition of the 'Rākṣasa' mode as a *form of marriage*, without any apology, is a survival of a very ancient custom, has been shown in my monograph entitled "*RgVeda mantras in their ritual setting in the Gṛhya sūtras, with special reference to the Āśvalāyana-Gṛhya-sūtra*" (reprinted from the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*), under AG I. 8. 4: '*Jivam rudanti*' iti *rudatyām* |.

AG I. 7. 6. *Pradakṣmam agnim udakumbham ca trīḥ parinayañ japati*
 "(a) *Amo'ham asmi sã tvam* (b) *sã tvam asy amo'ham* (c) *Dyauraham prthivī tvam* (d) *Sāmāham ṛk tvam* (e) *tāvehi vivahāvahai* (f) *prajām prajānāvāvai* | (g) *Samprīyau rociṣṇu sumanasya mānau* (h) *jīveva śaradaḥ śatam*".

Trans: While leading her (the bride), round the fire and the water-pot, three times with the right side turned towards them, he (the bridegroom) mutters (a) "This I am, that thou, (b) that art thou, this myself, (c) the heaven I, the earth thou, (d) the Sāman I, the Rk thou; (e) come then (tau), let us marry; (f) (and) beget offspring, (g) dear to each other, bright and amiably-minded, (h) may we two live a hundred autumns"!

Sources —(a) to (f). AV 14. 2. 71 reads. —"*Amo'hamasmi sã tvam, sāmāhamasmi ṛktvam, dyauraham prthivī tvam, tāviha sambhavāva, prajām ājanāvāvai*" | which is equivalent to our (a), (d), (c), (e) and (f) in order. Our (b) is nothing but (a) with a transposition of '*sã tvam*' and '*amo'ham*', so its omission in the AV passage is immaterial. Our '*vivahāvahai*' in (e), for the corresponding '*Sambhavāva*' in AV is just an adaptation suiting the exact context in the text. So this AV mantra appears to be the source of our mantra-parts from (a) to (f). ŚB 14. 9. 4. 19 has clauses very similar to ours from (a) to (d) cited as formulas for intercourse at a *kāmya*

rite aiming at the birth of a meritorious son. In a similar context in JUB. I. 54. 6 ; 57. 4 appear formulas similar to our (a) and (b). But of interest is the passage VIII. 27. 4 in AB. (which as a Rgveda-Brāhmaṇa is closely related to our text) containing clauses similar to our clauses (a) to (e), the context being the 'selection of a Purohita'. Now, as Prof. KEITH remarks (p 341 HOS. vol. 25), there is a parallelism between this ceremony and that of marriage. Our text gives evidence of this parallelism when both in I. 5. 1 (examination of the family of the bride or the bridegroom) and in I. 23. 1 (qualifications of Rtvigs to be chosen), it refers in identical terms "Ye mātṛtaḥ pitṛtaśceti yathoktam purastāt" to ĀŚ. IX. 3. 20, where are laid down the qualifications of a priest to be chosen for partaking of a camasa at the Daśapeya sacrifice.

Clause (g). For this, may be compared VS 12. 57^b as also TS. 4. 2. 5. 1^b where the identical three words occur, the context being the throwing of the Ukhya fire (or the fire in the pan) on to the Gārhapatya hearth ; the words describing the mutual relation of the two fires thus brought together, are very similar to the phrasology in our text

Clause (h) There are numerous passages with nearly identical words e.g. "Jīvātī śaradaḥ śatam" is found in RV X. 85. 39^d and AV. 14. 2. 2^d 63^d, "Adhā jīvema" etc. in AV 18. 4. 70^d ; 'Jīvāni' etc. TB. 3. 7. 4. 10^d ; "Jīvāmi" etc. in TA. 10. 1. 8^d and "Sa jīva" etc. in ŚB 14. 9. 4. 26^d and in our own text in I. 15. 3d, 9d but the dual 'Jīveva' that we have here is nowhere met with ! This is a very clear illustration of the liberty taken in the different Vedic schools in the adaptation of mantras or parts of mantras by alterations in words etc. to suit the particular context in hand !

ĀG. I. 7. 7 :—*Parṇīya parivṛtyāśmānamārohayati :*

(a) "imam aśmānamāroha, (b) aśmeva tvam sthūrā bhava |, (c) Sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ, (d) abhitiṣṭha pṛtanayataḥ" iti.

Trans : Each time he conducts her round, he helps her step on the aśman (the lower mill-stone which plays an important part in the Grhya ritual, being the counterpart of the pressing-stone of the soma in the Śrauta ritual) with the mantra (a) "Mount on this stone ; (b) like the stone be firm ; (c) overcome the opposing (enemies) ; (d) tread down the enemies".

Sources. (a) to (c) : In a note to AV. 2.13.4 (WHITNEY'S Atharva-veda HOS. Vol 7, p. 57), it is said that the Paippalāda or Kāśmīrian text of the AV. reads for that verse, (a) Imam aśmānam ātiṣṭha, (b) aśmeva tvam sthūro bhava, (c) pramṇūhi durasyataḥ, (d) Sahasva pṛtanāyataḥ.

The (a), (b) and (d) here, are nearly identical with our (a) to (c) with the following variations.—instead of 'sthūrā' in our (b) (addressed as the mantra is to the bride) we have here 'sthūro' masc. because the mantra is addressed to the male child, prayers for whose long life and welfare are contained in that AV. hymn ; our 'āroha' in (a), is a mere paraphrase of 'ātiṣṭha' in AV., our (c) is exactly identical with the AV. clause (d). The AV. clause (c) is a paraphrase in different words of our (d).

Clause (d).—The last pāda or clause is traced to TS. 4. 1. 2. 3^d and VS. 11 20^d, the context in both places being, that the verse is recited while the Adhvaryu holds his hand on the horse's back during the agni-cayana ceremony

It may be noted here, that the *aśman* verses (or those containing exhortations to be as firm as a stone) are found employed in our text as well as in parallel Sūtra-texts in *two* contexts viz. the ceremony of marriage and the ceremonies of birth-rites as 'addresses to the bride or the newly-born child' (compare our I, 15. 3 which has 'aśmā bhava' etc.).

How very fluid the tradition of these Gṛhya-mantras was, can best be seen by a glance at the parallel passage in other Sūtra texts viz SMB 1. 2. 1 ; PG I 7 1 ; ŚG I. 13 2 , ĀPMB 1 5 1 and 2 2. 2 , HG 1. 4. 1 ; 19. 8. cited already in the Introductory section. We find here *all possible variations (of what essentially is the same mantra) that the words constituting it were capable of!*

ĀG. I. 7. 13 :

(a) "Aryamṇam nu devaṁ kanyā agnimayakṣata |
sa imāṁ devo Aryamā preto muñcātu nāmutaḥ, svāhā ||

(b) Varunaṁ nu devaṁ kanyā agnimayakṣata |
sa imāṁ devo Varunaḥ preto muñcātu nāmutaḥ svāhā ||

(c) Pūṣanam nu devaṁ kanyā agnim ayakṣata |
Sa imāṁ devaḥ Pūṣa preto muñcātu nāmutaḥ svāhā" |
ityavicchindatyañjalīm sruceva juhuyāt |

Trans. (a) "To Aryaman the god, to Agni, have the girls sacrificed (i.e. to Agni as Aryaman;¹) may he—god Aryaman, release her from here (i.e. from her father's family), not from yonder (i.e. from her husband's home).

(b) To Varuna the god, to Agni etc. [as above with 'Varuṇa' in place of 'Aryaman'.]

(c) To Pūṣan the god etc. [as above with 'Pūṣan' instead of 'Aryaman']

Context :—After the 'leading round' of the bride, fried grain is poured into her joined hands by her brother or his representative. *The bride sacrifices this fried grain without opening (lit. breaking open) her joined hands, as if she was sacrificing them with the 'Sruc' ladle while the above mantra is being recited by the bridegroom*

Sources Only Sūtra-texts like ŚG, SMB, GG, PG, ĀPMB. and MG. have got parallel passages but the mantra cannot be traced to any early text—with the exception of 'Preto muñcātu nāmutaḥ' the concluding part of (a) (b) and (c) which is traced to RV X 85 25^a and AV XIV. 1 18^a. OLDENBERG (SBE vol 29. p 44) on ŚG I. 18 3, compares Pāraskara I 6 2 "preto

1. That this is the construction and sense is clear from RV V 3 2^a = "Tvam Aryamā bhavaṣi yat Kaninām" [Thou art Aryaman to the girls] as addressed to Agni and cited in our text elsewhere i.e. I 4 8

muñcātu mām *pateḥ*” which shows what ‘itah’ and ‘amutah’ refer to. The RV. and the AV. verse-pādas also have the same implication *I think that the influence here is AV. XIV. 1. 17* which reads “(a) Aryamaṇam yajāmahe (b) subandhum pativedanam | (c) urvārukamiva bandhanāt (d) preto muñcāmi nāmutaḥ | for the following reasons : (1) The last pāda of each of our (a) to (c) is the last pāda here ; our first pāda is reminiscent of the first of the AV. because of ‘Aryamanam’. (2) There is general unity of sense (3) This mantra in our text is followed by the citation in I. 17, 17 and 18, of RV. X 85. 24 and 25 which correspond to AV. XIV. 1 19 and 18. Thus, AV. XIV. I. 17, 19 and 18 which would correspond to the citations in our Sūtras I. 7.13, 17 and 18, *very likely influenced our text.*

ĀG. I. 7. 19 : ‘*Athamām aparājītāyām dīśi sapta padāny abhyutkrāma yati, (a) “īṣa ekapadī (b) Ūrje dvipadī (c) rāyaspoṣāya tripadī (d) māyobhavyāya catuṣpadī (e) prajābhyaḥ pañca-padī (f) ṛtubhyaḥ ṣaṭpadī (g) sakhā sapta-padī bhava (h) sāmānuvratā bhava | (i) pultrān vīndāvahai bahūn (j) te santu jaradaṣṭayah” iti.*

Trans He then (i.e. after the sacrifice of fried grain and the loosening of the bride’s two locks of hair) helps her take seven steps forward with the mantra —

- (a) For sap, (be thou) one who hast taken one step forward,
- (b) For juice, “ “ “ two steps “ ,
- (c) For the augmenting of riches, be thou one etc. three steps forward,
- (d) For comfort “ “ four steps forward,
- (e) For progeny “ “ five steps forward,
- (f) For the seasons “ “ six steps forward,
- (g) Be a friend, (thou) who hast taken seven steps,
- (h) So be thou devoted to me, (i) let us attain many sons,
- (j) let them reach old age.

Sources (a) to (g) : TB. 3. 7 7. 11 reads as follows :—

- (a) ekam īṣe Viṣṇustvā anvetu,
- (b) dve ūrje “ “
- (c) trīṇi vratāya “ “
- (d) catvāri māyobhavyāya “
- (e) pañca paśubhyaḥ “ “
- (f) ṣaḍ rāyaspoṣāya “ “
- (g) sapta saptabhyo hotrābhyaḥ “ | sakhāyaḥ sapta-padā abhūma |

sakhyam te gameyam |

The context is —The Yajamāna follows in the steps of the *Soma-kṛayanī* cow while she is being led. The remarkable agreement of this passage with our mantra with the exception of a few unimportant differences suggests it as the influence on our text. As regards the differences, it is apparent that the TB *has the better version* Our text e.g. makes an abrupt syntactical change in (g).

The idea of friendship consummated by the walking of seven steps in company, can be traced to AV. V. 11. 10 “Sapta-padaḥ sakhāsmi” (I am

thy comrade of seven steps). Perhaps the faint origin of 'seven' as the number of steps is in RV. VIII. 72. 16. —“Adhukṣat pipyuṣīm *iṣam ūṛjam saptapadīm ariṇ* | sūryasya sapta rāśmibhiḥ” || where we not only come across the words '*iṣam*' and '*Ūṛjam*' of our Mantra but also the association of the seven rays of the sun with the 'seven-stepped *ūṛjam*'

(h) (i) and (j) :—This part is only traced to JUB. 1 54. 6° where it occurs after 'Amo'hamasmi' etc. a mantra parallel to our I. 7. 6. This part has the same position (as in JUB) in ŚG. I 14. 6 and PG. I. 8. 1. This part of our Mantra then (*easily detachable from the rest in sense and syntax*) appears to have been a *separate* Mantra which our text has tacked on to our mantra (a) to (g) and which other texts have joined to other mantras in other contexts.

AG I 7. 22 · *Dhruvam arundhatīm sapta ṛṣin iti drṣṭvā vācam visṛjeta* “*Jivapatnī prajāñ vindeya*” iti |

Trans : After observing the polar star, the (star) Arundhatī and the Seven Ṛṣis (Ursa major), let her release her speech (i.e. break her silence with the words) “With my husband living, may I attain progeny”

Context—This follows after the saptapadī rite.

Sources. The part '*prajāñ vindeya*' can be traced only to ŚG 1. 17. 4 (as compared by OLDENBERG) in exactly the same context as in our text. The Mantra is one of those unimportant short mantras of a general invocatory purport, the words of which could be improved upon in any vedic school and which need not supposed to have a traditionally fixed text.

The Vedic texts cited or referred to in the present investigation, with abbreviations of their titles.

Samhitās

RV.—The R̥g-veda samhitā . MAX MULLER'S second Quarto edition, London.

AV —The Atharva-veda-samhitā : the edition of ROTH and W. D. WHITNEY (Berlin 1856).

VS —The Vājasaneyi-samhitā in the Mādhyamdina Śākhā · edited by A WEBER, Berlin and London, 1852

VSK —The variants of the Kāṇva recension of the Vājasaneyi-samhitā as given at the end of each section in the above edition

SV —Die Hymnen des Sāma-Veda, edited by T BENFEY, Leipzig, 1848

TS —The Taittirīya-samhitā, edited by A. WEBER, Indische studien, Volumes XI and XII Leipzig 1871-1872

MS —The Maitrāyaṇī-samhitā, edited by Dr LEOPOLD VON SCHROEDER, four volumes, Leipzig, 1881-1886

KS.—Die Samhitā der Kāṭha Śākhā, edited by Dr LEOPOLD VON SCHROEDER ; first volume 1900, second volume 1909, Leipzig.

Brāhmanas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads

AB —Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa . T AUFRECHT, Bonn 1879

KB —Das Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa · B LINDOER, Jena 1887

SB —The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in the Mādhyamdina Śākhā A. WEBER, Berlin and London, 1855.

- TB.—The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajurveda . Bibliotheca Indica. Three volumes, Calcutta, 1859.
- GB.—The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa of the Atharvaveda : Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1872.
- PB.—The Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa or Tāṇḍya Mahā Brāhmaṇa . Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1870-1874.
- SB.—The Śaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, edited by Herman Frederick EELSINGH ; Leiden 1908.
- JB.—Das Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl, W. CALNAD Verhandelingen Der Koninklyke Akademie Van Wetenschappen Nieuwe Reeks Deel XIX No. 4.
- TA.—The Taittiriya-Āraṇyaka ; Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1872.
- KBU.—The Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1861.
- JUB.—The Jaiminiya-or Talavakāra-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa : Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XVI, pp. 79-260.

Śrauta-sūtras

- ĀS.—The Śrauta-sūtra of Āsvalāyana : Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1874.
- ŚS.—The Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1888.
- LS.—The Lāṭyāyana Śrauta-sūtra, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1872.
- KS.—The Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtra : edited by A. WEBER, Berlin and London, 1859.
- ĀpS.—The Āpastamba Śrauta-sūtra : Bibliotheca Indica edition in three volumes.
- MŚ.—Das Mānava Śrauta-sūtra : Dr. Friedrich KNAUER , Books i-v. St. Petersburg, 1900-1903.

Gṛhya-Sūtras etc.

- AG.—The Āsvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra : Prof STENZLER's edition, Indische Hausregeln : Āsvalāyana Erstes Heft. Pp. 1-45 : Leipzig 1864. The readings given in the 'Kritische Anmerkungen' (pp. 46-53) and the emendations proposed in the Vorrede (I to III) to the Zweites Heft. (Uebersetzung : Leipzig 1865) have been discussed where necessary. When I mention Prof. STENZLER's views, I refer to this second part, where he gives a German translation of the work with notes.
- SG.—The Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-sūtra edited by H. OLDENBERG : Indische studien, Vol. XV, pp. 1-166.
- PG.—The Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtra, edited by Prof. STENZLER, Indische Hausregeln II, Pāraskara ; Leipzig, 1876.
- GG.—Das Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra, Dr F. KNAUER, Dorpat and Leipzig, 1884.
- KhG.—The Khādira Gṛhya-sūtra, edited by H. OLDENBERG, sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXIX.
- HG.—The Hiraṇyakeśinī Gṛhya-sūtra, edited by Dr. J. KIRSTE, Vienna, 1889.
- ĀpG.—The Āpastambīya Gṛhya-sūtra edited by Dr. WINTERNITZ, Vienna 1887.
- ĀpMB.—The (Mantra-Brāhmaṇa or) Mantra-pāṭha of the Āpastambins, edited by Dr. WINTERNITZ, Oxford, 1897.
- KauS.—The Kauśika-sūtra of the Atharva-veda edited by M. BLOOMFIELD in Vol. XIV of the Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- SMB.—The Mantra-Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-veda edited by Satyabrata SAMASRAMIN, Calcutta, 1873.
- Nārāyana.—The Sanskrit commentary by Gārgya Nārāyaṇa printed in the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Āsvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra, Calcutta, 1869.
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JÑĀNAGHANA PUJYAPADA

By

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Appayya Dīkṣita in his *Siddhāntaleśasāṅgraha*,¹ refers to an advaita manual by name *Tattvaśuddhi*. This² is an authoritative work in 46 chapters,³ called prakaraṇas, by one Jñānaghanapāda,⁴ a disciple of Bodhaghanācārya.⁵ Who Bodhaghana and Jñānaghana were are to be considered here.

In a work entitled *Sṛṅgagrīguruparamparā* (No. 302 of Seshagiri Sastrī's II Report) is given a list of the various pontiffs of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt. The list mentions 41 ācāryas on the whole beginning with Mahādeva (Lord Śiva) and ending with Narasimha Bhārati. Though this list may not be quite accurate, it is also not wholly incorrect. That is to say, unless and until some positive evidence is set forth to prove the inaccuracy of the list, its tentative correctness holds good. The whole list may be reproduced here with advantage :

“ महादेवो महाविष्णुः तृतीयश्चतुराननः ।
वसिष्ठः शक्तियोगीन्द्रः पराशरमुनीश्वरः ॥
व्यासः शुको गौडपादो गोविन्दभगवान्मुनिः ।
गुरुः श्रीशङ्कराचार्यः षष्ठतस्थापनः प्रभुः ॥
विश्वरूपाचार्ययोगी नित्यबोधघनाभिधः ।
ततो ज्ञानघनाचार्यो ज्ञानोत्तममहामुनिः ॥

1. See pp 141, 190, 266 and 363 of *Siddhāntaleśasāṅgraha*, Kāśī Skt. Ser. 36

2. Being serially issued by the present writer in the *Annals of Oriental Research*, University of Madras, in collaboration with Mr S. S. Suryanarayana SASTRI

3. DAS GUPTA, *History of Indian Philosophy* II, p. 57 f n says : “Jñānaghana, who probably lived in the 13th century, wrote an elaborate dialectical work in 33 chapters (prakaraṇas) called *Tattvaśuddhi*” This is wrong. The evidence for placing Jñānaghana in the 13th century is not given. The enumeration of chapters as 33 is also not correct, probably he concluded that the work is complete in 33 chapters, on the basis of an incomplete copy in 33 chapters, found in the Govt Or Mss Library, Madras (R. No. 2897), referred to as B. in my edition of the same.

4. See colophons to the chapters of *Tattvaśuddhi*.

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमज्ज्ञानघनपादविरचितायां तत्त्वशुद्धे । etc

5. व्याख्यागर्जितनिर्जिता जडधियः कण्ठीरवाशङ्कया

तर्कारण्यनिषण्णवादिकरिणो निःश्रेयसाद्रौ स्थितिः ।

विद्यावृष्टिसुपक्वविष्यतिसत्स्यैः क्षमा शोभते

शश्वद् बोधघनस्य यस्य गुरवे तस्मै नमः श्रेयसे ॥

Tattvaśuddhi, ch. I verse 4.

ज्ञानगिर्याचार्यवर्यः तथा सिंहगिरीश्वरः ।
 ततश्चेश्वरतीर्थोख्यो नृसिंहाभिधतीर्थकः ॥
 विद्याशङ्करतीर्थोख्यो लम्बिकायोगतत्परः ।
 भारतीकृष्णतीर्थोख्यो विद्यारण्यमहामुनिः ॥
 विद्यानगरनिर्माता वेदभाष्यादिकृद्गुरुः ।
 श्रीचन्द्रशेखराभिख्यभारती तदनन्तरम् ॥
 नृसिंहभारती भूयो नृसिंहोपासकस्सदा ।
 भक्तशङ्करनामाख्यः पुरुषोत्तमभारती ॥
 श्रीचन्द्रशेखराभिख्यभारती तदनन्तरम् ।
 नृसिंहभारती चैव पुरुषोत्तमभारती ।
 भारती रामचन्द्राख्यो नरसिंहाख्यभारती ।
 नृसिंहभारती ज्ञेयो नृसिंहोऽभिनवस्तथा ॥
 सच्चिदानन्दयोगीन्द्रः स्तम्भे हेरम्बदर्शकः ।
 श्रीनृसिंहाख्ययोगीन्द्रः सच्चिदानन्दभारती ॥
 ततश्चाभिनवाभिख्यः सच्चिदानन्दभारती ।
 ततोऽभिनवपूर्वश्रीनृसिंहाभिधभारती ॥
 श्रीसच्चिदानन्दयोगीन्द्र तपश्चर्यापरायणः ।
 पुनश्चाभिनवाभिख्यः सच्चिदानन्दभारती ॥
 श्रीशृङ्गेरिपुराधीशः श्रीविद्यामन्त्रबोधकः ।
 श्रीमदाचार्यसदृशः श्रीनृसिंहयतीश्वरः ॥
 भारतीनामविख्यातः तपःशीलो जगद्गुरुः ।
 राजाधिराजसंपूज्यो जगत्ख्यातो विराजते ॥ ”

In the light of the following evidences also the apparent and tentative accuracy of the above list can reasonably be assumed to hold good.

First, in a work entitled *Saṅkarācāryacarita* by Govindanātha,⁶ (No. 301. of Sheshagiri SASTRI'S II Report ; same as MD.⁷ 12171-2) the predecessors of Saṅkara are mentioned as Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Vasiṣṭha, Śakti, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Śuka, Gauḍapāda and Govinda.⁸ Lord Śiva is left out. The rest of the ācāryas mentioned corresponds with the predecessors of Saṅkara as found in the *Śrīgagiriguruparamparā*.

6. Ed. by Dewan Bahadur N. D. MEHTA, and printed in the Chitrasala Press, Poona, 1931

7. MD = Madras Des Cat. of Mss

8. See Seshagiri SASTRI, II Report pp. 101-2 But in the printed edition this is missing. Only Śuka, Gauḍapāda and Govinda are referred to,

श्रीशुकस्याभवच्छिष्यो गौडपाद इति श्रुतः ।
 तस्य शिष्यो महातेजाः वर्तते स्म द्विजो हरिः ॥
 संन्यासविधितत्त्वज्ञ गोविन्दस्वामिनं स तम् ।
 स्थितं काश्यामवापाशु वायुमार्गमुपाश्रितः ।

Secondly, in a work called *Gadyavallari*⁹ tantra, by Nijātmaprakāśa¹⁰ Ānandanātha Mallikārjuna Yogindra Yati (MITRA *Notices*, VII, No. 2261), which opens with a list of the teachers of the Śāṅkara sect, the first 22 names beginning with Śiva and ending in Vidyāranya correspond with those in the *Śṛṅgaguruguruparamparā*. *Gadyavallari* mentions 28 ācāryas before Mallikārjuna, its author.

Again in another work called *Guruvamśamahākāvya*,¹¹ by Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrin,¹² son of Vīreśvara Śāstrī, written under orders of Saccidānanda Bhāratī, disciple of Narasimha Bhāratī, a long list of the successive pontiffs of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt is given. This order of the ācāryas corresponds to a greater length with the order found in the *Śṛṅgaguruguruparamparā*.

This concordance of the four lists is sufficient evidence to show that, the opening part and a great extent of the list in *Śṛṅgaguruguruparamparā* are reliable, if not the entire list. It is possible that the *Guruvamśamahākāvya* was based on the *Śṛṅgaguruguruparamparā*, still the accuracy of the *Śṛṅgaguruguruparamparā* is not disproved.

Now let us examine the list proper. The list mentions on the whole 41 ācāryas from Lord Śiva to Narasimha Bhāratī. Śāṅkara is the eleventh and Vidyāranya 22nd. According to Mr. Sheshagiri SASTRI, Vidyāranya came to the pontifical seat in 1331 A.D.¹³ After him, according to the list there were 19 priests and the period of reign for each ācārya, after Vidyāranya is 29 years, on an average. Previous to Vidyāranya and after Śāṅkara, there were 10 pontiffs. Accepting 820 A.D. as the date of Śāṅkarācārya's demise, we get 510 years of interval for 10 ācāryas, i.e. on an average each ācārya would have been in the pontificate for about 50 years. Granting that ascetics generally live longer than ordinary men and assuming that they are usually appointed as pontiffs at an early age, it may seem that a reign of 50 years for a single pontiff is not unreasonable. But 50 years of reign in succession for 10 pontiffs cannot be satisfactorily explained. The more so when we come to note that after Vidyāranya the average period for an ascetic is abruptly reduced from 50 to 29. Mr. Sheshagiri SASTRI on this point doubts the reli-

9 Dr. AUFRECHT in his *C C I*, p. 377a, under Bodhaghana, says that he is mentioned as the successor of Viśvarūpācārya in the *Śrīvidyāpaddhati*. *Bik. Cat.* 613. This *Śrīvidyāpaddhati* is only a portion of the *Gadyavallari*. See colophon to *Śrīvidyāpaddhati*.

इति श्रीनिजात्मप्रकाशनन्दनाथमल्लिकार्जुनयोगीन्द्रविरचिताया गद्यवल्ली अनुक्रमोत्तमाख्यायां श्रीविद्यापद्धतौ etc.

10. AUFRECHT identifies him with Prakāśānanda, author of the vedānta work, *Vedāntasiddhāntamuktāvalī*.

11. See *Annual Report of Mysore Arch. Dept.* 1928, p. 15.

12. Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrin was contemporary of Somaśekhara II (1714-1739 A.D.) of Keladi, when Saccidānanda Bhāratī (1705-1741 A.D.), disciple of Narasimha Bhāratī adorned the pontifical seat at Śṛṅgeri. *ibid*.

13. Recent researches have shown that Vidyātīrtha, a guru of Śṛṅgeri lived to the end of 1375 A.D. and was immediately succeeded by Vidyāranya. See J. A. H. R. S. IX pt. 4 p. 40, also *OLD* 1938 No. 6 118.

ability of the list and says that the manuscript of *Śṛṅgagīrīguruparaṁparā* is defective.

But we have evidence to believe that some ascetics lived longer than others. Viśvarūpa, according to tradition, lived very long. Again take the case of Jñānottama (author of *Iṣṭasiddhivaraṇa*) who is said to have adorned the pontificate for 63 years :

जातो मङ्गलनाम्नि चोलविषये नागेशसंज्ञात् द्विजात्
श्रीज्ञानोत्तम इत्यवाप्तविरुदो यः तार्किकाग्नेसरः ।
ज्ञानानन्दमुनिः त्रिषष्टिशरदः संमण्डय पीठीं गुरोः
सिद्धिं मन्मथमार्गशीर्षसितसप्तम्यामवापत्सुधीः ।

Punyaślokaṁjari,¹⁴

Granting even this, we cannot satisfactorily reconcile the fact that 10 ascetics before Vidyāranya were long-lived and his followers abruptly came to be short-lived. Thus arises the doubt regarding the accuracy of the list in *Śṛṅgagīrīguruparaṁparā*. To explain this discrepancy away the possible course is to assume some break in the continuity of the pontiffs. And until and unless there is some positive evidence for proving this discontinuity, it is unsafe to assume it. Thus apparently the list in the *Śṛṅgagīrīguruparaṁparā* has to be taken as correct.

Coming to the list itself, the order of succession of the ācāryas is as follows : Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Vasiṣṭha, Śakti, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Śuka, Gauḍapāda, Govinda, Śaṅkara, Viśvarūpa, Nitya-Bodhaghana, Jñānaghana, Jñānottama etc. Śaṅkarācārya is mentioned as the eleventh in the order of succession. Next to Śaṅkara comes Viśvarūpa, who has been proved by authorities to be none else than Sureśvarācārya,¹⁵ Śaṅkara's disciple. Viśvarūpa is mentioned invariably as the successor of Śaṅkara in all the four lists referred to. Govindanātha in his *Śaṅkarācāryacarita*, clearly mentions Sureśvara as the second disciple of Śaṅkara. He also says that Viśvarūpa was his former name as a house-holder, and Sureśvara was his name after sannyāsa.

विश्वरूपं ततो नीत्वा भिक्षुतां देशिकोत्तमः ।

स्वमनोरथलाभेन सन्नुष्टः सुतरामभूत् ॥

Śaṅkarācāryacarita, Govindanātha. V. 61.

14. See *Naṣṭakarmyasiddhi*, Intro. HIRIYANNA, p. 35, f. n. 2.

15. See Anandānubhava's *Nyāyakraṇadīpāvalī* p. 154, Ms. R. 5505 of Madras Library. Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara are clearly identified.

गृहस्थावस्थायां विरचिते विश्वरूपग्रन्थे दर्शितवाक्यपरिमहो दृश्यते । न चासौ ग्रन्थः संन्यासिना विरचितः, तथा हि 'परिव्राजकाचार्यमुखरविरचिते' इति ग्रन्थे नाम लिखेत् । लिखितं तु 'महेश्वररूपरचिते' See also Anandagiri's Com. on the above : pp. 110-111 (Ms. No. R. 4459 ibid) .

विश्वरूपप्रभाकरयोः आप्तवासिद्धिमाशङ्कते—नन्विति ।.....किं च गार्हस्थ्ये स्थित्वैव निबन्धनिर्माणात् न विश्वरूपाचार्ये पक्षपाताशङ्केत्याह गृहस्थेति । etc.

आचार्यस्य द्वितीयोऽयं शिष्यः संन्यासनामतः ।

सुरेश्वर इति ख्यातो बभूव भुवनत्रये ॥ ibid. VI. 1.

It is surprising to note that Mr. J. C. GHOSH¹⁶ omits Viśvarūpa's name, probably copying the mistake of Rajendralal MITRA,¹⁷ while giving the list of ācāryas in the *Gadyavallārī*. The text in the *Gadyavallārī* is very clear :

ततः श्रीशङ्कराचार्यो विश्वरूपार्थ एव च ।

ततो बोधघनाचार्यः ततो ज्ञानघनाह्वयः ॥

Jñānaghana is the third in the order of succession after Śaṅkara. Since all the lists agree with respect to this fact, this position of Jñānaghana seems to be fairly acceptable, until the above fact is disproved. Thus we are in a position to fix Jñānaghana's date roughly. The date of Śaṅkara's death has been accepted by scholars as 820 A.D. This date is also supported by a striking epigraphical evidence. In *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. I, one Śivasoma, predecessor of King Indravarman (877-889 A.D.) is said to have studied the Śāstras from Śaṅkara :

येनाधीनानि शास्त्राणि भगवच्छङ्कराह्वयात् ।

निःशेषाखिलमूर्धोलिमालालीढाङ्घ्रिपङ्कजात् । Verse 39.

Prof COEDÈS remarks on this : 'It is not impossible that this is a reference to the celebrated Śaṅkarācārya, whose activity in India falls at the beginning of the 9th century' ¹⁸ King Indravarman flourished about 877 A.D. So that it is not impossible for his preceptor, Śivasoma, to have been a student of Śaṅkara in Śaṅkara's closing years. The latter half of the above verse clearly favours this view.

Now Sureśvara (i.e. Viśvarūpa) was Śaṅkara's disciple and immediate successor. He was followed by Bodhaghana. Bodhaghana was also very famous like his illustrious predecessors. This is borne out when Jñānaghana, his disciple, says of his teacher,

व्याख्यागर्जितनिर्जिता जडधियः कण्ठीरवाशङ्कया

तर्कारण्यनिषण्णवादिकरिणो निःश्रेयसाद्रौ स्थितिः ।

विद्यावृष्टिसुपकशिष्ययतिसत्सस्यै. क्षमा शोभते

शश्वद् बोधघनस्य यस्य गुरवे तस्मै नमः श्रेयसे ॥

Tattvasūddhi Ch. I. v. 4.

Bodhaghana was followed by Jñānaghana. Thus approximately some 80 years can be reasonably assumed to have elapsed after Śaṅkara, and before Jñānaghana came to the pontificate, assuming of course, that Sureśvara and Bodhaghana together adorned the seat at Śringerī for 80 years. This assumption is not altogether impossible, when we take into consideration the fact

16. *IHQ* XIII pt. 4.

17. Mitra Notices of Mss. VII, 2261, p. 17.

18. See *J O R* Madras, XI, iii. pp 285-6 K. A. Nilakantha SASTRI : 'A Note on the date of Śaṅkara'

that according to tradition, Sureśvara had a very long life. Thus Jñānaghana can be placed at 900 A.D.

This date is supported by other evidences too. Taking the internal evidence : Jñānaghana rarely quotes from others. In one place¹⁹ in his *Tattva-suddhi* he quotes a stanza from Maṇḍana's *Brahmasiddhi* :

लब्धरूपे क्वचित् किञ्चित्तादृगेव निषिद्यते ।
विधानमन्तरेणातो न निषेधस्य संभवः ॥²⁰

In chapter 39 of the *Tattvaśuddhi*, in connection with the discussion of the substrate of avidyā, Jñānaghana refers respectfully to the view held by Sureśvara. The actual reference is : atmaiva svāvidyayā saṁsarati svāvidyayaiva vimucyate iti hi tattvavidām sthitiḥ. Though he does not explicitly mention Sureśvara by name, from Appayya Dīkṣita's *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha* (p. 122 of the Kāśī Skt. Series. See also Acyutakṛṣṇānanda's commentary thereon) we know that this view was held by Sureśvara.²¹ This favours Jñānaghana being placed about 900 A.D.

Again in chapter 44 of the *Tattvaśuddhi*, on avidyānivṛtti, Jñānaghana says :

यस्मात् नाज्ञाननिवृत्तिः सदसदनिर्वचनीयप्रकारा अस्माभिरभ्युपगम्यते ; किं तु पञ्चमप्रकारा । सदसदादिप्रकाराः किल निवृत्तयो भावाभावयोरेव दृष्टाः । अज्ञानं पुनः सदसद्विलक्षणम् । अतस्तन्निवृत्तिरपि तदनुसारिणी युक्ता । यक्षानुरूपो बलिरिति हि न्यायः । etc.

In the above pratika, there seems to be reference, without mention of name, to the views of Vimuktātman. For in the advaitic tradition, the fifth mode of avidyānivṛtti is associated with the name of Vimuktātman,²² though in the *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*,²³ this view is attributed to Ānandabodha. This would show that Vimuktātman was a predecessor of Jñānaghana.

Again in the above patrika it does not seem altogether impossible to suppose that there is a veiled reference to Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, when Jñānaghana says : yakṣānurūpo baliḥ iti hi nyāyah²⁴ Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, the great grandson of Śaktisvāmin, the minister of King Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir, could not have been very far removed from the famous Vācaspati Miśra (841 A.D.). Probably both of them were contemporaries.²⁵ This also is in favour of placing Jñānaghana about 900 A.D.

19 Prakaraṇa 1, p. 6 of the Madras Univ. edn

20 *Brahmasiddhi* p. 44 Mm. Kuppuswami SASTRIAR's Edn

21 Citsukha attributes this view to Vimuktātman. See *Citsukhi*, p. 363 and also the commentary thereon by Pratyagrūpabhagavān.

22 See *J O R. M. V.*, p. 332

23 Chapter IV.

24 Cf. the verse in *Nyāyamañjarī* p. 355.

न सन्नासन्न सदसन्ननिर्वाच्योऽपि तत्क्षयः ।

यक्षानुरूपो हि बलिरित्याचार्या व्यचीचरन् ॥

25 *Sarasvati Bhavana Studies* III, p. 104, f. n.

In another place²⁶ he refers to Umveka, not directly, but refers to his views as Umveka-pakṣa. This is clear evidence to prove that Jñānaghana lived at a period, when Umveka's views were authoritatively recognised. Umveka has been proved by scholars to be the same as Bhavabhūti, the dramatist-philosopher, on the evidence of Citsukha.²⁷ Umveka now, is also accepted to be a disciple of Kumārila.²⁸ Bhavabhūti lived about 750 A.D.²⁹ The fact that Umveka was very proficient in mīmāṃsā, especially in the *śloka-vārtika* of Kumārila is testified by the commonly quoted stanza :

ओम्बेकः कारिकां वेत्ति तन्त्रं वेत्ति प्रभाकरः ।

वामनस्तुभयं वेत्ति न किञ्चिदपि रेवणः ॥

Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccayaṭīkā : Guṇaratna, p. 20 Bib. Ind. edn.

The frequent references to the doctrines of mīmāṃsā and vedic exegesis in the dramas of Bhavabhūti also point to this fact. Umveka's commentary of the *Śloka-vārtika*³⁰ has been recently discovered. Umveka also wrote a commentary³¹ on Maṇḍana's *Bhāvanā-umveka*.³² He noted different readings in the text of Maṇḍana and in some places also gave alternative interpretations.³³ All these prove that Umveka was a great mīmāṃsaka. Reasonably some 100 years can be fairly assumed for the spread of Umveka's views in mīmāṃsā and for him to become as an authoritative exponent of this system and to have followers to justify the phrase—*umveka-pakṣa*. Thus *umveka-mata* in mīmāṃsā would have been prevalent only at about 850 A.D.³⁴ And the fact that Jñānaghana refers to Umveka's views with a certain amount of contempt shows that Jñānaghana could not have flourished earlier than 850 A.D. Thus Jñāna-

26 Ch 29—*Bhedābheda-nirāsa-prakarana*, p. 204 of the Madras Ms. D. 15729.

अयं तु क्षणकपक्षादपि पापीयानुम्बेकपक्ष इत्युपेक्ष्यते

27 *Citsukhi*, p. 265, N. S. Edn

28 See Intro. to *Gaudavaho* p. ccvi by S P PANDIT

इति श्रीमत्कुमारिलस्वामिप्रसादप्राप्तवाग्वैभव श्रीमदुम्बेकाचार्यविरचिते मालतीमाधवे पद्मोऽङ्कः ॥

29 Bhavabhūti must be referred to the last quarter of the 7th century and the first of the eighth, i.e. 675-725 A.D. See R G BHANDARKAR, Intro. to the *Report on Search of Mss in the Bom Pres* during 1883-4, p. 15

30. To be published shortly by the Madras University

31. Printed in the Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts Series

32. There is some doubt regarding the identity of this Umveka with the commentator on *Śloka-vārtika*. For Maṇḍana seems to have known of Sāṅkara's views about samuccaya-vāda and he disagreed with him. This shows that Sāṅkara and Maṇḍana were contemporaries. Thus Umveka, who commented on Maṇḍana's *Bhāvanā-umveka*, and noted different readings also in Maṇḍana's text, should necessarily be later than Maṇḍana and thus later than Sāṅkara too. Umveka, who is identical with Bhavabhūti and who wrote a commentary on *Śloka-vārtika*, thus cannot be the same as the commentator on *Bhāvanā-umveka*.

33. See I H. Q VII, p. 303

34. Another plausible objection is this. Is it necessary that Umveka-pakṣa should signify a school or a following of Umveka? Why not it be taken to mean Umveka's individual views? But the clear comparison of Umveka-pakṣa with Kṣapaṇakapakṣa in the reference given serves to answer this objection.

ghana can safely be placed about 900 A.D. which makes him a contemporary of Sarvajñātman, author of *Samkṣepaśārīraka*, who lived about 900 A.D.,³⁵ and not a contemporary of Prakāśātman,³⁶ as supposed by Mr. S. Srikanta SASTRI.

Another important point not to be lost sight of in this connection is this. The date of Jñānaghana is arrived at 900 A.D. taking that of Śaṅkara's death as 820 A.D. There is a difference of opinion regarding this date of Śaṅkara. If the date of Śaṅkara's death is taken as 664 A.D.,³⁷ a deduction of 156 years becomes necessary and thus Jñānaghana will have to be placed at 744 A.D. This is too early for him as proved by the internal evidence, where Jñānaghana refers to the *Umuckapakṣa*, which as has been said above would have been prevalent only at about 850 A.D. Nor can the date for Śaṅkara (655-687 A.D.) given by Dr. Chintamani³⁸ be accepted, for the same reason. Again for the very same reason, the date ascribed recently by Bhagavaddatta to Śaṅkara's disciple, Viśvarūpa (600 A.D.) also cannot be accepted. Bhagavaddatta attributes this date to Viśvarūpa after identifying Pratāpāśīla occurring in a verse at the end of the Ācārādhyāya of Viśvarūpa's *Bālakrīḍā*,³⁹ a commentary on *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, with King Prabhākaravardhana (who died in 605 A.D.) and was probably Viśvarūpa's patron on the authority of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, who in his *Harṣacarita*, beginning of the 4th Ucchvāsa says :

तेषु चैवमुत्पद्यमानेषु.....प्रतापशील इति प्रथितापरत्नामा प्रभाकरवर्धनो नाम राजाभिराजः ।

This is not sufficient evidence to establish the identity. For the word 'pratāpāśīla' occurs in many inscriptions and need not necessarily imply a proper name. It, after all, signifies only valour. And Prabhākaravardhana was not the only King noted for his valour. Bāṇa simply wanted to give expression to Prabhākaravardhana's prowess and he poetically expressed pratāpāśīla as another well-known name of Prabhākaravardhana. Thus the identification of Pratāpāśīla with Prabhākaravardhana is not sufficiently supported by evidence.

Hence until further decisive evidences are put forth to contradict the date of Śaṅkara's death as 820 A.D., it tentatively holds good.

Mr. J. C. GOSWAMI,⁴⁰ on the authority of the Śringeri list, assigns Jñāna-

35 Das GUPTA · *History of Indian Philosophy*, II, p. 111.

36 See later.

37. *Brahmasiddhi* · Introduction, p. lviii

38 J. O. R., Madras, III, p. 47.

39 इति संभृतमण्डलः सुधामा पुरुषचिरो रमणः प्रतापशीलः ।
रविरिव नृपतिः समः प्रजानां जगदखिल व्यवहारतो विभर्ति ॥

See also .

प्रथमोदयानुरक्तो निखिलमल मण्डलं निजं कृत्वा ।

पालयति सततमुर्वी अतिबलवानेष नृपसविता ॥

End of Vyāvahārādhyāya of *Bālakrīḍā*.

ghana to the period 848-910 A.D. This is approximately correct. But he goes on to identify Śrīhagiri found in the list with Gauḍeśvara, Citsukha's preceptor and says that Śrīhagiri is identical with Jñānottama. This point is still doubtful.

Recently again, Mr. S. Srikanta SASTRI,⁴¹ thinks that *Tattvaśuddhi* was based on a work named *Āmatattva*! probably by Ananyānubhava. The basis for this assumption is this. First of all he wrongly quotes the text of *Tattvaśuddhi* thus⁴² :

इह खलु निखिलोपनिषत्पदकदम्बकतात्पर्यपर्यालोचनापरिनिश्चित अनन्यानुभवानन्दाद्वितीयात्म-
तत्त्वमधिकृत्य केषुचिदर्थेषु तत्त्वपरिशोधनं विधीयते ।

The correct version of the text is ⁴³

इह खलु. —मधिकृत्य केषुचिदर्थेषु तत्त्वपरिशोधनं विधीयते ।

He seems to read in the words 'āmatattvam adhikṛtya' some undue emphasis and interprets them as based on *Āmatattva*, a work! Who is the author of this so-called *Āmatattva*? Srikanta SASTRI proceeds to interpret the compound —ananyānubhavānandādvitīyātmattvam as referring to Ananyānubhava, the author of *Āmatattva*, on which is based Jñānaghana's *Tattvaśuddhi*. In support of this wrong reading and undue emphasis on certain words, he sets forth the evidence of Prakāśātman, who in his *Vivaraṇa*⁴⁴ says that one Ananyānubhava was his guru. Thus Srikanta SASTRI makes Jñānaghana a contemporary and probably a disciple of Ananyānubhava.

This sort of surmises seems to come out of the interpreter's enthusiasm to find out new and hitherto unknown works and authors in advaita. For the explanation of the commentary⁴⁵ on *Tattvaśuddhi* for the word 'adhikṛtya' is not in his favour. There, adhikṛtya is given as equivalent to 'prastutya', which means only 'about which'. Further the words अनन्यानुभवानन्दाद्वितीयात्म-

41 *IHQ.* XIV. ii. p. 402.

42 *IHQ.* XIV. ii. p. 402

43 See edition of *Tattvaśuddhi* in the *Annals of Or. Institute*, Madras University.

44 See *Vivaraṇa* Introductory verse 6

वन्दे तमात्मसम्बुद्धस्फुरद्ब्रह्मावबोधतः ।

अर्थतोऽपि न नात्रैव योऽनन्यानुभवो गुरुः ॥

45. The commentary is by one Uttamañña, disciple of Jñānottama. See the introductory verses in the commentary as also the colophon. A copy of this commentary is available in the Madras Mss. Library No. 15730

यन्नामश्रवणाद्गीता वादिनो मोहिता शृणुम् ।

तस्मै ज्ञानोत्तमार्याय जगन्मोहमिदे नमः ॥ २ ॥

उत्तमज्ञो यतिवरो ज्ञानोत्तमपदाश्रयः ।

तत्त्वशुद्धेस्तु सद्वाक्यामह कुर्वे यथाबलम् ॥ ३ ॥

Colophon .

इति परानन्दपरिज्ञानपरितृप्तपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमज्ज्ञानोत्तमभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्ये-
णोत्तमज्ञयतिवरेण मयेयं सद्वाक्या कृतेति ।

स्वमधिकृत्य cannot satisfactorily and without prejudice to the principles of Sanskrit grammar give rise to the assumption that Ananyānubhava was the author of one *Ātmatattva*, a work! If this is so, the words ānanda and advitīyā go without any connection or *sāmarthya* and could not be tagged together in the above compound. The words at best yield only the sense—that some points about (adhikṛtya) the nature of Ātman (Ātmatattva) which is secondless and of the nature of bliss to be realised only by personal experience (ananya-anubhava-ānanda-advitīya) are to be considered in the following 46 chapters of the *Tattvaśuddhi*.

If Mr. Srikanta SASTRI thinks that he can have some liberty in interpreting the above compound, another person cannot be denied the same. And a third man can as well suppose one Anubhavānanda as the author of some work, probably *Ātmatattva*. If against this Mr. SASTRI says that his position is supported by Prakāśātman's evidence, it is also possible to say that Anubhavānanda was the guru of Amalānanda⁴⁶ (*Kalpataru*). Or one can again suppose that Anubhavānanda, pupil of Kṛṣṇānanda (author of *Siddhāntasiddhānta*) and author of a commentary called *Advaitaratnakośa-prakāśa*⁴⁷ on Nṛsiṃhāśrama's *Advaitaratnakośa*, was the author of *Ātmatattva*, an independent advaita work, on which was based Jñānaghana's *Tattvaśuddhi*. In this case, instead of Jñānaghana being the contemporary of Prakāśātman, as supposed by Mr. Srikanta SASTRI, he can be shown to have flourished in the 18th century. For, Anubhavānanda, the commentator on Nṛsiṃhāśrama's *Advaitaratnakośa*, should have flourished in the latter half of the 17th century. And Jñānaghana to base his *Tattvaśuddhi* on this Anubhavānanda's work, the so-called *Ātmatattva*, can be easily ascribed to the beginning of the 18th century. All this to show that there is or can be no limit to this kind of surmises.

Let us now see what other information can be had of Jñānaghana. All that we know of him is that he was the disciple of one Bodhaghanācārya, and that he was the fourth from Śaṅkarācārya in the pontificate at Śringeri. AUFRECHT⁴⁸ notices a commentary on *Caturvedatālparyasaṅgraha* of Haradatta, attributed to one Jñānaghana and identifies him with the author of *Tattvaśuddhi*. A copy of Jñānaghana's gloss on *Caturvedatālparyasaṅgraha* is available in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.⁴⁹ It begins :

46 See colophon to Amalānanda's *Kalpataru*. Also introductory stanza 8 to the same.

स्वयंप्रमुखं ब्रह्म दयारचितविग्रहम् ।

यथार्थानुभवानन्दपदगीतं गुरु नमः ॥

47 See *Des Cat. of Mss in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library*, Nos. 7502-04. This Anubhavānanda is also the author of a commentary called *Prabhā-mandala* on *Sāstradīpikā*, ibid. No. 6932. This work is different from the *Prabhā-mandala* of Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita on the *Sāstradīpikā*.

48 *Cat. Catalogorum* I, p. 179a

49 *Des Cat of Mss. in ASB*. VII, No. 5621.

श्रीहरदत्ताचार्यकृतचतुर्वेदतात्पर्यदीपिकाप्रारंभः । शिवरहस्ये शिवोक्तिः । कलियुगे मङ्गलो भविष्यति । आचार्यचरणैः चतुर्वेदतात्पर्यसंग्रहः क्रियते इत्युक्तम् । तन्मूलसूत्रस्तवो लिख्यते—
महादेवो देवः etc.

It ends :

इति श्रीज्ञानघनेन विरचिता चतुर्वेदतात्पर्यसंग्रहदीपिका समाप्ता । श्रीगौरीशङ्करार्पणमस्तु ।
दीपिकासंख्या शतद्वादश (112).

This Jñānaghana seems to me to be different and later than the author of *Tattvaśuddhi*. Haradatta Śivācārya probably flourished at the end of the 11th century. For *Kureśaviṇaya* is a point to point refutation of Haradatta's *Pañcanatnamālikā*. Haradatta, thus, was a contemporary of Rāmānuja and an elder contemporary of Kureśa⁵⁰. Again from the introductory verses of the chapters of *Tattvaśuddhi* it is clear that Jñānaghana, author of *Tattvaśuddhi* worshipped Viṣṇu.⁵¹ And for the devotee of Viṣṇu, to write a commentary of a purely Śaiva work, though not impossible, does not seem to be probable. Further the *Dīpikā* on *Caturvedatātparyasangraha* is very brief,⁵² and does not exhibit the thorough and comprehensive style of Jñānaghana, author of *Tattvaśuddhi*. Thus with the available facts, at present, it is not safe to say that the author of the *Caturvedatātparyadīpikā* is identical with Jñānaghana, author of *Tattvaśuddhi*.

50. *Proceedings of 6th All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 609

51. See also the last stanza in *Tattvaśuddhi* where the author himself says that he was a devotee of Viṣṇu.

श्रीमच्छङ्करभाष्यदुग्धजलधेरादाय विद्याजलं

सद्यो बोधघनो विनेयफलवत्सस्योत्करे वर्षति ।

तद्विद्याजलबिन्दुसंस्तुतमतिश्रुते सदाधोश्चजे

भक्तो ज्ञानघनाभिधानगदितः तत्त्वार्थशुद्धिं मुनिः ॥

52. *Dīpikā-samkhyā śata-dvādaśa* (112). Refer to above.

CORRESPONDENCE

A COMPREHENSIVE INDEX TO THE QUR'AN

To

THE EDITORS,

New Indian Antiquary.

Dear Sirs,

The Committee of the Islamic Research Association has for some time past been considering the advisability of preparing a comprehensive *Index* to the *Qur'an* in English. The inadequacy and incompleteness of the existing indexes is well known to all those who are interested in Islamic studies. It is felt that a full and adequate index, free from the prevalent inaccuracies, would be a useful addition to the reference books concerning Islam.

It is therefore a matter of gratification to the Committee to announce that the President of our Association has offered a prize of Rs. 500 for the preparation of such an index. The index when ready will be published by the Association at its own cost. The particulars, terms and conditions are as follows :

- (1) The *Index* to the *Qur'an* should be in English.
- (2) The references will be to the Egyptian Royal ed. (A. H. 1342, Bulaq) and also, to FLÜGEL'S ed. of the Arabic Text.
- (3) The *Index* should be arranged like a dictionary and should be on the model of WENSINCK'S *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* (Brill, Leiden, 1927). It should be arranged alphabetically, for facility of reference, and not in separate sections. It must be full and comprehensive, containing (a) Geographical Names, (b) Names of Persons and Tribes, (c) Technical Terms and (d) a complete subject-index, and full cross-references.
- (4) In the preparation of the index, particular attention should be paid to the needs of the *layman* (accustomed to read the *Qur'an* in an English translation).
- (5) The MS. (typewritten, or written with equal legibility) should be submitted on or before 31st December 1942, to the Hon. Secretary, Islamic Research Association. It should be copy for the press, that is, absolutely ready for being sent to the printer, typewritten (or written) on one side of the paper only, and provided with a margin.
- (6) The Committee reserves to itself the right to give extra time to an author, on sufficient reason being given.
- (7) The Committee shall be the sole judge of the merits of the MSS. submitted and it reserves to itself the right to reject any or all MSS. offered without assigning any reasons, and its decision shall be final.
- (8) The rejected MSS. will in due course be returned to the respective authors, but whilst it is intended to take every care to ensure the safe return of the MSS. to the author, the Association or its officers will not be responsible for the loss of, or damage to, the MSS.
- (9) The selected MS. will be published in the series of the Islamic Research Association.

- (10) Every person regardless of religion, nationality, race or sex is eligible to compete,

Provided that the Members of the Executive Committee of the Islamic Research Association shall not be so eligible

- (11) The accepted MS and its copyright will belong to the Association.

Every student of Islam is earnestly invited to compete for the prize. Scholars who are contemplating to prepare such an index are invited to write to the Hon. Secretary.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly give to the above announcement the widest publicity possible, by publishing it in the journals in which you are interested, or by exhibiting it on the Notice Board, or by any other means.

Yours faithfully,

Bombay, 10 April 1940

A. A. A. FYZEE

Replies may kindly be sent to Asaf A A Fyzee Esq., Hon. Secretary Islamic Research Association, Government Law College, Bombay, 1. India

OUTLINE OF A SCHEME FOR AN INDIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS

Objects —

1. To represent to the World of Letters, the intellectual achievement in the Indian vernacular literatures and to stand out as a representative institution of India by means of which the influence of India might be greater
2. To make known the vernacular literatures outside their linguistic area and to encourage good writers by means of annual awards.
3. To influence the Cultural unification of India and to co-ordinate the various activities of several branches of study and creative genius
4. To encourage individual genius by awarding annual prizes to the best of literary, scientific and artistic productions in India.
5. To foster unity and friendship among poets and artists all over India by holding conferences in which mutual expression of views and experiences should be rendered possible, and to do all that is necessary to encourage, spread and develop by all possible means the literary and artistic genius in India. The Academy should be run absolutely on non-communal and non-provincial lines. The membership of the Academy should be kept on a basis of pure merit and should be free from all personal considerations. It shall be a distinction comparable to membership in the Academies of leading Western Countries.

The Constitution and The Organization of the Academy —

1. Branches of the Academy should be established in each province (having a recognised vernacular) and these should be co-ordinated by a Central Office of the Academy at Delhi, Calcutta or Bombay.
2. Each Provincial branch should maintain its own language and collect specimens of excellent literary and artistic productions of the year. They should be sent to the Central Office from all parts of India.

3. The Board of Award at the Centre should be run in English or Hindi, and it should assign the hall-mark of recognition to certain really meritorious works, after appraising their value and apportioning their merit. They should arrange for their translation into a common language. The awards should be made for the best work in all fields of Cultural activity, Literature, Art, and Research in Science and History.

4. The Academy should run a bi-monthly journal in English or Hindi in which contributions from writers all over India and reports of activities from all provinces should be published. The Journal should be conducted by an Editorial Board representing all provincial units and aspects of culture.

5. The Academy should undertake the publication of a Bibliography of Indian Publications, for which the Co-operation of all the Academies, Research Societies and Art-Galleries in India should be sought. This should be an annual feature, for which a handsome subsidy from the Government should be applied for.

6. The Management of the Academy should vest in an annually elected President, Vice-President and three General Secretaries assisted by an Executive Committee of a representative character. The Board of Award and The Editorial Board should be affiliated to the Central Executive Body.

7. An All-India Conference should meet every year, to which delegates from all provinces should attend. The Conference should be utilized for exchange of views, discussion of important topics and problems facing the Academy and the body should arrive at resolutions which should be binding on the Body. The President of the Conference should be duly elected by all delegates.

8. The Indian Academy should be represented in all International Conferences, by a batch of delegates, specially elected by the body.

In the initial stages, the Academy should apply to the Government and Public Bodies for funds. Liberal donations from patriotic philanthropists should also be sought.

Vizianagarum City.

D. VISVESVARA RAU.

REVIEWS

Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the year 1937. University of Mysore, Government Press, Bangalore, 1938. Pp. ix+243

This Report of the Archæological Survey of Mysore for the year ending 30th June 1937 is as replete with information and illustrations as its predecessors. Among the ancient sites studied during the period of this report were Channarayana, Chitaldrug, Kittur and Hale-Ālūr. Of the monuments studied two deserve special mention viz (1) The Arkeśvara temple at Hale-Ālūr with its numerous sculptures of the Chōla period and (2) the Rāmesvara temple at Narasamangala, a unique monument with very fine sculptures. Some valuable epigraphic work was also done by the Department during this period. About 75 inscriptions were collected, some of which have been edited by Mr R Rama RAO, the Assistant of the Department with the help of Pandits under the instructions of Dr M. H. KRISHNA, M. A., D. Litt. the Director of Archæology. Among the new finds, two are important: (1) an epigraph on the Dhvaja-stambha of the Keśava temple at Bēlūr stating that the golden Khaga-dhavya stambha was set up by Jakkarasa, son of Timmarasa, subordinate of the famous king Krishnarāya of Vijayanagar, and (2) an inscription of the same temple recording a grant made to some Śiva temple near Bēlūr by Ballāja I, the Hoysala king in 1106 A.D. The Department also purchased the Basavanpur copperplates of the Punnād king Skandavarman which were published as No. 53 of 1936. An interesting MS (of the "Memoirs of Hyder Ally from the year 1758 to 1770" by Eloy Joze Correa Peixoto, a Portuguese in Hydar's service) which was acquired previously was completely copied in spite of its faintly visible hand-writing and studied for review. The Department also acquired some 50 interesting coins and prepared 141 electro-type casts for the coin show-case of the Government Museum, Bangalore. The Director and his assistants, took an active part in the sexcentenary celebrations of the Vijayanagar Empire at Hampi. These are some of the details of Part I of the Report.

Part II of the Report is devoted to the *Study of Ancient Monuments and Sites* (pp 3-73). It contains much useful matter for the benefit of students of Indian Sculpture and Iconography as a mere glance at the plates will show. Part III deals with Numismatics (pp 74-81) and describes some Pāṇḍya coins of date prior to A.D. 1200 and also those of later Pāṇḍyas (after A.D. 1210) viz. Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, Sundara Pāṇḍya II, Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and Māravarman Kulaśekhara I. Part IV (*Manuscripts*) pp 82-119 describes the MS of *Memoirs of Hyder Ally* referred to above and takes a detailed review of its contents. The MS was purchased in London. Another copy of this MS in English exists in the British Museum and consists of 176 pages. The present MS contains 166 pages in three books. It is possible to suggest that this MS is a translation of an original Portuguese MS written in A.D. 1770. These *Memoirs* of Hyder (1758-1770) record chronologically many anecdotes about his rise in the army and eventually in the administration of the country. It refers to many facts touching on Hyder's ability and character e.g. his unscrupulousness in killing his mother with his own hands. This story of matricide requires corroboration though it is a contemporary statement from one who had great admiration for his hero. Part V (*New Inscriptions for the year 1937*) pp 120-189 contains the texts, Notes and translations of many lithic records, some of which bear dates A.D. 1455, 1340, 1259, 1282, 1311, 1280, 1294, 1303, 1196, 1337, 1514, 1276, 1181, 1109, 1148, 1162, 1140, 1097, 1142, 1240, 1207, 1551, 1122, 1303, 1300, 1334, 1337, etc. One of the inscriptions, though not dated belongs to the Ganga ruler Satyavākya Rāchamalla II

(c. 9th Cent. A.D.). The sculpture of a *bull* (Plate II, 2) depicting a young bull of the "Baroda breed" would be found interesting to the historians of Indian agriculture and Cattle-breeding. Another important sculpture is the image of *Paraśurāma* (Plate XI, 3) with his *paraśu* or mace-axe resting on the right knee. As in the sculptures in Ellora and Elephanta his lower lip is thick while the upper one is thin. This reminds us of the celebrated "Austrian lip." Other sculptures though important cannot be indicated in this notice for want of space.

Dr. KRISHNA and his Department deserve our best thanks for publishing such Reports under the direct patronage of the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, one of the most progressive and enlightened rulers of modern India.

P. K. G.

Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume (Published under the auspices of the Vijayanagara Empire Sexcentenary Association and Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar) 1936, Pp. iv+380; Size :—7½" × 10".

The present volume, sumptuous in matter and form, is a visible indication of that national consciousness among Indian Scholars, which has shown itself as a potent factor dominating all their activities in varied spheres, social, intellectual and political, during the last two decades. This healthy attitude of mind has brought forth a national revival in all spheres of intellectual life and has given us a new vision and a new aim in our studies pertaining to our past glories as also our pitfalls.

It is really an irony of fate that a Hindu Empire which stood in tact against foreign inroads for no less than two hundred years should be shattered to pieces by one decisive battle and should require a Sexcentenary volume to commemorate its glories and cultural achievements! Be that as it may, we heartily thank the organizers of the present volume for putting together much valuable historical matter about this "forgotten empire" in the form of 32 papers (with numerous illustrations) from young and veteran scholars, who have been actuated by the sole desire of representing every aspect of this empire on the basis of historical records.

In 1931 Mr. P. N. BENGURI of Hubli suggested a celebration at Hampi in commemoration of the Sexcentenary of the foundation the Vijayanagara Empire. An association for this purpose was formed in 1933 and public opinion in favour of the celebration was created among the people of Karnataka by holding conferences at Hubli (1933), Raichur (1934) and Bombay (1934). It was decided to publish a (1) History of Vijayanagara in Kannada, (2) a Vijayanagara Commemoration volume first in English and in vernaculars later on as also (3) a picture-album of the monumental relics of Vijayanagara. Of these three items the monumental English volume is an accomplished fact and we await an early execution of the two other items with eagerness.

The present volume has been brought out under the guidance of the veteran historian Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D. who, in spite of his advanced age of 66 years devoted his energies to the work of the volume and but for whose guidance "the volume would not have had the finish in the matter and form which it now has" as we are informed gratefully by Mr. D. P. KARMARKAR, the Secretary of the "Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume."

Before closing our short notice of this volume we shall only indicate in brief the names of contributors together with their contributions: (1) S. K. Aiyangar—*Character and Significance of the Empire of Vijayanagar in Indian History*, (2) H. HERAS—*Vijayanagara Empire a Synthesis of South Indian Culture*, (3) R. RAMRAO—*Hinduism under Vijayanagara Kings*, (4) K. ISHWARA DUTT—*Telugu Literature under Vijayanagara Empire*, (5) S. R. SHARMA—*Vijayanagara and Jainism*, (6) C.

SIVARAMAMURTI—*Vijayanagar Paintings from the Temple at Lepakshi*, (7) S. PARAMASIVAN—*Late Vijayanagara Paintings in the Bhāḍiśvara Temple at Tanjore*, (8) R. S. PANCHAMUKHI—*Coinage of the Vijayanagara Dynasties*, (9) D. B. DISKALKAR—*Shahaji's Relations with Vijayanagara*, (10) T. S. SHEJWALKAR—*What Shivaji and the Maratha State owed to Vijayanagara*, (11) B. A. SALETOR—*Theories Concerning the Origin of Vijayanagara*, (12) S. SRIKANTAYYA—*Vijayanagara and Vidyāranya*, (13) V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR—*Establishment of the Vijayanagara Rule in the Tamil Country*, (14) K. RAGHAVA CHARLU—*Krishna Raya, The Man*, (15) G. H. KHARE—*Krishnadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara and the Viṭhala Image at Pandharpur*, (16) R. N. SALETOR—*Some Aspects of Art during the Reign of Krishnadeva Rāya*, (17) V. S. RAMACHANDRA MURTY—*Authorship and Importance of the Amuktamālyada as a Source of History for the Reign of Shri Krishnadevarāya*, (18) G. S. DIXIT—*Economic Conditions in the Time of Krishnadevarāya*, (19) N. VENKATA RAO—*Krishnadevarāya and his Literary Circle*, (20) B. KESHAVA RAO—*Historical Importance of Pārijātāpaharanam*, (21) K. K. BASU—*Battle of Talikota*, (22) N. LAKSHMINARAYANA RAO—*The Nāyakas of Keladi*, (23) N. K. V. PANTULU—*An Interesting Chapter in the History of Vijayanagara*, (24) C. M. R. CHETTIAR—*Rule of Vijayanagara Over Kongu Country*, (25) M. H. KRISHNA—*Vidyasankara Temple, Sringeri*, (26) S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI—*Development of Sanskrit Literature under Vijayanagara*, (27) N. SUBRAHMANYAM—*Geographical Notes on the Chief Capitals of the Vijayanagara Empire*, (28) P. S. SUNDARAM IYER—*Sri Vidyāranya and Music*, (29) C. HAYAVADANA RAO—*Lines of Future Research in Vijayanagara History*, (30) D. L. NARASIMHA CHAR—*Kannada Literature under Vijayanagara*, (31) K. V. H. KRISHNACHARYA—*Music under the Vijayanagara Empire*, (32) V. RAGHAVAN—*Brahmasūtravṛtti of Praudhadevaraya*. The above contents speak for the richness and variety of the subject matter, which we are sure, would make the volume indispensable to all lovers of Indian History in India and outside.

P. K. G.

Bhāskari (Vol. I)—A commentary on the *Īśvara-Pratyabhijñā-vimarsinī* of Abhinavagupta, edited by K. A. Subramania IYER and Dr. K. C. PANDEY, University of Lucknow (Sanskrit Department); Prince of Wales Saraswati Bhavan Texts, No. 70 Allahabad, 1938. Pp. XIII + 425. Size 5½" × 9". Price, Rs. 6.

The volume before us is an illustrious addition to the celebrated Saraswati Bhavan Texts Series of Benares. The *Īśvara-Pratyabhijñā-Vimarsinī* of Abhinavagupta is the most important work on the Śaiva Philosophy of Kashmir, as it is a mature product of Abhinavagupta's brilliant genius. It gives the fundamentals of Śaivism in a brief but lucid manner of exposition. Abhinava is known to us also as the author of the *Abhinavabhāratī* commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He was influenced in his exposition of the theory of *Rasa* by the Kashmir Śaiva Philosophy of which he was an acknowledged master. The need for a traditional interpretation of this philosophy so long felt by scholars has been at last fulfilled by the present commentary of Bhāskara, published for the first time by two able scholars Prof. AIYAR and Dr. PANDEY of the Lucknow University.

Bhāskara's commentary or *Bhāskari* is represented by a rare MS used for the present edition. It was discovered by Dr. PANDEY (the indefatigable author of the monumental work on *Abhinavagupta*) in Śrinagar in 1931. Its owner is a descendant of Bhāskara still living in Kashmir. A copy of this original MS is now in the possession of Pandit Maheshwar RAZDAN of Śrinagar. This copy has been used for the pre-

sent edition. The difficulty of editing a Sanskrit text on the basis of a single MS is very great but the editors have tried their best to be faithful to the MS used by them facilitating the work of subsequent editors. In the critical introduction the Editors have explained in detail the value of this commentary. They are of opinion that "Bhāskara's interpretation of the Vimarśinī is in strict accordance with tradition, because the Śaiva tradition was unbroken, as he himself says, upto his time (*Bhāskari*, I. p. 7)." Giving an estimate of Bhāskara as a commentator we are told that "Hardly any word of the original is left unexplained. But it is not merely a word for word commentary. He tries to bring out the philosophical import of the original and, where necessary, he enlarges upon the real meaning of Abhinava." As regards Bhāskara's date and antecedents Dr. PANDEY has already dealt with the subject on p. 151 ff. of his "*Abhinavagupta*" and hence the subject is not dealt with in the present Introduction.

If Bhāskara strictly follows tradition and if his exposition of Abhinava's text is very scholarly and rooted in this tradition the fact that Bhāskara is a late commentator of the 18th century need not detract the value of his commentary as emphasized by the learned editors. It is high time that many of the texts on the Śaiva Philosophy of Kashmir now in MS form are published by scholars in Kashmir and outside and thus made available for further critical study in the manner adopted by Prof. AIYAR and Dr. PANDEY.

P. K. G.

Malwa in Transition or A Century of Anarchy, The First Phase (1698-1765) by Dr. Raghubir SINGH, M.A., LL.B., D. LITT. with a Foreword by Jadunath SARKAR, Kt. C.I.E., D. LITT.; D. B. Taraporewalla & Co. 210 Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. 1936. xv + 391. Price Rs. 5/- Size . 5½" x 8"

It is a pity that Malwa, which played an important part during the Hindu and early Muslim periods of Indian History has had upto now no history worthy of its past except Sir John MALCOLM'S *Memoir of Central India* (1820), which, being a pioneer work, was necessarily imperfect and became obsolete in course of time. This deficiency in the history of Malwa has been now happily made good by our learned friend Dr. Raghubir SINGH, who combines in himself in a unique degree all the benefits accruing from a rare co-operation of *Śrī* and *Sarasvatī*. To add to this blessed circumstance the Maharāj Kumar possesses intimate knowledge of Malwa with its topography and genealogy a factor which makes his present study of Malwa, "intensive, accurate and exhaustive" as Sir Jadunath SARKAR calls it in his brief but forceful Foreword to the Volume. The Raj Kumar has also utilized all the available materials, bearing on the period chosen by him, in printed and manuscript records from Persian, Marathi, Hindi, English and French sources, thus making his history comprehensive, rich and factual, but perspicuous and readable, divested of hyperbole and undue patriotism. It would be difficult to replace such a history of Malwa easily by a better one for at least half a century to come.

The volume is divided into seven chapters. --- (1) Mālwa at the close of the 17th century (pp. 1-23); (2) Mālwa during the last decade Aurangzeb's reign (pp. 24-873), (3) The increasing importance of Mālwa (1707-1719) pp. 88-126; (4) The Mughal-Maratha struggle (first stage 1719-1730) pp. 127-207; (5) The Mughal-Maratha stage (second stage 1730-1741) pp. 208-287; (6) The consolidation of the Maratha Hold on Mālwa and the End of the Epoch (1741-1765) pp. 288-321; (7) Condition of Mālwa during the Period (1698-1765) pp. 322-339.

The author's conclusion about the First Phase of Malwa's history dealt with in the present volume is that "the whole period (1698-1765) was naturally one of transi-

tion and that the province saw great changes which revolutionized its society, culture and ideals, introduced new factors and above all gave entirely new colour to its political map" During the period of upheaval and disorder any great creative effort was naturally wanting. A general degradation of intellectual life of the province was inevitable during the period. Whether the impact of the Marathas would help Mālwa to rise once again to its former greatness could be answered by a study of the second phase. We await with eagerness this study of the *Second phase* of the history of Mālwa promised by the learned author in the present volume. The *Bibliography*, *Index* and the *Maps* which accompany the volume make it very useful to the students of Indian History. The volume has been carefully edited and neatly printed,—features which reflect credit on the author and the publisher alike. A few photographs of some of the historic sites in Malwa would have enhanced the value of the historical narrative of this Mālwa in Transition.

P. K. G.

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas (in lower Deccan) by Dinesh Chandra SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D., University of Calcutta, 1939, Pp xv+417 Size.—6½"×9½".

The early history of India has ever remained a subject of exceptional interest to historians perhaps on account of the paucity of material which makes historical reconstruction difficult, if not impossible. Eminent scholars, Indian and foreign, have exerted themselves continuously to give us a reasonable and readable account of the early dynastic and cultural history on the strength of epigraphic and literary evidence so far available. Much churning of the available inscriptions has already been effected and as a result of this incessant labour the bare outlines of history have been made visible. The pioneer work done by scholars like BHANDARKAR, FLEET, RICE, DERBREUIL and others in the field of the early history of Peninsular India has been inspiring younger scholars like Dr. D. C. SIRCAR to further efforts in the field and as a result thereof we have before us the present volume in which the author tries to develop in a strictly scientific manner the views exposed by him in his monographs and papers bearing on that "Blank in history" between the last great Sātavāhana (Andhra ruler and the first Pulakeśin). The Volume is divided into two Parts, *Part I* dealing with the Eastern Districts (the Andhra region) and *Part II* with the Western Districts, (the Karnātak region). To reconstruct a back-bone from the dry lines of epigraphs is, not an easy job, especially in a field where many of these bones are likely to remain "bones of contention" between one expert and another. The author has given in this volume not merely a survey of research but has added to it some new points (vide p 5 *Intro*) for the consideration of responsible scholars. We have, therefore, no doubt that his work would be useful to every student of Indian history who cares to interest himself in the exploration and investigation of the dark recesses of the history of the Deccan in the widest sense of the term. We await with eagerness the Second Volume of this work (in the course of preparation), dealing with the dynasties that succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the Upper Deccan.

Poona

P. K. GODE

HARI KAVI'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE BHAVĀNĪ SWORD OF SHIVAJI THE GREAT

By

P. K. GODE, Poona

In 1924 Mr. S. M. EDWARDS contributed a note on *Shivaji's Sword "Bhavānī"* to the *Indian Antiquary*¹ which he concluded with the following appeal to scholars :—

"The question still remains 'where is now the original Sword Bhavānī?' In view of what is written above and of the fact that the Sword now worshipped at Satara is the Sword of Shahu, can any reader suggest a solution of the problem? Could the Sword have been taken to Benares when the Raja retired thither after his deposition? Has it been hidden to reappear at some future date as the symbol of a united Maratha people? Perhaps

I. Vol. LIII, 1924, pp 18-20—References to the Bhavānī Sword recorded by Mr. EDWARDS are as follows :—

- (1) *Swadigvijaya Bakhar* (reference translated by Dr. Surendranath SEN on p 181 of his translation of *Sabhāsad Bakhar*).
- (2) Grant DUFF's *History of the Marathas* Vol. I, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1921, p. 230—Grant DUFF states that the Bhavānī Sword "is still preserved by the Raja of Satara". On p. 244 (Vol. I) he mentions that Sambhaji carried the sword during the Maratha attack on Goa in 1683 and that he did great execution with it. On p. 313 (Vol. I) he states that two swords viz. (1) the *Bhavānī Sword* and (2) the *sword of Afzalkhan* of Bijapur had been taken by the Mughals at Raigarh. These were given as presents to Shahu by Aurangzeb when Shahu's nuptials were celebrated by the Emperor. Both these swords as well as the third sword personally presented to Shahu by Aurangzeb were in the possession of the Raja of Satara at the time Grant DUFF published his history in 1826.
- (3) Mr D. B. PARASNIS informed Mr. EDWARDS that the sword preserved at Satara is 3'-9" in length in the blade and 8" long in the handle and bears a *Marathi inscription* "*Srimant Sarkār Raymandal Raja Shahu Kadim Avval*," which shows that it is the weapon of Shahu. PARASNIS further informed Mr. EDWARDS that there is a belief at Satara that the original Bhavani Sword was taken by Tarabai, wife of Rajaram to Kolhapur and that in 1875 this sword was presented by the Diwan of Kolhapur to H. M. the late King Edward. It was exhibited in 1878 at the Paris exhibition (vide p. 68 of Handbook of the British Indian Section of this exhibition by Sir George BIRDWOOD). Mr. EDWARDS made inquiries in England about the above sword the result of which rendered it certain that the Bhavānī was never taken to England.
- (4) Pratap Singh the Raja of Satara presented General Lionel Smith with a sword in A.D. 1820 with the approval of the then Governor of Bombay. Mr. EDWARDS rejects PARASNIS' suggestion that this sword may have been the Bhavānī sword.

some one of the leading students of Maratha history may be able to answer the question "

In view of this appeal made 14 years ago by the then editor of the *Indian Antiquary* and finding that no effort had been made by scholars to examine the whole problem of the genesis and historicity of the Bhavani sword I was tempted to make some notes about this problem and make my own contribution to it, howsoever slight, though I don't claim to be a 'leading' student of Maratha History. In these notes I tried to gather what has been said about the Bhavāni sword by some of the previous writers on the subject with a view to indicate the stage at which the problem stands at present. Thinking that these notes may be of use to other workers in this field I am publishing them after waiting for full two years (since this paper was first drafted) with a view to get the benefit of exchange of views with senior workers in the field.

In the *Shivaji Souvenir*² published on the occasion of the Ter-centenary of the Maratha King, Shivaji the Great, we find photographs of four panels of Shivaji Memorial prepared by the celebrated sculptor, V. P. KARMARKAR (facing p. 98 of English Section of the *Souvenir*). One of these panels contains the picture of Goddess Bhavāni with eight arms presenting a sword to Shivaji Maharaj, who is shewn at her feet with face towards the goddess and receiving the sword with both his hands. Mr. H. George FRANKS interprets this panel by putting the following words on record as coming from the mouth of the Great Shivaji. —

"I received that famous sword very early in my career as a token of a compact with the Chief Gowalkar Sawant. It has been suggested to me on my way to the place where it was being kept that I should take it by force, but remembering what tremendous storms are sometimes raised by unnecessary trifles, I thought it better to leave it to its owner, especially as its possession was not a matter of life and death to me. In the end the wise chief brought the sword to me as a sign of amity even when he knew that its purchase-price was not to be measured in blood. From that day onward

2. Edited by G. S. SARDESAI contains an *English section* which includes (1) the Jedhe chronology (2) the Jedhe karena (3) Are the Bhonsales Kshatriyas? (4) Shivaji and the Portuguese (5) Original documents. — Shahaji's letter to Ali Adil Shah, A Persian Firman, Shivaji's letter to his father, Shivaji to Maloji Ghorpade, Shivaji to his officers, etc. (6) Shivaji's letter to Jayasinha, etc., and a *Marathi-Hindi Section* including (1) Kavī Bhushan (2) Shivabāwani (3) Maratha Forts (description) (4) Maratha Forts (alphabetical list) (5) The birth-date of Shivaji (6) Historical documents and letters — Shivaji's letter to Baji Prabhu, Jijabar's letter, Treaty between Shivaji and Portuguese, etc. (7) Commercial policy of Shivaji, (8) Some old arms and their history (9) Meeting of Shivaji and Chhatrasal (10) Life sketches of Shivaji's contemporaries, etc. — This volume was published on 3rd May, 1927. It contains the following illustrations — (1) Shivaji on horseback (2) Aurangzeb in old age (3) Ambarkhana at Panhalgad (4) Shri Ramdas (5) Kalyan gate of Sinhgad (6) Swords and arms (7) Chhatrasal (8) Four panels of Shivaji Memorial (9) Shahaji and Shah Jahan (10) Bust of Shivaji (11) Some Marathi letters reproduced.

the sword, which I reverently named after my tutelary deity *Bhavānī*³ always accompanied me, its resting place when not in use generally being the altar of the goddess, to be received back from her as a visible favour from heaven, always on the *Dasara* day when setting forth on my campaigns. I am told that the sword is now at Satara, but I am afraid that I cannot verify it until I can see it to identify it. The fine Genoa blade 3 feet and 9 inches in length, might, in fact, be my other favourite sword which I called *Tulja* presented to me by my father."

I am not aware of the authorities on which the above journalistic description is based but it may be taken to be an upto date summary of the history and tradition associated with the swords of Shivaji the Great. I am concerned in this paper with the sword known as the *Bhavānī sword* and hence shall try to put on record references to this sword from contemporary and subsequent records which may reveal the high value attached to it on account of the successive and successful feats of bravery and personal adventure which mark the entire career of this great hero.

In the Maratha Chronicle composed by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis⁴ in A.D. 1811 we find the following passage referring to the Bhavānī sword :—

Page 134—"महाराजानी सफाई करून 'तुम तों बडे और पठाण, आब हमारी भवानी शिवाजीकी देखो' म्हणून तरवारीचा वार खांबावर केला".

In the above extract which describes the Afzalkhan incident in Shivaji's life we are told that Shivaji retaliated to Afzalkhan's attack by giving a

3. Mr. Y. R. GUPTA has reproduced an original letter of Shivaji addressed by him to his step-brother, Vyankoji which begins with "श्रीमहादेव श्रीतुलजा भवानी". It appears from line 49 of this letter that Shivaji was conscious of the favour of his deity in all his operations against the Muslims. This line reads as follows :—
"दुसरा विचार करावा होता कीं, श्रीदेवाची व श्रीची कृपा त्यावरी पूर्ण जाली आहे. दुष्ट मुस्काला ते मारितात etc" (Vide इतिहाससंग्रह (October, 1915) Vol. VII, Nos. 1, 2, 3 (ऐ. स्फु. ले. २).

Cf Jayarama Kavi (A.D. 1653-58) *Radhāmūdhavavilāsa Campū* (VI Ullāsa) p. 227—"तुलजाभवानी श्रीमत्पांडुरंग च.....तुलजा"

4. *Life of Shivaji the Great* in seven chapters by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, edited with copious notes, critical and explanatory, by K. N. SANE, 1924 (A. B. Press, Poona) Some other chronicles pertaining to the Maratha History are :—

- (1) शिवछत्रपतीचें चरित्र—by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad written in 1694 at Jinji, by order of Rajaram, ed. by K. N. SANE, 3rd ed. 1912. Trans. into English by J. L. MANKAR as *Life and Exploits of Shivaji* (Bombay 1st Ed. 1884, 2nd Ed. 1886).
- (2) चित्रगुप्तवखर composed about 1760.
- (3) शिवदिग्विजय Ed. by P. R. NANDURBARKAR and L. K. DANDEKAR. (Baroda, 1895).
- (4) *The Raigarkh Life* (Original Marathi text lost). English trans. pub. in G.W. FORREST's *Selections*, etc., from the letters in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series, Vol. I, (pp. 1-22), 1885.

stroke of his sword with the words : "you are a big person besides being a Pathan ; just have a taste of this Bhavānī (sword) of Shivaji". The accounts of this Afzalkhan incident state that Shivaji carried with him the *tiger's claws* (*vāgh nakha*) and a *bichvā* (a small dagger) If these details are true to history it may not be true that Shivaji had with him on this occasion the Bhavānī sword referred to in the Chitnis Bakhar. It may also be difficult to presume the identity of the *bichvā* with the *Bhavānī* sword. Leaving it to specialists to settle these questions we may feel satisfied by only noting the reference to the name *Bhavām* (sword) in the Chitnis Chronicle of A.D. 1811.

Another chronicle which gives exhaustive information, about the *Bhavānī* sword is the "*Srī Śivadigvijaya*"⁵ published at Baroda in 1895. Dr. Surendranath SEN in his *Śiva Chhatrapati* translates the account of the *Bhavām* sword appearing on pp. 354 ff of the above edition of the *Śivadigvijaya* as follows :—

The *Bhavānī* sword "S.D. [154] the Sāvants had an excellent *dhoptarwar* (a long and straight sword) worth two hundred *Hons*. Shivaji wished that such a famous sword should be with him. But it is not proper to wish for a good thing that belongs to one's *Sardars* [155] or a neighbour of rank

***The Mahārājā wished to have the sword but it would bring him disrepute as the precedent showed,—and so the Mahārājā observed that the matter should not be even spoken of,—as in another age such a cause had resulted in the slaughter of many.* * *But the sword that had divine properties addressed the Mahārājā in a dream.—"If thou goest to fight with me in thy hand even at the head of a small force against a mighty army the enemies will be routed and victory shall attend thee. Do not give the sword back, keep it always near thee and duly worship it " That very night the Sāvant heard the following behest in a dream—"Give the sword to the Mahārājā and secure his friendship thereby. Otherwise thou shalt lose thy kingdom. I shall no longer stay with thee and I am going away." The Sāvant assembled his officers and related all about the dream. With the counsel of all, it was decided to secure the friendship of the Mahārājā by

5. Vide *Śiva Chhatrapati*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1929 by Dr. Surendranath SEN. *Śivadigvijaya* is the most voluminous of the three bakhars viz (1) the *Sabhāsād* bakhar (2) the *Chitnis* bakhar and (3) the *Śivadigvijaya*. Its authorship is shrouded in mystery. Its author was a Prabhu Kāyastha according to Dr. SEN, but not Khandō Ballāl as the editors suppose. RAJAWADE thinks that the author was some scion of the Baroda branch of the Chitnis family. Its language is at times very modern. RAJAWADE thinks that the bakhar is a revised edition of an old bakhar. Sir Jadunath SARKAR, thinks that it is the revised edition of a new lost bakhar of which *Tārīkh-i-Shivājī* is the Persian rendering. Its date is uncertain. RAJAWADE supports the date 1818 suggested by Mr. Shankar BALAKRISHNA (pp. 258-259).

An English translation of *Tārīkh-i-Shivājī* is published by Sir Jadunath SARKAR in *Modern Review*—March 1907.

presenting the sword. Accordingly the Sāvant came to see the Rājā and presented the sword to him. It was named Tuljā Bhavāni⁶”

In the picture of Shivaji reproduced by James Douglas⁷ we find Shivaji seated on horse-back in full attire holding the reins of the horse in the left hand and a straight sword blade extending from its handle firmly grasped in the right hand. This sword blade appears to be the earliest pictorial representation of Shivaji's sword. Can it by any stretch of historical imagination be identified with the famous Bhavāni sword the subject of so much description in the *Śivadigvijaya* quoted (in translation) above?

In the *Shivaji Souvenir* volume (1927) we find a very exhaustive article on *Historical Weapons* by Prof. MANIKRAO of Baroda (pp. 138-153) in which he states that the Bhavāni sword of Shivaji was sent to King Edward by the Maharaja of Kolhapur and that it is preserved at the Buckingham Palace in a golden cupboard. He also expects its return to the Indian soil and exhorts the historical research scholars to collect all possible information about this sword (p. 150). He then gives us a description of this sword in detail such as—two deep lines or grooves on both the sides; golden decoration on the steel parts of the handle; its handle made of steel and provided with cover, its blade broadened at the joint of the blade and the handle, the end of the handle studded with rubbies and diamonds. This sword, Prof. MANIKRAO states, was preserved at Kolhapur and was an object of worship but the descendants of Shivaji parted with it out of a sense of loyalty to King Edward. (p. 151.)

I am unable to verify the statements made by Prof. MANIKRAO regarding the Bhavāni sword in the above article. If the sword is preserved in the Buckingham Palace its identification may not be a difficult matter. But as matters stand the Bhavāni sword has become the object of much historical speculation and patriotic wonder and the people of Maharashtra will be prepared to pay any price for it provided its existence is traced and its identity proved on historical evidence.

6. ŚEN *Śiva Chhatrapati* (Vol. I of Extracts and Documents relating to Marāṭhā History) pp 151-152.

7. *Bombay and Western India* by James DOUGLAS, London, 1893. Vol. II, p. 174—Mr. DOUGLAS remarks: “No portrait of him has come down to us in an English work except the one in Orme's history, evidently from an oval on glass by some Delhi painter [Given *ante* Vol I, p. 331. The accompanying cut is from De JanCigny and X. Raymond's *Inde* (Firmin Didot fr. 1845).—B] and most probably picked up by Orme or his father (landed an adventurer in Western India, 1706) in their wanderings along the coast of Western India in the early part of the 18th Century. Their proximity to Shivaji's own time, is a partial guarantee of its faithfulness”. DOUGLAS gives a bust of Shivaji on p. 331 of Vol. II from Orme.

In the *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (A.D. 1656-1668) by Bernier reprinted in 1891 (London Constable & Co.) a bust of Shivaji is reproduced on p. 187 from Valentyn's *Beschryving* in which is published an engraving of this bust from an Indian drawing. Mr. V. S. BENDRE has published in 1933 this bust of Shivaji with the following endorsement:—“Copied from the painting secured by Von Valentyn just after the Surat Sack of 1664 A.D.” For other pictures of Shivaji see *Pictorial Shivaji* published by Y. N. KELKAR, Poona, 1935.

There was once a belief current in Maharashtra that the sword was preserved in the British Museum. The late Mr V L BHADE has tried to dispel this belief by publishing a letter from the authorities of the British Museum stating that no such sword as the Bhavāni sword has been preserved in that Museum. This belief runs counter to the statement of Prof Manikrao that the Bhavāni sword is preserved at the Buckingham Palace.

Mr. PARASNIS⁸ in his article on the Afzalkhan incident quotes the following passage from Justice M. G. RANADE's *Rise of the Maratha Power* (pp. 97-99) :—

"The Mahomedan historians, whom Grant DUFF follows, charge Shivaji with treachery in the first attack he made with the fatal *vāgh-nakh* (tiger claws) and the *Bhavāni* sword, etc "

The above remarks give rise to an impression that the works of the Mahomedan historians contain a reference to the Bhavāni sword. I am unable to verify the above statement at present. In the present paper I am confining myself to the references to the Bhavāni sword in the Maratha records with a view to point out the earliest reference to this sword in the contemporary records.

Prof R. P. PATWARDHAN in his article on the Afzalkhan incident⁹ remarks that the chief sources for the Afzalkhan incident are *Sivabhārata*, *Jedhe Śakāvālī*, *Povādā*, *Sabhāsadi bakhar* and *91 Kalāmī Bakhar* and then states¹⁰ that no reference to the use of *vāgh-nakh* occurs in *Sivabhārata*¹¹,

8 *Itihāsa Samgraha* (Dec. 1914-Jan 1915) Vol VI, Nos 4 to 6 ऐ. सु. लेख —No. 19 (p. 62)—In the description of the combat as given by PARASNIS on the authority of a *bakhar* discovered by him at Satara the only offensive weapons on Shivaji's person when he set out for the combat are (1) *vāgh nakh* and (2) *Bh-chvā* (p 69). In this article PARASNIS has published a photograph of Afzalkhan's tomb at Pratapgad (facing p. 73). There is also an article in this issue of the *Itihāsa Samgraha* on the family diety of Shivaji containing a photograph of the image of the goddess (facing p. 74) and another photograph of the temple of the goddess (facing p. 76).

James DOUGLAS gives a picture of *vāgh nakh* in Vol. II of his *Bombay and Western India* (p 181). His chapters on Shivaji's Forts in this volume (pp 157-197) will be found interesting. They contain some good illustrations such as (1) Ganga Sagar Tank at Rayagarh (p 157); (2) Rajgarh (p. 66) (3) Pratapgad and Afzalkhan's tomb (p 167); (4) Shivaji on horseback (p 174), (5) Plan and elevation of Shivaji's Cenotaph (p. 180).

Jayarama Kavī's description of Shivaji's visit to the temple of Bhavāni at Pratapgad and of the image of the goddess will be found in the *Parnālaparvata-grahanākhyāna*, chapt. IV, verses 21-54. The temple was thronged with people gathered for the *mahā pūja*.

“घंटामृदङ्गकाह्लाळदुर्भुभिध्वनिनादितम् ।

कालोचितमहापूजासंख्यावृत्तजनैर्वृतम् ॥ २६ ॥

9 *Siva-Caritra-Nibandhāvalī* (pub. by B.I.S. Mandal, Poona, Śaka 1851—A.D. 1929) Chapter VII, pp 161-179

10 *Ibid*, p 164.

11 Edited by S. M. DIVEKAR (B.I.S. Mandal, Poona, 1927) with numerous

*Jadhé Sakāvali*¹² and 91 *Kalami bakhar*¹³ The *Svabhārata* refers to “कृपाणिका” while the 91 *Kalami bakhar* refers to only *bichvā* and *paṭṭā*. The *Jedhe Śakāvali* does not refer to any weapon at all. Later Prof. PATWARDHAN describing how Shivaji got ready to meet Afzakhān states (p. 176)-- “He held the *Bhavāni* sword in the right hand and the *bichvā* in the left and tied the shield to his back” (“उजवे हातांत भवानी त्रवार व डावे हातांत बिचवा घेतल पाठीला ढाल बांधली”). I am not aware if Prof. PATWARDHAN identifies the “कृपाणिका” referred to in the *Svabhārata* with the Bhavāni sword. Possibly the term कृपाणिका may refer to the *bichvā* more than to the *Bhavāni* sword. This reference is however inconclusive so far as my present inquiry is concerned because we don't get in the *Svabhārata* any mention of the name भवानी as applied to Shivaji's sword.

In the *Sivakāvya*¹⁵ composed by Puruṣottama in Sanskrit the meeting of Shivaji and Afzalkhan is described at some length. This poem was composed in A.D. 1821 and hence, though its historical value may not be very

illustrations. The text is based on MS No. B. 1409, (BURNELL's MSS catalogue), in the Sarasvatī Mahal MSS Library of Tanjore. The editor has also availed himself of a palmleaf MS of the *Svabhārata* which is a Tamil rendering of the original (vide *Upoddhāta*, p. 5). The published text of the *Svabhārata* contains 2262 *Sloka*s or verses.

12. An English rendering of this chronology appears in *Shivaji Souvenir* (1927) pp 1 to 45—by Sir Jadunath SARKAR. Pages 47-99 contain an English rendering of the *Jedhe Kareena* by Sir J. SARKAR. The original texts of the *Jedhe Śakāvali* and the *J. Kareena* in Marathi were published by Lokamanya B. G. TILAK in *Śiva Carita-Pradīpa* (pp 14-65) ed by D. V. APTE and S. M. DIVEKAR (B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1925). These texts are based on a MS in the possession of Dayajirao Sarjerao Jedhe Deshmukh of the village Kāri in Bhore State. This MS is on Portuguese paper (22 folios). RAJAWADE published fragments of this *Śakāvali* in his *Sources of Maratha History* (Khaṇḍa XVIII, No. 5).

13. Edited by V. S. VAKASKAR, 1930.

14. *Amarakośa* Kāṇḍa II, verse 89 mentions the word कृपाण = sword (“खड्गे तु निखिञ्चिन्द्रहासासिनिष्ठयः । कौक्षेयको मण्डलाग्रः करवालः कृपाणवत् ॥ ८९ ॥”) (see B.S.S. edition of *Amarakośa*, 1907, p. 202). For the text of this work the editor has used a MS copied in A.D. 1297. (Vide his *Sūcanā* at the commencement). Mr. APTE in his dictionary explains कृपाणकः = a sword while he explains कृपाणिक a knife or a dagger. The lexicon *Abhidhāna Cintāmani* of Hemacandra records the word. कृपाणिका (३ मत्यकाण्ड) — “धुरी धुरी कृपाणिका”

In the *Parmalaparvata grahaṇākhyāna* (or the story in verse of the capture of the Panhala fort near Kolhapur) composed by Jayarama Kavi in Śaka 1595 (preface p. 1) = A.D. 1673 the following verse shows that the *vāghnakha* was used by Shivaji's soldiers as a matter of routine.—(chapter III, verse 25 of the Bh. I. S. Mandal Edn., 1923, Poona)

“शादूलनखवल्लोहनिर्मितैर्नखरैर्युतान्”

15. Published in the *Kāvyaetihāsa Samgraha* (1884, 1887, by K. N. SANE and J. B. MODAK). This *Kāvya* is almost an epic of the Maratha History (from A.D. 1627 to 1818). Puruṣottama's surname was Bandedṣṭi and his family was resident of Pedgaon in Ahmadnagar District. Puruṣottama was born in A.D. 1766 and died as a sanyāsi in A.D. 1856.

great it has some merits as a poem. It describes the fatal embrace of Afzal-khan as follows :—

“ आलिंगनक्षणे इभं मृगराडिवेन
धृत्वा नृपस्य सशिरः प्रविधाय बाह्वोः ।
तस्थौ नृपोपि बलवान् नखतोस्य कुक्षीं
शक्त्या (कृत्या) बिभेद विशिखो ह्यवनै पपात ॥ ५९ ॥ ”¹⁶

The MS from which the above verse is quoted contains illustrations in colour of the Afzalkhan incident. One of these illustrations represents Shivaji¹⁷ dressed for the combat or rather his meeting with Afzalkhan. He holds on his right hand the *vāgh-nakha* and a small *dagger* in the left hand, which is obviously the *bichvā* referred to in the several accounts of this incident and mentioned as शस्त्री by our poet. The following three verses tell us how Shivaji meditated on his family deity Durgā and obtained her favour before starting on his perilous task :—

“ अहं त्वदीयोस्मि सराज्यकोशः कालो बलीयान् कुटिलो ममायम् ।
शत्रुर्महान् भीमबलोहमल्पो दुर्गैव देवी शरणं न चान्यः ॥ ४८ ॥
तस्याः प्रसादादहमेवमद्य निहन्मि चिंता न हि काचिदत्र ।
तद्वाहिनीं त्वं शमयासु वीर वीरैर्भटैः पातितवीरसंघैः ॥ ४९ ॥
इत्थं स सेनाधिपतिं प्रबोध्य हस्तांगुलैः व्याघ्रनखं निबध्य ।
वामे करे सूक्ष्मतरां च शस्त्रीं निधाय देवीं प्रणमन् प्रयातः ॥ ५० ॥ ”

The poet explains the word शस्त्री as follows in his commentary :—

“ शस्त्रीं छुरिकां स्याच्छस्त्री चासि पुत्री च छुरिका चारि धेनुके त्यमरः ॥

16. I have copied this verse from a MS of the work in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona,—No. 81 of 1907-'15. Puruṣottama composed a commentary on his poem in which he explains the above verse as follows :—

“ आलिंगन इति ॥ सः यवनः मृगराट् सिंहः इभमिव आलिंगनस्य क्षणे समये एनं राजानं धृत्वा नृपस्य शिरः बाह्वोः मध्ये प्रविधाय दृढ धृत्वा तस्थौ ॥ बलवान् नृपोपि अस्य यवनस्य कुक्षीं कुक्षिप्रदेशौ नखेनेति नखतः सार्चविभक्तिकस्तसिः व्याघ्रनखेनेत्यर्थः शस्त्राद्या (कृत्या) च बिभेद चिच्छेद हि यस्मात् भेदनात् विगता शिखायस्मात् सविशिखः यवनोपि अवनौ पपात पतितवान् ॥ ५९ ॥ ”

17 Vide folio 45 a of B. O. R. Institute MS No. 81 of 1907-'15. The verse describing the person of Shivaji reads as follows —

“ नात्युच्चो नातिनीचः कमलदलनिभाक्षोतिपीनोन्नतांसो
गौरांगो गूढजत्रुर्मनसि च जनयन्योषितां कामदेवः ।
निर्भीकः सिंहयानोऽरुणकरचरणः कठभूपाधिभूषो
मृद्वर्ध्यानद्वरत्ताजिनविहितपदत्राणकोसौ प्रतस्थे ॥ ५२ ॥

This verse of course does not mention the *vāghnakha* and the dagger shown in the picture (2½ inches × 1½ inches in size) referred to as व्याघ्रनख and शस्त्री in verse 50 on folio 44 a,

It appears to me that the "सूक्ष्मतरा शस्त्री" mentioned by Puruṣottama is the same as the कृपाणिका of the *Śivabhārata*. It is, however, difficult to identify कृपाणिका with the *Bhavāni* sword.

James DOUGLAS¹⁸ in his chapter on Shivaji in his *Bombay and Western India* published in 1893 makes a reference to the *Bhavāni* sword and states in a footnote¹⁹ :—"The Genoa blade presented to the Prince of Wales in 1875 during his visit to India by the Raja of Kolhapur" and reproduces a picture of the sword from Grant DUFF's History (p. 346). This picture gives us a long blade of sword with a decorated handle with the scabbard pictured near it. The blade of the sword as represented in this picture is curved at the end but the breadth of the blade is almost uniform and not broadened as in the case of the sword claimed to be Shivaji's sword by Mr. Bomonjee D. PUDUMJI²⁰ of Poona, who has published a small pamphlet called "*Notes on the subject of Shivaji's sword*". This sword is a "tegh" sword with a broad curved blade, slightly concave in the middle and made of flexible steel. It is single-edged and higher up double-edged upto a length of 9 inches from its point. The length of the blade measured along the middle of its curve from the point to the hilt is 2 ft. 4½ inches. The tang of the sword is 2½ inches wide. The blade is broader higher up, the maximum width being nearly 3 inches. The hilt of the sword is beautifully

18. *Bombay and Western India*, Vol. I, pp. 331-346, deal with Shivaji, his country, his birth, his person and character, his accomplishments, his motto, his good and bad traits, etc. These pages contain the following illustrations :—

- (1) Picture of Shivaji (bust) from Orme's Fragments (p. 331).
- (2) View of Sinhgarh (from a photograph by Dr. T. CROOKE (p. 339).
- (3) Shivaji's sword "*Bhavāni*" (from Grant DUFF's History) (p. 346).

19. Ibid, p. 342—This footnote explains the statement of Prof. MANIKRAO of Baroda referred to earlier in this paper to the effect that the Maharaja of Kolhapur presented the sword to King Edward. The Prince of Wales referred to by James DOUGLAS is of course identical with King Edward VII. Students interested in the history and identification of the *Bhavāni* sword may hunt up this clue from official sources.

20. Mr. PUDUMJI in his pamphlet (August, 1928,) gives us a picture of a sword in his possession which he claims as Shivaji's sword. He also observes (p. 2 of pamphlet) "At any rate one thing is certain that the sword called '*Bhavāni*' has not yet been irrefutably identified. There is a belief in Satara that a sight of the sword causes safe delivery of a woman in labour". He refers to the information published by Mr. P. M. CHANDORKAR in the *Journal of the Bharata Itihasa Mandal*, Poona, 1918 A.D., to the effect that on either side of the throne of Shivaji at Satara there are two swords. One of them is an ordinary sword. The other is the *Bhavāni* sword on the right hand side of the throne. There is an engraving on the blade of this sword viz. "सरकार राजा शाहुछत्रपति काद" from which we find that King Shahu appears to have engraved his own name on it. On the blade of the sword in the possession of Mr. Pudumji the words "छत्रपति महाराज शीवाजी" are inlaid in gold in Devanāgarī characters. Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR thinks that a letter in the word छत्रपति is written in the style in which we find it in MSS 150 or 200 years old (p. 15 of pamphlet).

enchased with tiny gold flowers²¹ On the other side of the blade are marks of the crescent moon²² (6 small marks of the crescent moon, 4 small marks of the full moon possibly and 2 big marks of the crescent moon). Mr Bomanji PUDUMJI prints on p. 3 of his pamphlet a copy of a letter dated 24th March, 1925, from the authorities of the British Museum stating that the British Museum does not possess the original "Tiger-claw" or sword of Shivaji²³.

21 In a letter dated 12th February, 1912, from Mr. D. P. MOOS to Khan Bahadur B. D. PUDUMJI, the writer considers the sword in question to be a genuine old sword of Shivaji. This opinion is based on the following points — (1) the quality of the steel (2) its "Taga" shape, a characteristic of the Maratha swords (3) its old-type lettering and (4) the "Tahanshah" work of inlaying the letters, the art of which is now extinct. (Mr MOOS represented the firm of "The Indian and Oriental Armour", Meadow Street, Fort, Bombay). Mr PUDUMJI quotes an extract from the illustrated *Hand-book on Indian Arms* (by Wilbraham EGERTON now Lord E.) which refers to a sword presented by the King of Kabul to the Governor-General. This sword once belonged to Tamurlane. Swords are estimated by their age, watering or temper. PUDUMJI reproduces a coloured view of "*Jevaheer Khana*" once the residence and strong-hold of Shivaji (Fort Singhur, Dt Poona) and now in his possession. He also gives an extract from *Satara Gazetteer* (1884) by Sir James CAMPBELL which reads, — (p. 238) — "The sword of Afzalkhan and Shivaji's favourite sword Bhavāni passed to the Moguls on the capture of Shambhaji in 1690. They were restored by Aurangzeb to Shahu in 1707 and till 1827 remained a valued trophy in the armoury of Shivaji's descendants." In the revised edition of his pamphlet, Mr PUDUMJI (1929) gives a photograph of a brass tray (p. 36) about 2 ft in diameter with him on which is embossed the celebrated episode in Shivaji's life viz the release of a beautiful Moghul lady (daughter-in-law of the Subedar of Kalyan) brought as a captive after the sack of Kalyan in 1664 A.D.

22. Mr PUDUMJI in a revised edition of his pamphlet (21st March, 1929,) on p. 11 draws our attention to the last para 91 of Shivaji's letter to Jaysinha, who invaded the Deccan at the head of the Moghul army. This para reads as follows — "91. Tomorrow, the moment the sun shall conceal his face behind the evening cloud, the *Crescent moon of my sword* shall flash forth. That is all. God be with thee." Mr. PUDUMJI is of opinion that the expression "*Crescent moon of my sword*" in the above para represents "Shivaji's own description of his sword" as to its shape, i.e., it had a curved blade. The letter of Shivaji from which the above para has been quoted is in Persian and has been published by the Nāgarī Pracharini Sabha of Benares in their *Patṛikā* (Bhāga 3, No. 1—Samvat 1979). This has been reprinted in the *Shivaji Souvenir* (1927) *Marathi Section* (pp 161-170) and English trans. of it in the *English Section* (pp 170-178). Though this letter in the form of a poem may have a high poetic value its testimony on the question of the shape of Shivaji's sword has no value, especially as the document bears no date and is also of anonymous authorship. Hari Kavi (A.D. 1685) describes the *Bhavāni Sword* by the terms "चन्द्रहासः" खड्गवली, असिलता, in his *Sambhuvāya Carita*.

23. This reply was received by Mr. V. L. BHAVE, author of the *History of the Marathi Literature* (Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvat) and is printed in the *Journal of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal*, Poona, of Śaka 1837 (=A.D. 1915) p. 91. It is signed by C. HERCULES, Record-keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnology, British Museum, London, W. C.)

*The Sabhāsad Bakhar*²⁵ composed in A.D. 1694 refers in many places to the tutelary deity of Shivaji viz. *Sri Bhavānī*²⁵ but no references to the Bhavānī sword can be found in it. The references to the family deity Bhavānī in this *bakhar* are generally associated with the major incidents of Shivaji's intrepid career but I have failed to trace in this source any mention of Bhavānī as the name of Shivaji's sword. I await more light on this problem from scholars who have done intensive research in the history of the period.

The next important contemporary source of information on the problem of the Bhavānī sword is *the Śivabhārata*^{25a} composed by Kavindra Paramā-

24 *Life of Śiva Chhatrapati* (by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad) Ed. by K. N. SANE, 1923, (Fourth Edition). Mr SANE has based his text on five MSS (1) MS produced from the pujāri at Pratapgad (2) MS copied in A.D. 1852 and deposited in the Native General Library of Poona (3) and (4) MSS procured by Krishnaji Pant Acharya Kalgaunkar of Satara (Mr SANE has relied on the Pratapgad copy as it is very old and especially on account of its being found at Pratapgad. The date of composition recorded in this MS is Śaka 1616 (=A.D. 1694) but the Samvatsara mentioned is "Iśvara" which is equivalent to Śaka 1619 (=A.D. 1697), (5) MS procured at Mahad, in which some changes appear to have been made from DUFF's History.

25. Ibid, p. 9 ("श्री भवानी कुलदेवता महाराजांची"); p. 11 and 23 ("श्री भवानी तुळजापूरची") p. 37 ("श्री भवानी") p. 42 (श्री शंभू व भवानीस नमस्कार केला); 46 (श्री शंभूमहादेव, "श्री भवानी") p. 49 ("श्री भवानी") p. 53 ("श्री-भवानीने") p. 83 ("श्री महादेव व श्री भवानी कुलस्वामी") p. 89 ("श्रीभवानी") (cf. *Jedhe Sakavali* (under Śaka 1581)—"कदाचित् श्री अंबेच्या वरदे अफजलखान मृत्यु पावला तरी इशारतीचे अवाज गडावरी होतील" (and under Śaka 1600) भवानीबाई लेक संभाजी राजे यासी जाली (at Sringarpur).

25a. Edited by S. M. DIVEKAR, Pub. by the Bharata Itihasa Mandal, Poona, Śaka 1849 (=A.D. 1927,) contains a fine frontispiece of a picture of Shivaji in colour from a painting in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is a facsimile reproduction from the original in which the height of Shivaji's figure is about 3½ inches. Other good features of the edition are (1) Upoddhāta pp. 1-28 by S. M. DIVEKAR; (2) a useful bibliography, and, (3) a masterly introduction by D. V. APTE (pp. 1 to 200.) The text and the Marathi translation of the 31 chapters of this epic ("चरित शिवराजस्य भरतस्येव भारतम्"—Chap. I, 22) of the Life of Shivaji has been critically edited. This is followed by an exhaustive index of places and persons mentioned in the text. The illustrations between the frontispiece are (1) a contemporary horoscope of Shivaji by Sivaram Jyotiṣi (page 56) (2) photo of folio 39 of MS recording verses about the birth-date of Shivaji (p. 56), (3) photo of the extract from *Jedhe Sakavali* containing the birth-date of Shivaji (p. 56); (4) Bangalore Fort (p. 64), (5) Images of the Goddess Bhavānī at Fort Sivaneri (Sivāi) and at Fort Pratapgad (Bhavānī) (p. 65), (6) Map illustrating the Muslim dominions in Shahaji's time (p. 80), (7) Map of Karnatak in Shahaji's time (p. 80); (8) Map of Southern India in Shahaji's time (p. 80), (9) Map illustrating Shivaji's invasion of Konkan in Śaka 1583 (=A.D. 1661) (p. 81), (10) Photos of the forts, Purandhar, Rajagad and Simahgad (p. 208), (11) Photos of Pratapgad, Panhalgad and of a picture of Afzal-khan (p. 209), (12) Map illustrating Shivaji's invasion of Śaka 1589 (=A.D.

nanda by order of śrī Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaja. This poet hailed from Nidhinivas (=Nevase on the bank of Pravara river) and was a contemporary of the celebrated Gāgābhāṭṭa who officiated at the Coronation of Shivaji in A.D. 1674. He composed the *Śvabhārata* after Śaka 1583 (=A.D. 1661) and before Śaka 1596 (=A.D. 1674) the year of Shivaji's coronation at Raigad.²⁶ Mr. D. V. Apte²⁷ has already pointed that Shivaji made use of the sword in his fight with Afzalkhan and this sword is none other than the Bhavānī sword referred to by Paramānanda in the *Śvabhārata* in verses 16 and 22 of Chapter XX. These verses are as follows as translated by me in English :—

“Prostrate him (Afzalkhan) to the ground by the great stroke of your sword (अस्त्रि) as that person (demon in the form of yavana) is constantly rising on this earth for the obstruction of *dharma*” (verse 16)²⁸

“It has been ordained by the Creator that he (Afzalkhan) should be killed by this hand of yours and hence, O King, I (goddess Tulaja) have identified myself with your sword (कृपाणी)” (verse 22)²⁹

“With these words Śarvānī, i.e., the goddess Bhavānī or Tuljā entered his sword (कृपाणिम्) and he (Shivaji) though in a waking state regarded it (the whole occurrence) as a dream.”

(verse 23).³⁰

In the above verse we get a genesis of the Bhavānī sword which is perhaps the earliest on record from contemporary sources : Evidently the goddess *Bhavānī* enters the usual sword of Shivaji and makes it unusual. This association of the goddess Bhavānī with Shivaji's sword given in a contemporary record (between 1661 and 1674 A.D.) is extremely valuable as it explains how

1667) after the Afzalkhan incident (p. 248) ; (13) Map illustrating Shivaji's battle of Umbarkhind (p. 248) , (14) Map illustrating Shaista Khana's invasion of Śaka 1582 (=A.D. 1660) ; (15) Map illustrating the siege of Panhalgad Śaka 1582 (=A.D. 1660) (p. 249) ; (16) Pictures of Shah Jahan, Mahmmad Adil Shah, Shaista Khan, Jasavant Sinha, Aurangzeb, Fazalkhan, Raja Jayasinha and Dilerkhan (pp. 252-253.)

26. These Chronological limits are given by Mr. DIVEKAR (vide p. 20 of his *Upodhāta to the Śvabhārata*). The poem refers to the death of Siddi Johar (A.D. 1661)

27. *Śvabhārata* (Prastāvanā, p. 168). In the Index (p. 12) under Bhavānī Tār-vār reference is made to verses 22 and 23 of Chap. XX of the text

28. Page 193 *Śvabhārata*—

“उद्ध्वन्तं निरोधाय धर्मस्येह मुहुर्युहुः ।

तमेनमसिपातेन महता भुवि पातय ॥ १६ ॥

29. Ibid—

“विधिना विहितोस्त्यस्य मृत्युस्त्वत्पाणिनामुना ।

अतस्तिष्ठामि भूत्वाहं कृपाणी भूमणे तव ॥ २२ ॥

30. Ibid, p. 194—

“व्याहरन्तीति शर्वाणी तत्कृपाणीमचीवशत् ।

असौ जाग्रदवस्थोऽपि तत्स्वप्नमवमन्यत ॥ २३ ॥”

the term *Bhavānī tarwār* came into being. The verses quoted above do not, however, refer to any sword of Shivaji as *Bhavānī tarwār*, an expression which became an established usage during the course of centuries that have elapsed since the tragedy of Afzalkhan. The human sword of Shivaji having once become divine by its association with the goddess Bhavānī and this having been linked up in popular imagination with all the heroic exploits of Shivaji, whom the people believed to be an incarnation of Śiva,—this human sword has now become an object of much wonder and speculation for the historian and the patriot alike. It would be certainly a red-letter day on which its existence and identification are proved beyond challenge by any scholar or institution interested in historical research. Our duty for the time being is to collect all possible information which might help scholars and patriots in keeping the memory of the Bhavānī sword fresh in their minds so that this quest of the holy grail may continue unabated by all lovers of the Maratha history in particular and of history in general.

The foregoing discussion and record of references to the Bhavānī sword appears to me like Shakespeare's drama Hamlet without the King of Denmark. The account of this sword as recorded in the *Śivadigvijaya* being a late one³¹ cannot be taken as historical truth especially in the absence of contemporary evidence to support it in material particulars. The account of the *Śivabhārata* is quite valuable so far as the genesis of the expression *Bhavānī tarwār* is concerned. The reference to this sword in the Chitnis bakhar of A.D. 1811 is also not very helpful. It is, therefore, necessary to search for more contemporary references to the Bhavānī sword like that of the *Śivabhārata*. Such references alone can give that factual touch to the history of this question which is necessary to fill up the historical void that separates us from the time of the author of the *Śivabhārata*. I shall, therefore, conclude this paper by putting on record at least one contemporary reference to the *Bhavānī* sword in which we find a poetic description of the exploits of the Bhavānī sword in the hands of King Sambhaji, to whom this sword must have passed on as a heroic legacy after Shivaji's death in A.D. 1680. This reference is also very important as it is the only one so far discovered in which the name "*Bhavānī's Sword*" is mentioned five years after the death of Shivaji, i.e. in A.D. 1685 and in which no less than 3 verses or 12 lines are devoted to the praise of this sword. The bearing of these verses on the history of the Bhavānī sword was not quite apparent to me when I

31. Vide *Śiva Caritra—Pradīpa* (B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1925) p. 75 where the date of composition of the *Śivadigvijaya* is given as Śaka 1740 = A.D. 1818. The extracts from several Bakhars relating to the birth date of Shivaji (pp. 71-78) will be found interesting. These bakhars are (1) *Sabāsad B.* (A.D. 1697) (2) Chitragupta B. (about A.D. 1759), (3) *96 Kalāmī B.* (A.D. 1780), (4) *Bakhar* composed for *Sawai Madhavarao Peshwa* (Rajawade *Khandā* 4) (A.D. 1783), (5) *Chitnis B.* (A.D. 1810), (6) *Choti B.* (A.D. 1817), (7) *Śivadigvijaya* (A.D. 1818), (8) *Panta Pratimdhī B.* (A.D. 1844), (9) *Panditrao B.* (A.D. 1848), (10) *Shri Shivaji Pratap* (A.D. 1829), (11) *Shedgaunkar B.* (A.D. 1854).

noticed them first three years ago in my paper,³² on "*Hari Kavi alias Bhānu-bhaṭṭa, a court-poet of King Sambhājī and his Works*" I was then under the impression that in the documents of the period many authentic references to the Bhavānī sword must have been traced and scientifically recorded by the indefatigable researchers³³ in the field. When, however, I began to look for them in the published records I was thoroughly disappointed to find a woeful lack of reliable information on the question of the history of the Bhavānī sword based on contemporary and subsequent evidence. Evidently the problem has not been examined by any scholar competent to search for, scrutinize and arrange in a chronological order all the available data bearing on the question. I have gathered in this paper a few facts regarding the Bhavānī sword solely with a view to provide a historical background to Hari Kavi's description of this sword in his *Sambhurāja-Carita*, composed in A.D. 1685. This description shows that to a resident of Surat like Hari Kavi the glory of the Bhavānī sword had some poetic appeal as will be clear from the following verses :—

Folio 82^a of MS No. 191 of 1875-76—

“राजर्त्तिक घोषयामस्तव विजयमहो ते वयं मद वाचो
वीरश्रीशोभमानः करतलविलसच्चन्द्रहासो³⁵ भवान्यां (न्याः) ।

32 This paper was submitted to the Modern History Congress, Poona in June, 1935 and was published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XVI, pp. 262-291. Hari Kavi was a resident of Surat. His family hailed from the Mahārāṣṭra. He composed (1) *Sambhurāja-Carita* by order Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita, the guru of Sambhaji, (2) *Haihayendra-Carita* and its commentary *Sambhuvilāsikā* by order of Sambhaji and an anthology called the *Subhāṣitahārāvalī*. The *Sambhurāja Carita* was completed at Surat on 12th January, 1685. It is a mahākāvya in 12 sargas of which only some fragments are available in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona

33. Rao Bahadur G. S. SARDESAI, the Maharashtra Historian has directed my attention in a private communication dated 16th April, 1938 to his views on the problem of Bhavānī Sword as recorded by him on p. 53 of his volume on Shivaji (*Marathi Riyasat—2 Saka Kartā, Shivaji, Bombay, 1935*) :—Shivaji during his Konkan expedition (A.D. 1657-58) came into contact with Lakham Savant of Goa (1651-1675 A.D.) whom he made a vassal. This Savant had in his possession a famous sword manufactured in Europe, which Shivaji acquired by presenting the Savant 300 *hons* and a dress of honour. This sword was named *Bhavani*. As its possession brought much success to Shivaji he used to worship it daily. This sword is still at Satara in the temple of the goddess and is included among articles for worship. (Footnote—King Shahaji (father of Shivaji) sent by sea some valuable articles from Karnatak such as a bedstead, a belt and an armour and a *Phuranga talvar* according to the statement of the *Cchoṭi Bakhar* of the Maratha Empire. It is possible to conclude that the sword included among the above articles is the Bhavānī Sword. The story about the transfer of this sword to London is not true.)

34. Vide *Annals*, XVI, p. 266, where these verses have been quoted by me.

35. चंद्रहास = a glittering sword (Apte), “खड्गे तु निखिञ्चन्द्रहासासिद्धयः” Amarakośa (II, 8, 89) Bhānuji Dikṣita explains—चन्द्र इव हासः प्रभा अस्य । चन्द्रं हसति वा । युतिमत्वात्.

[illegible]

॥ एङ्किंघोषयमस्तबिजयमहोतवयमंदवाचोवारश्रीशोचमानःकर
तलबिलसंबद्धसोभनाम् ॥ चैकेततप्र ॥ त्रिद्विदगलवलङ्करीकारपूर्णसाव
राशंसिनीभूस्त्रिजगतिविजयाशंसिनीमन्त्रम् ॥ १३ ॥ रांजोत्पन्नवद्वेवस्त्रीलसतिसमु
दितकालकादंबिनीवधांतालांसेयूलीब तजगतिस्मातत्त्रात्कारविद्युत् ॥ १४ ॥
समापैरपादैः प्रधनवसुमंतीप्राबयंतीसर्मतासौठच्छेभर्कुनोक्तप्रणिभरकान्प्रधि
पंतीवितोतं ॥ १५ ॥ इतनापसाधंस्त्रिबमपमिल ॥ १६ ॥ इतंतावा र्त्तं कीर्त्तिचंद्रविजय
रुतलुजंतारकालीगुणली ॥ जाकाराचिद्युदाबानपिरिपुकमलांनारतीमस्मदयां
नारीएशास्त्रीणांनयनधु ॥ ससलाधेशेवालिनश्र्म ॥ १७ ॥ प्रोक्तप्रासरासप्रहतचरुष

三

SAMBHURĀJA-CARITA OF HARI KAVI (AD 1685)

Folio 82 of MS No 191 of 1875-76 containing three verses about the Bhavāni Sword)

परनिष्ठां प्रजे युर्जनाः॥ नौ चानित्यं मिह स्थजं तु सुद्रुदां वैरं न वैरं ऊरे नौ ग्यानां द्विनायकः हि
 तितलशं भुञ्जिरं नंदतु ॥ १७॥ अचिं तो मलिस्तु विबुधश्रां रंगनाथो द्रवश्चिना रायणसं
 प्रबोहरि कविर्यः श्राशपादाश्रयः॥ सगैः नूनवद्यपय रचनाचातुर्यविद्योति ते तत्काये स्वयं
 भुराजचरिते काव्यातिमोदादशः॥ १८॥ पायूशांशुः समुद्र ४ सप्त ७ वसुधा विद्योति ते वै क्र
 मेव र्वे मासि च षोषनाम्नि बहूले यद्देहितीयादिने॥ सद्धारोद्दिजनायकस्य पितृनेचापूर्णय
 क्षाहर्कायं शोभनशं भुराजचरितं नानागुणैर्जुप्रितं ॥ १९॥ इति श्रीसूर्यपुरस्थितश्रीना
 शायस्तु रिस्तु हरिकवि विरचिते विजयं केशं भुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये राजनातित
 ॥ १॥ प्रदेशनिर्णयो नाम षादशः सर्गः संपूर्णः॥ ॥ श्रीः॥ संपूर्णं चैनकाव्यं॥ ॥ श्रीः॥ श्रीः॥

HARIKAVI'S SAMBHURAJA-CARITA . LAST FOLIO

Containing the date of its composition viz Samvat 1741 = A D 1685

Ms No 191 of 1875-1876 in the Govt Mss Library, B O R Institute, Poona

चक्रेत्तत्प्रमेतद्विरदगलचलद्भूरिभांकारपूर्णा
 सा वीरशंसिनीभूखिजगति विजयाशंसिनी यच्चकास्ति ॥ १२६ ॥
 शंभो त्वत्खड्गचल्ली³⁶ लसति समुदिता कालकादंबिनीव³⁷
 ध्वांतली³⁸ सैन्यधूलीं बत जगति समातत्य³⁹ झत्कार विद्युत् ।
 अक्षां सारैरपारै⁴⁰ प्रधनवसुमती⁴¹ प्लावयन्ती⁴² समन्तात्
 प्रौढक्षुण्णेभकुंभोद्⁴³ तमणिकरका⁴⁴ प्रक्षिपन्ती नितान्तं ॥ १२७ ॥
 सूते नानापदार्थास्तव यदसिलता शंभुराजाद्धृतं तत्
 तापार्कं कीर्तिचंद्रं विजयदुतभुजं तारकालीं गुणालीं ।
 झत्कारान्विद्युदोधानपि रिपुकमलां भारतीमस्मदीयां
 नारीणां शात्रवीणां नयनयुगसराबाष्पशैवाल्लिनीश्च ॥ १२८ ॥”

In the foregoing three verses Hari Kavi gives us a fine poetic description of the “*Bhavānī's Sword*”⁴⁵ and its doings on the battle-field. This description is inserted in the battle-scene of the *Sambhurāja-Charita* in which Sambhāji is shown as surrounded by the army of his enemy intending to attack him. With him we find *Campā*, the terror-struck heroine of the poem on her journey to her husband's home after her marriage⁴⁶ with Sambhāji

36 खड्गचल्ली = the sword-creeper = sword resembling a creeper possibly by its length and elasticity.

37 कादंबिनी = a long line of clouds.

38 ध्वांत = darkness, आली = a row or continuous line.

39. समातत्य = having over-spread in an intense manner.

40. The infathomable waters in the form of weapons (used by the army) सार = water.

41. प्रधन = Battle and वसुमती = earth; प्रधनवसुमती = the battle-field.

42 प्लावयन्ती = flooding.

43 इभकुंभः = the foreheads of elephants which were full grown (प्रौढ). The elephants had their temples shattered to pieces (क्षुण्ण).

44 मणिकरकान् = Hail stones in the form of pearls in the temples of elephants (the temples of elephants are supposed to contain pearls). Verses 126 and 127 contain a metaphor of a violent storm attended with lightning and dark clouds and followed by a heavy rain shower with hail stones.

45. The MS has the reading “चन्द्रहासो भवान्या” The correct reading ought to be चद्रहासो भवान्याः = *Bhavānī's sword*.

46. The *Sambhurāja-Charita* (A.D. 1685) gives a detailed description of Sambhāji's marriage with Campā. In this connection compare a picture of a marriage scene in colours painted on folio 61 of *Skandha IX* of the *Bhāgavatapurāna* (B. O. R. Institute MS No. 61 of 1907-1915). This MS was prepared in A.D. 1648 at Udayapura. The picture in question shows the bride and bridegroom in matrimonial attire seated facing each other with two priests shown seated near the bride and the bridegroom with the nuptial fire between the priests. Another picture on the same folio shows the bride and bridegroom seated on a chariot possibly on a journey to the bridegroom's home. The chariot is dragged by two white horses.

at Surat as also *Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita*⁴⁷ the guru of the Maratha King, who is described as a very important personage throughout the poem and at whose instance Hari Kavi informs us he wrote the *Sambhurāja-Carita*. This description of the Bhavānī's sword has an earlier parallel in the description of the sword of Shahājī⁴⁸ by Jayarāma Kavi, who composed his *Rādhāmādhava-vilāsa Champū* or a Life of Shahājī between Śaka 1575 (= A.D. 1653) and Śaka

47. I shall prove in a separate paper the identity of this *Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita* with Kavi Kalasha or Kabji, the celebrated minister of king Sambhāji.

48. Vide p. 236 of *Rādhāmādhavapūlāsa champū* by Jayarama Pindye, edited by V. K. RAJAWADE (Śaka 1844 = 1922 A.D.) Poona. This poem is a Life of Shahājī, the father of Shivājī and grandfather of Sambhāji. The description of a sword or खड्गवर्णन occurs in the 8th Ullāsa (verses 227-235) as follows :—

“पुनरपरस्मिन् दिवसे यथापूर्वमुपविशति सति राजनि शम्भुमार्जकतैलधावितां रत्नखचित-
मुष्टिमंजुलां पार्श्ववर्तिनृत्यपाणिगृहीतां कृपाणिकामवलोकितुं विकोशां कुर्वाणे सति स कविर्वर्णयामास ।

यथामति मया विभो तव कृपाणिकायाः स्तुतिं

विधाय विनिगच्छते सदसि सत्कवीनां पुरः ।

परिक्षणविचक्षणक्षितितलैकसंरक्षण—

क्षणं ललितलक्षणश्रवणमत्र संदीयतां ॥ २२७ ॥

राजा सादरं तच्छ्रुतवान् । यथा ।

नृप तव कृपाणिकेयं दृढतरकरपीडनेन संभ्रांता ।

अपहृतकोशा मृत्यैर्निपतति परिभृत्य वैरिणां कंठे ॥ २२८ ॥

नृप तव कृपाणिकायाः प्रायः साराः छाया ।

अनया निकृत्य शत्रून्नुकुंतति सापि तत्र पत्रस्थान् ॥ २२९ ॥

हस्तोदितो विचित्रः शाहमहीपाल खड्गमेपस्ते ।

वर्धति यत्र हि धारां कुरुते तत्रैव जीवजीवनाभावं ॥ २३० ॥

आश्चर्यं तव शाहक्षितीश दृष्टं कृपाणजलदस्य ।

वृष्टिं विनैव कुरुते यस्तृणसृष्टिं प्रतीपरदनेषु ॥ २३१ ॥

अवलोकितं श्रुतं वा कैरपि चलनं जलस्य जलपुरतः ।

नृप तव कृपाणनीराद् गच्छति नीरं परस्य वदनस्थं ॥ २३२ ॥

कृष्णा कापि कृपाणी राजन्नाजौ विलक्ष्ण जयति ।

हरति पररक्तवस्त्रं स्वीयेनाच्छाद्य कालेन ॥ २३३ ॥

श्रीमान् महाप्रयागः पुष्करकलिता कलिं दजा यस्मिन् ।

भूयन्मौलिषु ललिता सूते चित्रं सरस्वतीं गंगां ॥ २३४ ॥

अलमलमधुना शाहक्षितीश दृष्टं कृपाणनुतिर्भियः ।

तृणमप्यरिदत्तघृतं विलोक्य निलयान्निःसरति ॥ २३५ ॥

एवमादीन्येषामपि महाकवीनां खड्गवर्णनान्याकर्ण्य किमपि विविदिपुरिवान्यत्राकृष्टदृष्टि-
भवत् । etc.”

1580 (A.D. 1658).⁴⁹ Evidently Jayarāma Kavi was a senior contemporary of Hari Kavi (A.D. 1685) and his description of Shahāji's sword is not merely poetic but factual as well. It is described as “रत्नखचितमुष्टिमंजुला” or “*lovely on account of its having a handle bedecked with jewels.*” It is compared to a cloud (कृष्णजलद) and is called कृष्णा or of darkish lustre due to its being rubbed clean by the application of some polishing oil (राजमार्जकतैलधावितं). Will it be possible to prove on documentary evidence that this very sword of Shahāji actually seen and described by Jayarāma Kavi before A.D. 1658 was transferred to Shivāji sometime thereafter and was actually in his possession at Pratapgad at the time of the Afzalkhān incident of A.D. 1659? If this sword of Shahāji is proved to be identical with the sword of his son Shivāji with which the goddess Bhavāni identified herself at the time of the Afzalkhan incident as stated by Kavindra Paramānanda between A.D. 1661-1674 it would be easy for us to imagine that this same sword passed on to Sambhāji⁵⁰ after his father's death in A.D. 1680 and was later described by Hari Kavi in A.D. 1685. Even if this identity of the two swords remains doubtful it would be worth while representing the results of our discussion about the contemporary references to the swords of *Shahāji*, *Shivāji* and *Sambhāji* in a tabular form as follows :—

Serial No.	Owner	Source of Description	Date of Description	Description
1	<i>Shahāji</i>	Jayarāma Kavi in VIII Ullāsa of <i>Rādhāmādhavavilāsa</i> Campu.	Between 1653-1658 A. D.	“रत्नखचितमुष्टिमंजुला” and “कृष्णा”
2	<i>Shivāji</i>	Kavindra Paramānanda in <i>Śivabhārātā</i> XX, 16, 22, 23.	Bet. A. D. 1661-1674	कृष्णी or असि
3	<i>Sambhāji</i>	Hari Kavi in <i>Sambhurāja Carita</i>	12th January 1685	चंद्रहासो भवान्याः - असिलता or खन्न-वल्ली

The foregoing table shows three different swords associated with the grandfather, the father and the son in one and the same line of kings and

49 According to RAJAWADE vide p 4 of his Intro. to *Rādhāmādhavavilāsa*.

50 Cf Bar M K. SETT's remarks in his article on “Sri Vatsyayana” in the *Jubilee Volume* (1938) of the Anthropological Society, Bombay, p. 197—“A young man is asked to go out into the world and carve a career for himself. The carving was done by his trusty sword, often the parting gift of his family.”

described by three different poets all of whom were contemporaries of their patrons. The difference of about 30 years between the first contemporary reference to a sword and the last reference and the chronological sequence of references tend to suggest a hypothesis for further verification that the objects referred to by three contemporary poets are not several but identical

The foregoing discussion about the Bhavānī sword associated with the hair-raising exploits of Shri Shivājī Mahārāja raises the question of the existence or otherwise of any earlier historical parallel to the story of the Bhavānī sword as now finds currency in the Mahārāstra and the veracity of which has to a certain extent been confirmed by Hari Kavi's description of the *Bhavānī's sword* (*भवानी: चंद्रहासः*) in the hands of King Sambhājī. Luckily for us such a historical parallel⁵¹ is found in the divine sword given by a strange woman to Kumāra Kampana the eldest son of King Bukka of Vijayanagara and which had been the heir-loom in the royal Pāndyan family.

The account of this Pāndyan sword has been fortunately preserved for us in a magnificent poem⁵² composed by Kumāra Kampana's talented queen Gangādevi and hence possesses much historical value. Kumāra Kampana also called Kamparāya was the son of Bukka I (A.D. 1376—Death, V. SMITH *Oxf. His.* 1923, p. 302) by his wife Depāyī. When the prince Kampana grew to manhood his father advised him on the duties of royal princes and asked him to proceed against the king of the Turushkas with his headquarters at Madura. Kampana accordingly undertook this expedition and pitched his camp in the town of Marakata.⁵³ *A goddess appeared before him and after describing to him the disastrous consequences of the Mussalman invasions of the South and the sad plight of the southern country and its temples exhorted him to extirpate the invaders and restore the country to its ancient glory, presenting him at the same time with a divine sword* Kamparāya then proceeded against Madura and in a battle, killed the Sultan ruling at the place. He then made grants to several temples.⁵⁴

The closeness of the above historical parallel to the story of the *Bhavānī* sword is remarkable. Though the *Pāndyan sword* mentioned by Gangādevi as presented to her husband Kamparāya is removed historically by about 350 years the points of similarity of the circumstances connected with each sword may now be tabulated as follows —

51. I am thankful to my friend Dr. B. A. SALETORÉ, for pointing out to me this parallel

52. Vide *Sources of Vijayanagar History* by S. K. AIYANGAR, Madras, 1919, pp. 23-24 where Dr. AIYANGAR has given us a brief analysis of each of the eight cantos of Gangādevi's historical poem called *कम्परायचरितम्* from a MS in the Govt. Ori. MSS Library, Madras. Vide printed edition of this poem also called *मधुराविजयम्* by Pt. Shrinivas SHASTRI of Travancore, Archaeological Department (Trivandrum).

53. *Kamparāya Caritam*, Canto V

54. *Ibid.*, VIII.

<i>The Pāṇḍyan Sword.</i>	<i>The Bhavāni Sword</i>
(1) This sword is given by a <i>goddess</i> to the hero.	(1) This sword is also given by the goddess <i>Bhavāni</i> to the hero
(2) The hero here is <i>Kumāra Kampaṇa</i> or <i>Kamṭarāya</i> , son of Bukka I.	(2) The hero here is <i>Shivāji</i> , son of <i>Shahājī</i>
(3) This sword is given to the hero on the eve of the performance of a heroic deed viz. the destruction of the <i>Sultan</i> of <i>Madura</i> by <i>Kamṭarāya</i> .	(3) This sword is also supposed to be given on the eve of Shivāji's meeting with and destruction of <i>Afzalkhan</i>
(4) The object of the exploit of the hero was to deliver the Hindus from the tyranny of the Muhammadans, not to say their religious oppression and desecration of Hindu temples	(4) The object of Shivāji's exploit was also to deliver the Hindus of the Maharashtra from the Moghul and Muhammadan tyranny indicated by the breaking of Hindu idols and destruction of Hindu temples.
(5) <i>Kamṭarāya</i> , the hero kills the <i>Sultan</i> of <i>Madura</i> and becomes victorious.	(5) Shivāji kills <i>Afzalkhan</i> and effectively checks the Muhammadan tyranny
(6) <i>Kamṭarāya</i> makes grants to several temples after the conquest of <i>Madura</i>	(6) Shivāji also made some grants to some men of his court according to the <i>Sivadigvijaya</i> . ⁵⁵

I believe the above parallelism between the incidents associated with the Pāṇḍyan sword and those connected with the Bhavāni sword will be found sufficiently interesting by the students of the Maratha history.

In concluding my survey of the problem of the Bhavāni sword I have to point out that so far no contemporary reference to this sword has yet been traced by scholars working in the field of the Maratha history. In view of this fact vouched by close students of the Maratha history Hari Kavi's re-

55. Ed by P. R. NANDURBARKAR and L. K. DANDEKAR, Baroda, 1895, p. 171—“Pantajipant was the recipient of the *inām* of the village Hivaresi. He was also given the robes of honour. Visvāsrao Nānaji and others who had served (at the time of the Afzalkhān incident) were also the recipients of some *ināms*, etc. A new tower was built at the place where Afzalkhān was killed, etc.”

ference to the Bhavāni sword in A.D. 1685 must be treated as "practically contemporary" ⁵⁶ and hence should retain its evidential value in any discussion about the genesis and historicity of the Bhavāni sword. In view of the decaying condition of the MS in which Hari Kavi's verses about the Bhavāni sword are found I have thought it advisable to publish along with this paper photograph of the folio of the MS on which these verses are recorded as also that of the last folio on which the date of composition of the *Sambhurāja Carita* is found.

56 This paper was read before the Bharat Iti. Sams. Mandal, Poona in June 1938. Mr V S BENDRE who was then in London, had sent a note on the subject of this paper for the annual gathering of the Mandal where this paper was read. On reading this note I wrote to Mr BENDRE pointing out that there is no contemporary evidence regarding the Bhavāni sword except the three verses of Hari Kavi. Subsequently Mr. BENDRE sent me a copy of his paper on the Bhavāni sword which he had contributed to a London Journal and in which he has admitted the force of my evidence as will be seen from the following extract.—"Where is the Bhavāni sword of the great Mahratta hero Shivāji? Much has been told in the later chronicles about this sword which was a gift to him by his goddess Shri Bhavāni. These narratives are not, however, quite unanimous in their description. *The only practically contemporary reference is that by Hari Kavī in his Sambhurāja Carita* (1685 A.D.)—Folio 82 verses 126-8 of this work—photo-copy supplied by my friend Mr P. K. GODE."

NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA : THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION*

By

V. M. APTE, Poona.

ĀG. I. 10. 12 — ‘*Śītāni havinṣyabhighāryodagudvāsyā barhiṣyā-sādyedhmamabhighārya* (a) “*Ayam ta idhma ūtmā jātavedas* (b) *tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha* (c) *vardhaya cāsmān prajayā paśubhir* (d) *brahma-varcasenānādyaena samedhaya svāhā*” iti.

Trans : After sprinkling (with Ājya) the cooked portions of sacrificial food, taking them from the fire to the north placing them on the Barhis, he sprinkles the fuel (with Ājya) with the Mantra “(a) This fuel is thyself O Jātavedas ; (b) with it blaze and increase, O Blazing One, (c) and increase us with progeny, (and) cattle,¹ (d) with holy lustre and nutrition advance us”.

Context : The Pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka—the norm of Pākayajñas (see ĀG. I. 10. 26) is described in this Kaṇḍikā I. 10

Sources : The nearest approach to our Mantra in words and sense is AV XIX 64 2 (a) *Idhmena tvā jātavedah* (b) *samidhā vardhayāmasi* | (c) *tathā tvam asmān vardhaya* (d) *prajayā ca dhanena ca*” || (With fire-wood, O jātavedas, with fuel, we increase thee ; so do thou increase us with progeny and wealth) The subject of the AV hymn XIX. 64 is service of the fire with fuel

ĀG. I. 10. 15 : *Vijñāyate ‘caksuṣī vā ete yaññasya, yadājyabhāgau’.*

Trans : It is known (from the Śruti) : “These two are, indeed, the eyes of the sacrifice, namely the two Ājyabhāgas”. The context: In the Pārvaṇa-sthālīpāka, (Sūtra 14 tells us) the two Ājyabhāgas are offered, the northern one to Agni, the southern one to Soma The above quotation from the Śruti in Sūtra 15 explains this special assignment of the Ājyabhāgas to Agni and Soma.

Sources : Prof STENZLER aptly compares ŚB. I. 6. 3. 38 which is identical with our quotation except for the word ‘*ha*’ inserted before our ‘*vā*.’ That this is the source is made very probable by the fact that ‘*Vijñāyate*’ generally introduces a quotation or the gist of a passage from the Śruti (that is some Brāhmana work).

* Continued from p. 61 of May 1940 issue

1 This translation which follows the pāda division of the mantra and connects *prajayā paśubhih* with *Vardhaya* and takes pāda (d) as a separate clause, is different from OLDENBERG’S where *vardhaya* stands awkwardly by itself.

ĀG 1. 10. 23 : (a) "Yadasya karmāṇāṃ" *Ivañīnam*, (b) *yadrā nyūnam thākaram* | (c) *Agnīstat svistakṛt vidvān* (d) *tsarvam svistam suhutam karotu me* | (e) *Agnaye svistakṛte suhutamuta sarvapravāśāntāhutiṇām kāmāṇām samardhayitre sarvaṇ nah Kāmāntsamardhaya svāhā* " iti |

Trans (He sacrifices the svistakṛt oblation with the following mantra i.e. the one in this Sūtra according to Nārāyaṇa and Haradatta but the wording of the mantra shows that it accompanies both the Svistakṛt as well as the Sarvapravāśānta oblations) "Whatever I have exceeded in this rite, or whatever I have fallen short of therein, all that may Agni Svistakṛt, the knowing one, make well-sacrificed and well-offered for me. To Agni Svistakṛt, who offers the oblations for general expiation so that they are well offered, (and) who furthers (the fulfilment of) our desire - 'Fulfil all our desires! Svāha!'"

Sources (a) to (d) Prof OLDENBERG compares SB XIV 9.4.24. The passage is identical with ours except that 'Sarvam' and 'me' at the beginning and end respectively, of our (d) clause are omitted and 'svāhā' added. But I think that our text is influenced by the passage APS III. 12. 1 which is identical with ours except for the omission of 'me' at the end, because the context 'Dakṣipūnamasa' sacrifice, is the exact Śrauta counterpart of the Pitravān sthūlipitṛka which is the context in our text and because the following clause (e) is traced only to ĀPMB, another text of the same Āpastamba school. (e) - Clause (e), is only traced to ĀPMB 2. 18. 31 and HG 1. 3. 7 where the same mantra occurs with a few changes. Both the texts omit 'Sarvāṇāḥ kāmāṇ samardhaya, svāhā'. ĀPMB. adds instead 'suhutamuta ahutiṇām' while HG adds 'sarvahute sarvahutāhutiṇām'.

ĀG 1. 13. 1 • *Upanṣad garbhalambhanam pumsavanaṁ anavalobhanam ca* |

Trans In the 'Upanṣad' (are treated), the rites of garbhalambhana (to secure conception), the pumsavana (to ensure the birth of a male child) and the anavalobhana (the rite to ensure absence of miscarriage etc.)

The problem is : -What is the Upanṣad referred to here? Nārāyaṇa says that it belongs to another Śākhā and treats of topics beginning with the garbhādhāna rite and ending with Ātmajñāna (knowledge of the Self). The same is the explanation of the commentator Haradatta. Prof SIENZLER (p. 33) reproduces the above view of Nārāyaṇa. Prof OLDENBERG (p. 179) after referring to Nārāyaṇa's view compares Prof Max MÜLLER's note on Bṛhad-Āranyaka VI. 4. 24, the suggestion being that the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, which incidentally treats of these ceremonies may be the 'Upanṣad' referred to in our text. I, however, think that the 'Upanṣad' meant is the 'Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa-upanṣad' for the following reasons -- (1) The non-Rgvedic and Rgvedic citations in this and the following two kaṇḍikās, which treat of Pumsavana and allied rites are all found in a similar context in that Upanṣad which contains the very mantras cited in our text and none others. (2) The KBU belongs to the RV. and stands along with the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, in a specially intimate relation to the SG with which our text is closely allied. (3)

Our text treats of only two rites¹ (the 'Pumsavana' in I 13. 2-4 'Anavalobhana' in I 13 5-7) out of the three mentioned in this Sūtra, ignoring the 'garbhalambhana' *probably because it is treated in the KBU* (4) 'Yadi nādhiyāt' ('if he does not study the text') in the next sūtra implies that the Upaniṣad referred to, was one, *the knowledge of which was presumed but not definitely presupposed* on the part of an adherent of the Āśvalāyana śākhā. In other words, it was just a text like the KBU which did not belong to that śākhā but was at the same time closely associated with the literature of the śākhā as it belonged to the same veda

ĀG. I. 13. 3 : (a) 'Kim pibasi, kim pibasīti' pṛṣṭvā (b) 'Pumsavanam pumsavanam' iti trih pratijanyāt |

Trans. When he (the husband) has asked 'What dost thou drink? What dost thou drink?' she should thrice reply 'Pumsavanam (the begetting of a male child) ! pumsavanam !'

Context : These questions and answers are with reference to three handfuls of curds (each handful being mixed with two beans and one barley grain) which the wife is given to eat in the Pumsavana ceremony

Sources . Only (b) and that too in the form 'pumsuavanam' is found in ĀPMB. 2. 11. 4 in very much the same context

ĀG. I. 13 6 : 'Prajāvaḥjīvaḥputrābhyām' hanke |

Trans . According to some (authorities), with the 'Prajāvat' and 'Jīva-putra' hymns.

[Context . In the anavalobhana ceremony (the description of which commences with Sūtra 5, immediately after that of the Pumsavana), the husband inserts into the wife's right nostril (the juice of) a herb that has not faded, while she is seated in the shadow of a circular apartment]. Sūtra 6 now states that this ritual act is accompanied by the recitation of the 'Prajāvat' and 'Jīva-putra' (hymns) according to some authorities. [I do not agree with Prof OLDENBERG'S view (p 180) that the text here describes one continuous ceremony (that of the Pumsavana) in this Kaṇḍika Nārāyaṇa, in my opinion, is right in his view that Sūtras 2-4 refer to the Pumsavana and in sūtra 5 begins the Anavalobhana I give the following reasons : (1) 'Atha' in sūtra 5 signifies the introduction of a new topic and 'mandalāgarachāyāyām' indicates a change of scene for the new rite (2) The ignoring of the garbhalambhana cannot, as Prof OLDENBERG takes it, serve as a parallel to the ignoring of the 'anavalobhana' because the proper place for a description of the 'garbhalambhana' was after sūtra I 8. 14 (where the rite has been passed over), at any rate long before a description of the Pumsavana rite, a reason for ignoring it may have been, as already suggested a treatment of it in the 'upaniṣad' of sūtra 1 a knowledge of which is presumed; there is no such justification for passing over the 'anavalobhana', the proper place for it being after that of the 'Pumsavana.']

1 OLDENBERG thinks that only one continuous ceremony is described. I have discussed the point under ĀG. I. 13. 6.

Sources : Prof. STENZLER gives the following information ¹ "The two verses :—as given in the Kritische Anmerkungen (p. 48) are : (1) *Ā te garbho yonimaitu pumān bāna iveṣudhm | ā vīro jāyatām putras te daśamāsyah ||* and (2) *Agniraitu prathamo devatānām sosayaḥ prajāṃ muñcatu mṛtyu-pāśāt | tadayaṃ rājā varuṇo' numanyatām yatheyāṃ strī pautramagham na rodāt ||* These two verses are the first verses of two sūktas, which according to Nārāyaṇa are named after their seers 'Prajāvat' and 'Jivaputra'. *According to the Samskāra-kaustubha*, Hiranya-garbha is the Rṣi of both these Sūktas and according to both the *Samskāra-kaustubha* and the *Prayoga-ratna* each of these two sūktas consists of five verses. The first of these sūktas agrees in part with AV. III. 23; there is no trace of the second sūkta in any of the saṃhitās before us; its first two verses are found in PG. I. 5. 4." (italics mine). [Incidentally, it may be noted that these two verses are given in the Bibliotheca Indica Edition, p. 61].

Definite information is now available on this point, in the light of which some of these statements (given in italics above) of Prof. STENZLER will have to be corrected. 'Jivaputra' is mentioned as an ācārya in PG II 4 3 and a Prajāvat (Prājāpatya) is the Rṣi of RV. X. 183. So Nārāyaṇa's view that these are the names of two Rṣis, whose hymns go by their names is quite plausible. In fact a precise statement to that effect is found in the Brhaddevatā V 92^{ab} "*Prajāvaj-jivaputrau vā garbha-karman saṃstutau*" (=Or 'the two hymns of 'Prajāvat' and 'Jivaputra' may be used together as 'praise' in the ceremony of pregnancy) *Our Sūtra 6 seems to be an echo of this view*, our 'Eke' corresponding to the 'vā' of the Brh-D verse. Prof. MACDONELL in his notes to the translation of this verse (on p 189-90 HOS. vol 6) says "This (i.e. the Prajāvat) khila called by the name of its author has *seven stanzas* in the Kashmir MS. and is there described in the Anukramanī as *garbhārthāśīstutūḥ*. In his note to the word 'Jivaputra' he adds that the Jivaputra khila also called after its author, comes immediately after that of Prajāvat in the Kashmir MS and has five stanzas

Were it not for this decisive statement of the Brhaddevatā that 'Prajāvat' and 'Jivaputra' stand for the two RV khilas named after their seers, it would have been a tempting theory to look upon RV X 183 (a hymn whose Rṣi is 'Prajāvān' and whose subject-matter admirably suits our context) as the 'Prajāvat' hymn referred to

In 'Die Apokryphen des Rgveda' by SCHEFTELOWITZ are given (pp 81 to 84) the two khila-hymns the opening verses of which are the two verses given above with some minor variations. The note there on p 82 gives the same information that is stated above :—'Dieses Lied nach der Anukramanī von Prajāvān verfasst, wird ebenso wie der folgende Jivaputra-Hymnus beim Garbhakarman vorgetragen, vgl. Brh D 5 92, etc.

AG I 13. 7 : *Prājāpatyasya sthāpākasya hūtvā, hṛdaya-deśam asyā*

¹ This is a free rendering of the relevant parts of STENZLER's note 6 in German on p 34 of Indische Hauseregeln Āśvalāyana, Zweites Heft Uebersetzung.

ālabheta " (a) yatte susīme hṛdaye (b) hitam antaḥ prajāpatau | (c) ~~Manye~~
ham mām tadvidvāmsam (d) māham pautramagham nīyām" *iti* |

Trans : After the sacrificing of a sthālīpāka sacred to Prajāpati, he (the husband) should touch the region of her heart with the Mantra 'What is placed, O fair-proportioned one¹, in thy heart, in Prajāpati, I think myself the knower of *that* May I not suffer harm that comes through sons'.

The context is a continuation of the same 'anavalobhana' ceremony mentioned above

Sources : Prof STENZLER points out (p 35) 'Der verse steht auch Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad 2, 8 u. 10'. The explanation is that our first two pādas (a) and (b) are the same as the first two pādas of KBU II 10 except for 'śritam' in the latter for our 'hitam' and our (c) and (d) are the same as pādas (c) and (d), of KBU. II 8 except that the latter has 'putryam' for our 'Pautram' and 'rudam' for our 'nīyām' This is one more illustration of the fluid tradition of Grhya-mantras' A mantra was improvised or made up so that it might suit a particular context by joining parts drawn from more than one source'

Similar verses are found in a number of Sūtra-texts Our first two pādas are found without variation in SMB 1 5 10—where the last pāda is also the same except for 'nigām' instead of our 'nīyām'

ĀG I 14. 3 Athāgnim upasamādhāya paścādasyānaduham carmāsīrya prāggṛivamuttaraloma tasminnupaviṣṭāyām samanvārabdhāyām "Dhātā dadātu dāsusa" *iti dvābhyām. . . iti ca* |

Trans Then having put fuel¹ on the (domestic) fire, and having spread to the west of it, a bull's hide with the neck to the east and the hair upwards, (he makes oblations) while his wife who is seated upon that (hide) takes hold of him with the two (verses) beginning with 'May Dhātā give to his worshipper' . . . etc

The context is the ceremony of Sīmantonnayana (or parting of the hair) which takes place in the fourth month of pregnancy

Sources : Prof. STENZLER gives the two verses (p 36) as they are given in the Samskāra-kaustubha and Prayogaratna and Prof. OLDENBERG refers to ŚG. I, 22 7, but no explanation is given of the remarkable fact that our text cites the two verses by quoting the opening pāda of the first as a pratika although the verses do not occur in the Rgveda Our text evidently presupposed a knowledge of the text from which the verses are extracted on the part of an adherent of the Āśvalāyana śākhā, as in the case of the Rgveda. Now an investigation of the source of the two verses reveals that

1 Prof OLDENBERG'S translation of 'Susīme' as "O thou, whose hair is well-parted" seems to be due to a confusion of the word 'Sīmā' (in the epithet *Susīme*) with the word *Simanta*' (= the parting of hair) Besides, the parting of hair took place in the 'sīmantonnayana' ceremony which follows this ceremony in point of time'

1. OLDENBERG'S translation of 'Upasamādhāya' as 'gives its place to the fire' ignores the technical sense of the term,

they are taken from ĀŚ VI. 14 16, which explains why our text has not cited them in full. *Evidently the Samskāra Kaustubha and Prayogaratna (very late ritual texts) have extracted them from the ĀŚ, as their version of the two verses (as given by Prof. STENZLER) is exactly the same as that of ĀŚ.* It has been shown by me elsewhere² in a discussion of 'Rakāmaham' (RV II. 32 4-5) cited in this very sūtra along with these 'Dhātṛ' verses that TS. III. 3. 11 3 is a section that has influenced the citation and sequence of Mantras in this sūtra. TS III. 3. 11 3 and 2 are two 'Dhātṛ' verses reminiscent of the ĀŚ verses in a general way, though only TS. III. 3. II 3 agrees with the first pāda of the first 'Dhātṛ' verse quoted in ĀŚ VI 14 16.

It is a curious fact that the last two pādas of our second verse are an adaptation of the last two pādas of RV. III. 59 1 'Mitrāḥ kṣīrān amuṣā bhūcāste, mitrāya havyam ghṛtavajjuhota ||' with 'Dhātṛ' substituted for 'Mitrāḥ', as 'Dhātṛ' is the appropriate deity here. *This is not an isolated example of adaptation of verses or verse-pādas from the RV, compare for example the mantra cited in ĀG. II. 9. 2 which incorporates RV. 1 53. II^a into a larger mantra and the one cited in ĀG. I. 7. 6. which adapts RV. X 85 39^a="Jīvātī śaradaḥ śatam", by changing 'Jīvātī' into 'Jiveva'.*

ĀG. 1 14. 6 *Viṇāgāthinau saṁśāstā "Somaṁ rājānaṁ saṁgāyetām" iti.*

Trans. He issues instructions to the two lute-players. 'may they sing to King Soma'!

Context. This order is given by the husband in the sīmantonnayana ceremony after parting his wife's hair three or four times.

Sources : ĀPŚ. 20 6. 5 reads '*Atra brāhmaṇo viṇāgāthī gāyati*'. ĀPŚ 20 6 14 has '*Sāyam-dhṛtiṣu hūyamāṇāsu rājanyo viṇāgāthī*', and ĀPŚ 20. 7. 1 has '*Sāyam prātar viṇāgāthinau gāyetām*'. *It appears from these passages that of the two lute-players one was a Brāhmaṇa, the other a Rājanya (or Kṣatriya) an important fact showing that the art of lute-playing was looked upon as worthy of practice by the two highest castes*

The parallel passage in ŚG I 22 11-12 shows that there were sometimes more than two lute-players. This passage as well as PG I 15 7 (where 'King Soma' is implied though only the word 'Rājānam' is used) show that the kingship of Soma was symbolical of earthly kingship

ĀG I. 14 7. "*Soma no rājāvatū mānuṣīḥ prajā niviṣṭacakrāsau*" -*iti yam nadīm upavasitā bhavanti |*

Trans Prof STENZLER construes the gāthā thus :—

(1) 'May Soma, our King, protect the human species, who have settled down within *thine* jurisdiction O thou (referring to the river)' i.e. he separates 'niviṣṭacakrāsau' (a case of irregular double sandhi in his view) as 'niviṣṭa-krāḥ asau' and construes 'niviṣṭacakrāḥ' with 'prajāḥ' This construction is supported by the parallel passages in ĀPMS II 11 12 and 13 where

² See my monograph "Rgveda Mantras in their ritual setting in the Gṛhya-Sūtras" reprinted from the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* Vol I

'vivṛttacakraḥ' a variant of 'niviṣṭacakraḥ' qualifies 'Śālvāḥ' (prajāḥ) and 'Brāhmaṇīḥ prajāḥ' respectively

(2) Prof. OLDENBERG (p 181) suggests that the words should be separated according to regular sandhi rules as 'niviṣṭacakraḥ asau' the two words going with 'Nadī' (who is to be named next as 'asau' implies) and translates 'May Soma, our King, bless the human race. Settled is the wheel of N. N' Prof. OLDENBERG does not seem to have noticed that this is the construction of Nārāyaṇa also (Haradatta, the other commentator also gives the same construction), when he says 'Niviṣṭacaktā gange' Prof. STENZLER who generally follows Nārāyaṇa and who has quoted his comment on this part of the Mantra, has either not noticed or has disapproved of Nārāyaṇa's construction, when he remarks that 'Niviṣṭacakraḥ asau' is a case of irregular sandhi. None of these two constructions explain the propriety of the mention of the 'particular river' in connection with 'prajāḥ', or, the introduction of the river-name in connection with Soma and finally the propriety of the mention of the river and Soma in the Sīmantonnayana ceremony I therefore split up and construe the gāthā thus :—The lute-players sing : 'Soma no rājā (Soma is our king)' [My reasons for taking this as an independent clause are that the parallel clause in ĀPMB II. 11 13, HG 2 1 3 and PG 1 15 8 is an independent sentence like 'Soma eva no rājā'; compare also RV X 109. 2^a. 'Soma rājā prathamo brahmajāyām'], The next sentence would be 'avatu mānuṣīḥ prajā niviṣṭacakraḥ asau'. May this (river) whose wheels (i.e. banks or course) are well-settled, protect the human race (i.e. keep them safe from the danger of floods and supply them with water) This meaning of 'niviṣṭacakraḥ' is supported by '*avimuktacakre tire*' in PG. 1. 15 8 The mention of the name of the local river thus becomes quite natural The association of 'Soma—the King' with the waters and, therefore, with a river is well-known Compare KS XIV. 2 '*Soma rājā osadhīṣu apsu*' The mention of the river in the Sīmantonnayana ceremony is (I suggest) appropriate because the clear (and at times slightly deviating) parting of the hair brings to our minds the spectacle of a river whose winding course runs through trees and reeds. For the figurative association of 'hair' with 'reeds or plants', compare AV VI 137. 2^c and 3^c *keśā nadā iva vardhantām* let the hair grow like reeds and ĀPŚ 6 20 2 : *Keśā bahūḥ* = the hair are (like) Kuśa grass'

ĀG I 15 1 *Kumāram jātom, purānyairālabhāt, sarṣṭi madhunī hiranyamkāṣam hiranyena prāśayet* (a) '*Pra te dadāmi madhuno ghyiāsyā*' (b) *Vedam savitrā prasūtam maghonām* | (c) *Āyusmān gupto devatābhūḥ* (d) *śatām jīva śarado loke asmim'iti* |

Trans : A son (newly) born, (the father) should, before others touch him, give to eat, of butter and honey, from (a piece of) gold after rubbing them (together) with (that) gold with the mantra : (a) 'I give to thee of honey (and) ghee, (b) (a mixture symbolising) holy knowledge inspired by Savitr for the bountiful (institutors of sacrifices), (c) full of life, protected

by the deities, (d) live a hundred autumns in this world' [The *sūtra* and the mantra require some explanation]

A small quantity of butter and honey (mixed up) is poured on a stone and rubbed with a piece of gold vigorously enough to allow some gold dust to be assimilated into the mixture and then one end of that piece of gold is put into the mouth of the child to be licked up by it. So 'hiranyena' does not mean 'from a golden vessel or spoon' as Prof. OLDENBERG takes it

Sources : Prof. STENZLER (followed by OLDENBERG) corrects the reading 'maghonām' (genitive plural) of the manuscripts into 'Maghonā' (instrumental singular, qualifying 'savitrā') on the analogy of ŚG I 24. 4 which has a mantra very nearly identical with ours. The variations are : Pāda (a) reads there as 'pra te yacchāmi madhuman makhāya' ; (b) has 'maghonā' for our 'maghonām', (c) has 'gupito' for our 'gupto' - an improvement from the point of view of the metre, (d) is the same as our (d)

The correction of 'maghonām' into 'maghonā' on the analogy of ŚG is quite plausible but *not at all necessary because as has been seen, each individual school-text often exercised the right to alter the readings of a Mantra which belonged to the common Grhya tradition*. Besides, in my translation given above, 'Maghonām' yields quite a good sense, the genitive case often doing duty for the dative.

ĀG I. 15 2. *Karnayor upamdhāya 'medhājananam' japati* : (a) "*Medhām te devah savitā*, (b) *Medhām devī sarasvatī* | (c) *medhām te aśvinau devāv* (d) *ādhattām puskarasrajāvīti*."

Trans Holding (his mouth) near (the child's) ears, he (the father) mutters the (following) '*medhājanana*' text [lit : producing 'medhā' or intelligence] 'Intelligence may God Savitr, intelligence may goddess Sarasvati, intelligence may the Aśvins, the lotus-wreathed gods put in thee'.

The context of 'Jātakarma' or birth-rite is continued.

Sources Our mantra is an adaptation the RV Khila · X 151 2 which reads : (a) "*Medhām mahyām āṅgirasah* (b) *medhām devī sarasvatī* | ; (c) *medhām me aśvinau devau* (d) *ādhattām puskarasrajā* "

The variations are our mantra substitutes in (a) '*savitā*' for '*āṅgirasah*' (savitr is a very popular deity of the Grhya-ritual, compare the ceremony of Upanayana), and '*te*' for '*me*' throughout as the father addresses the mantra to the child. TA 10 40. 1 also has a very similar mantra to ours, only (a) being different and reading '*Medhām me indro dadātu*'

TA 10. 40 is an anuvāka that constitutes the 'Yājñikī Upaniṣad' and TA 10 40 1 is a prayer for intelligence. It is curious that this TA mantra is an adaptation of RV X 184 2 where '*garbham*' occurs for the '*medhām*' of TA and '*sinivālī*' (a deity very appropriately invoked in birth-rites) is mentioned in the first pāda—an interesting process which illustrates the genesis of the Grhya tradition of mantras !

ĀG. I. 15. 3 : *Aṁsāv abhimṛṣati* (a) "*aśmā bhava paraśur bhava*, (b)

hiraṇyam asṛtaṃ bhava | (c) *Vedo vai putra-nāmāsi*, (d) *sa jīva śaradah śatam*’ *iti*.

Trans :—The father then touches the two shoulders of the child with the mantra “Be a stone, be an axe, be gold insuperable [I prefer the reading ‘asrutam’ (=unmelted or solid) of PG. I 16. 18 and ŚB 14 9 4. 26 to our *asṛtaṃ*’ (=insuperable)] Thou art, indeed, the Veda named ‘son’; so live a hundred autumns”

Sources :—The ŚB 14. 9. 4. is a section (Brāhmaṇa) treating of the rite called ‘Putra-Mantha’ ensuring the birth of a son endowed with certain desirable characteristics. After the birth of a son (ŚB 14. 9. 4 23), rites similar to those described in our text follow and 14 9 26 reads ‘athainam abhūṃśrāti | (he then touches him with the mantra) ‘Āsmā bhava’ etc a mantra very nearly the same as in our text The only variations are ‘asiutām’ (the reading I prefer and found in PG. also) for our ‘asṛtaṃ’ in pāda (b) and ‘ātmā’ for our ‘putro’ in (c).

The word ‘Vedaḥ’ is puzzle! Prof OLDENBERG suggests (p. 182) that it might be the nominative either of ‘veda’ or of ‘vedas’, (property). ŚB 14 9. 4 25, *however throws light on its meaning, it reads ‘Vedo’sīti guhyam nāma karoti’* He gives him a secret name, namely ‘Veda’ KBU 2. 11 also has the same verse in a similar context, only with ‘ātmā’ for ‘putro’ in (c) All possible varying versions of the mantra are also found in SMB 1 5. 18; HG 2 3. 2, MG 1. 17 5 etc

I think the *idea* of ‘āsmā bhava’ (be a stone) as an address is developed from RV VI. 75. 12^b (= VS 29. 49^b, and TS. 4 6 4) = ‘Āsmā bhavatu nas tanūḥ’ (may our body be like a stone) addressed to ‘arrows’ as a prayer for bodily strength.

AG I. 15. 9. *Pravāsād etya putrasya śirah paṅgrhya japat* : (a) “*Āṅgād aṅgāt sambhavaśi*, (b) *hṛdayādadhujāyase* | (c) *Ātmā vai putra-nāmāsi*, (d) *sa jīva śaradah śatam*” *iti mūrdhani trir avaghrāya* |

Trans . Having come back from a journey, (the father) clasps his son’s head and having smelt¹ (him) on the head mutters three times : ‘From every limb, art thou born, from out of the heart hast thou been produced. Thou art indeed the Ātmā (Self) named son, so live a hundred autumns’.

The context :—From the position of the sūtra, I think, the rite is here prescribed primarily for a very young child (under one year of age), this being the norm for a similar ritual in the case of a grown-up boy

Sources . The first two pādas are found in ŚB 14 9 4 8 where the Mantra is employed at ‘cohabitation’ to ensure the birth of a specially qualified son in the course of the *Putramantha* rite Prof STENZLER compares KBU. 2 11 (where the whole verse occurs in the same context) and KŚ. 4. 12 22.

The whole verse also occurs in a similar context in PG I 18. 2; HG 2 3 2, ĀPMB 2 11 33; and MG 1. 18 6 with slight variations.

1. Prof OLDENBERG’s rendering of ‘avaghrāya’ (he kisses him) is not literal.

ĀG. I 16. 5 : *Dadhmadhughṛtamiśram amam prāśayet* · (a) 'Anna-pate'masya no dehy (b) *anamivasya śuśmunaḥ* | (c) *prapradātāraṁ tāriṣa* (d) *Ūṛjam no dhehi dvipade catuṣpade' iti*

Trans : (Such) food mixed with curds, honey and ghce, he should make (the child) eat, with the mantra 'Lord of food, give us food that causes no disease and possesses (full) strength. Advance (pra tāriṣaḥ), the great giver (pradātāram) ; confer power on us—on (our) bipeds and quadrupeds.

The context is the ceremony of annaprāśana that takes place when the child is in its sixth month. 'Such food' (in the translation above) means any one of the three kinds of food mentioned in Sūtras 2 to 4

Sources : Prof. STENZLER compares VS. XI. 83 and when he suggests the correction of 'pra pradātāram' as printed in his text into 'pra pra dātāram' in the Kritische Anmerkungen (p. 49), he has probably in his mind the VS. reading. But the Mantra is found in earlier Saṁhitās like TS, MS and KS, and the reading of TS. 4. 2. 3. 1 (and TS. 5. 2. 2. 1 which is the Brāhmaṇa of the former passage) where the mantra occurs without a variant, is 'pra pradātāram' and I have translated accordingly. TS. 4. 2. 3 is a section containing mantras for taking the Ukhyā fire (i.e. fire in the pan) to the place of the Agnicayana and with 4. 2. 3. 1 (i.e. our mantra), the adhvaryu puts on the fire, a piece of Udumbara wood dipped in *Vṛata* milk. In VS 11 83 the context is identical. ŚB. 6. 6. 4. 7 just quotes this same mantra from VS and gives the Brāhmaṇa thereon. It is however, in TB and PB that we meet with a context suggestive of our context. In TB 3. 11. 4. 1 the mantra accompanies a home with rice for the placing of bricks in the 'Naciketa-cayana' and in PB 1. 8. 7, the mantra accompanies the acceptance of food as *Dakṣiṇā* in a Soma sacrifice, which is suggestive of our context of 'annaprāśana' or first 'tasting of food'.

INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD *

By

D B DIKSALKER.

SHIMARA

[?

This fragmentary inscription at present consisting of two pieces was discovered in the village Shimar near Ajār in the Ūnā Mahal of the Junagadh State. From the characters the inscription can be assigned to the 15th century of the v.s.

The inscription seems to record the digging of a well A portion of the date viz. Thursday the fifth of the bright half of [Mā]gha is only visible.

Text.

1	.	.	.	भा विभागा उल्लोकीर्णः प्रतिमल्लमूर्तिः ।
2	.	.	.	ल्लकीर्तिः । ३ रमादेवी हिमादेवी जाते पुत्र्यौ
3	.	.	.	[क्याः] ससुत्पन्ने तुष्टिपुष्टी इव स्थिरे । ४ भूपतिः
4	.	.	.	वीतयोः स्थिता धात्री । पालनलालननियता
5	.	.	.	च्येत । ५ कलिमलविरमायाः सारमायाः सुत
6	.	.	.	मालदेवी । असमकुसुमभारे भूप
7	.	.	.	ऽसमाना । ६ कीर्ति
8	.	.	.	जा कापि वापिका सुखं
9	.	.	.	शिवः शुभं भूयात् स
10	.	.	.	च शुदि ५ शुभौ वापी जाता

MAHUVĀ

No. 75]

v. s. 1500

[23-4-1444 A.D

The sub-joined inscription is engraved on a black stone slab built up in the pedestal of the god Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, whose temple is situated near the Darbargadh of the sea-port town Mahuvā on the southern coast of Kathiawad in the Bhavnagar State. But as the inscription mentions the digging of a well and makes no mention of the temple it seems that the inscribed stone was brought from elsewhere and built up in the temple. The inscribed portion, which is beautifully engraved and is well preserved measures 1' 8" in length and 11" in breadth. The record is both in Sanskrit poetry and prose. As regards orthography it may be noted that a consonant is sometimes doubled after *r*.

It was formerly published in the *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad* p. 162 ff

* Continued from p. 606 of Vol. II, December 1939 issue.

- 5 २ ॥ तत्पुत्रोऽतः पवित्रो हरिपरिचरणः श्रेष्ठिमल्लोऽत्र पल्लहस्तस्मादप्याविरासीदमितवितरणो
ऽनस्य सत्य
- 6 स्वभावः । श्रेष्ठिश्रीरामनामा कृतशुक्रतचयः संयुतो जानुसत्या सन्मत्या विष्णुभक्त्या [निः*]
वसति सद्ने ब्रह्मणो वेदवे
- 7 दः । ३ ॥ तदनु जनितपूर्वादुग्रपुण्यप्रभावात् कलिबलदलनेऽलं मोकलो निज्जलायां ।
प्रणयति वरवापी तत्प्रती
- 8 चीनभूमौ मधुरसलिलपूर्णा श्रेयसे तत्र पित्रोः ॥ ४ ॥ अनुतिष्ठेदधिष्ठानं मृष्टायां दृष्टनिर्जले ।
स तिष्ठेदि
- 9 धमुद्दिष्टिष्टं शिष्टेखिविष्टपे । ५ ॥ नीलोद्वाह यो हरिमेघं सुनिपानं कुर्यात् पुत्रो गोत्रपवि-
त्रोऽभिजनेन ।
- 10 दद्यादन्न भूमिगजाश्वोभयवक्त्रा भूयाद्भावात् तीर्थसुपर्वद्विजभक्तः । ६ ॥ गोहिल्लोसौ रणे
शरः सारंगः शार्ङ्गसे
- 11 वकः [१५] तदुर्व्यां कुर्वते वापी धर्मधीर्मोढमौकलः^३ । ७ ॥ उक्तं श्रीभारते । गोमासे
गोगवाक्रांते गोरसे गगने
- 12 गते गोमात्रं गोरसं दद्याद्गोसहस्रफल लभेत् । ८ ॥ श्रीकांतकृतदैत्यां देव सेवकवत्सल
त्वया विना प्र-
- 13 भुः कोऽत्र ज्ञातु कर्म क्रियापदे । ९ ॥ पुराणपुरुषः पायादपायात् त्वा कृपादशा । जलशायी
प्रणीतोऽत्र यो ल
- 14 क्ष्म्या सह मोकल । १० ॥ उक्तं धर्म्मरारण्यपुराणे ॥ पुरा सृष्टिसमारंभे स्वथभूर्भगवान्
स्वयं । अस्थापयन्महास्था
- 15 नमिद मोहविमोहनं । ११ ॥ धर्म्मरारण्यं कृते प्रोक्तं त्रेतायां सत्यमदिरं । द्वापरे वेदभुवनं
कलौ मोहेर
- 16 कं मतं । १२ ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमनृपधिक्रमार्कसमयातीतसंवत् १५०० वर्षे प्रजापतिनाम्नि
संवत्सरे । उत्तरायणे । व
- 17 संतकृता वैशाखशुक्लपंचम्यां गुरौ । श्रीमधुमत्याः पश्चिमे प्रदेशे निज्जले । माता सती
वाई जानुं पिता श्रेष्ठि श्री
- 18 रामा भ्रातृ श्रे० राववश्रेयसे । श्रेष्ठि मोकलः भ्रातृ सांटा लीवा सहितो मार्गे शृंगाटके
मृष्टोदकपूर्णा वापा निर्मिमीते । श्री ।^५

JUNAGADH (Uparkot)

No 76]

v s. 1507

[21-1-1451.

This inscription is fixed in a wall of the fort Uparkot in Junagadh. As it was considerably disfigured most probably by the victorious Muhammedans, it cannot be completely read. Fortunately no important portion is lost. The engraver no doubt did his work excellently. The inscribed portion measures

3. Read मोकलः

4. Read जानु

5 Below the words श्रेष्ठि मोकल in the line some letters are indistinctly seen. They are perhaps of the name of the engraver. For the letter सू i.e., सूत्रधार can be read.

2'8" in length and 1'6" in breadth. It is both in prose and poetry. The language of the record is mostly Sanskrit but sometimes Prākṛit forms are freely used in it, which are rather difficult to be understood.

The record opens with the date, Thursday the fifth of the dark half of Māgha of v. s. 1507, which is once more given in the 24th line both in figures and words. It then records that at the request of a merchant named Hāsā son of Devā, a resident of Stambha Tīrtha (i.e. modern Cambay) and of others the King Maṇḍalika, son of Mahīpāla and grandson of Rāṇā Melagadeva of the Yādava dynasty ruling at Junagadh (Jīṇḍavīra) in the Saurāṣṭra country, issued orders at the time of his coronation prohibiting the slaughter of animals on the 5th, 8th and the 14th day (of the month) in addition to the 11th day and the Amāvāsyā day, when prevention of slaughter was already in observance. This is the object of the inscription. But repeated praises of Maṇḍalika in prose and again in poetry for this kind action of his have made the inscription very long.

The inscription is interesting as it contains a few forms in old Gujarati.

Besides this two more inscriptions of the King Maṇḍalika are found, which are published below. Two dates of v. s. 1512 and 1525 are found of this king from MSS. (See p. 305 of Vol. I of *Purātattva*)

Text.

- 1 [ओं स्व] स्ति श्रीसंवत् १५०७ वर्षे माघ [वदि पं] चमी दिने गुरुवा [रे] सौ[रा] प्र-
देशे श्री [जीर्णदुर्गे] श्री[याद] ववशे राणा श्रीमेलगदेसुत[रा] उलश्रीमहिपा-
लदेसुत [राव] श्रीमंडलिकप्रभुणा य
- 2 ...तापयुगुणा सर्व्वजीवकरुणाकरणतत्परेण [औ] दार्यगां भीर्यचातुर्य [शौर्यादिगुणरत्न-
रत्नाकरेण स्वराज्यपट्टाभिषेकावसरे स्तम्भतीर्थवास्तव्य सा० देवासुत हांसा.. गदी
मथ्य ? सर्व्वराजकुली...
- 3 ..समस्तजीवअभयदानकरण[प्रसा] दकारकेण पचमीअष्टमीचतुर्दशीदिनेषु सर्व्वजीव
अमारी कारिता । राज्या भिषेकभव[ना] नंतरं सिंहासनोपविष्टेन श्रीमंडलिकराजाधिपेन
श्रीअमात्य
- 4य लिखित स्वहस्तलिखितश्रीकारसहित समर्पित । पुराभि एकादशी अमावास्ये पाल्य-
माने स्तः संप्रति एव शिष एतेषु पचमी अष्टमी एकादशी चतुर्दशी अमावास्यादिनेषु
राजाधिराजश्रीमंडलिक[प्रभु]
- 5 णा सर्व्वश्रेयः कल्याणकारिणी सर्व्वदुरितदुग्गोपसंगनिवारिणी सर्व्वजीव अमा[रि] कार्यमा[णा]
चिरं विजयतां । प्रथमं श्री—उगनि जीवकरुणासंज्ञबीजा लोकममस्तजीवन—णा म...
कीमार
- 6 —चढीमार सिचानका ..धि आहेंडानकरइ चोरन मारि वा । वावर खांट तुरक एहेया-
हडे . कोई न विणा स—चि ऊदसी—ई—मीलाई कुंभका[र] पचदिन नीमी[ते] न—इ ।
जिको
- 7 ..इतेहनी वाणं भगकारकए अ...श्रीमंडलीकनाथाय्या । आ [धारा] वकण [इ] लिखा ।
तेहनई गुणा—सिइ । जिदो—लो मुंकइ । ए दोपते...अमा [रि] प्रवत्ता वणहार
श्री मंडलीकप्रभुकइ आशी

- 8 ...णी इ छ इ ॥ श्लोक काव्य । सर्वज्ञ [: शि] वमातनोतुसविता चारोग्यमिदुः श्रियं भौमः शत्रु...बुधश्च...धं धियं गीःपतिः । सौभाग्य भृ[गुजः] शनिश्च विभुतां राहुः प्रतापोद्यतां केतुः कीर्ति...
- 9 [सु]खं च द[द]तां श्रीमंडलीके प्रभौ ॥ श्रीभूयात् ॥ अथ प्रशस्तिकाव्यानि ॥ श्री [मान्] श्रीयदुभूपतिगुणगणैः ख्यातः प्रभूतै [रभूत्] सर्व्वस्योपकृते कृतः कृतय [शो] लकारतां सं.। त्परम.
- 10 ...वरा जीवादिस्त्रापरा । जन्तुःपा दवीमयेद् गुस्तरां श्रीमंडलीकप्रभुः [॥ १] दैत्यानां...शिक्षया [त्रिभुवने दै] त्पारिता नामतो । लेभे येन यशःप्रताप-जुषा माहात्म्य...।...श्रीपुरुषे...इदं स्थानं
- 11 ...हृष्यति । ज्ञात्वा मंडलीकाहभूपनिहितां जीवेषु गुर्वी दयां । २ यस्माद्यद्वंशजातो नयविनययुतो मंडलीको नरेशः । सर्व्वा स्व [-] द...जी...दधानः [।*] सर्व्वगो सु - प सुख...
- 12 लभ्यते भूरिभाग्यै [: *] । जुष्टः स्या...धन्यो भवतिरिपुर्भररुक्तदैरयसंख्यैः । ३ । श्रीने-मिस्वामिनाथः सकल...वधः—ग...द्र...कृष्णानुज...मसुमतिर्जुषा स...पि हेतो...ऽ पि प्रा ?
- 13 कृतोऽयं यदुकुलतिलकः प्रौढपुण्याश्च...[चं]चल्कारुण्यभाजा क्षितितलवलये मंडलीक... । ४ । ...मभूत्.....श्रीनमिः प .. वादिभिरभूदेव ...पि प्राक्कः
- 14 रः प्रशस्य मुकुतैः श्रीजीर्णदुर्गाभिधः । स...तेजावपालनकृता श्रीमंडलीकेन तत् ॥ ५ नैके भूपतय-दान...व्या...रा.य...वाप्तस-य...वयः स.... । के—
- 15 वदने प...सं...संसत्संबधः । वि...निवसन्ति निर्मलगुणाः श्रीमंडलीके नृपे ॥ ६ भूपाव.....विलसतेजः.....स्थ...
- 16 सां निधिर्विलसति श्रीमंडलीको नृपो । यद्वद्वाह्य...स्वतिप्रसरति किंते गुणाः संतताः ॥ ७ आदित्यः प्रबलप्रता.....ताप्यत्वमग्न्य.....सुवः शा...शुपते...मां च...
- 17 ...शुक्रो बलं प्रोत्तवण । शौरिः केतुयुतो निरस्तरिपुतां श्रीमंडलीके व्यधुः ॥ ८ या वेदेषु पुराणसुस्मृतिमहासिद्धांत...प्रोक्ता जीवद.....मृ.....लकरी मा...रि
- 18 ...ऽष्टमिपंचमीप्रभृतिषु श्रीमंडलीकेन सा ॥ ९...शस्य प्रभावादमरमृगदृशांबासुखी...तिभाऽ...साविध...कार्येष्व...नामा.....विविध दे...
- 19 ...जीवामारिमर्हा सृजति नरपतिर्मंडलश्रियायुक् ॥ १० कीर्तिः स्मृतिमुपैति सद्गुणतति-व्यानोति सर्वा दि[शः]...नि भयनि...क...घ... त्रिणिंतैः । तां श्रीजनुदयां विचारचतुरः श्रीमंडलीकः
- 20 [कु]र्वाणः स विशेषमेष लभते पूर्वोक्तमेतत्सम ॥ ११ श्राव्या श्रीमेलगाद्याः पुनरपि नितरां श्रीमहीपाल....यादव...त...तो...भूरिदानाति...जनयति...दानं पशूनां म—
- 21 श्रीमंडलीको गुस्तरमहिमाप्राप्तिहेतौ निदानं ॥ १२ येन न्यायसमन्वितेन विदुषा सदान-शौर्योदितः ।.....मि.....क...क्रमौ । नीयंते स्मृतिगोचरः सुकृतिनो...या श्रिया । स श्रीमंडलिका
- 22 [ख्य] भूपतिरसून् रक्षंश्चिरं नंदताम् ॥ १३ सर्वेषां यः पशूनाम् भयवितरणा मुख्यदानं प्रदत्ते । नृण्या भे...नानास्थल...भुवां स्वस्य राज्याभिषेके । चातुर्दंश्यादि पमभि...स्वष्टमीषु.....

- 23 तोः स जयति नृपतिर्मंडलीकः श्रियाढ्य' ॥ १४ यत्साम्राज्याभिषेके गगनतलगतस्तारका
मौक्तिकंति । ज्योत्स्नाशाली सुधांशुः श्रितसकलकलो नालिकैरायते] च । स्थ...शाले
दशविपुलहरिस्तुद
- 24 ...णयोय । या...यंति प्रतिदिशतु सुखं मंडलीकः प्रजानां । १५ सप्तपि ७ स्त्रे ०...१
मितेऽत्र वत्सरे १५०७ । श्रीजीर्णदुर्गे व[दि] माघमासि वै । पारे गुरौ पंचमिकादिने
शुभे । श्रीमंडलीके...सदया ॥ [१६]
- 25 [यावन्] मेरुगिरिः स्थिरो वसुमती यावत्स्थिरा (रो) वद्रमाः । सूर्योऽथ तपति प्रनाप-
पतितो याव—निधेः । तावज्जीवदयादिपुण्यनिरतः संपद्भिस्त्याश्रितः । श्रीमान्
मंडलिक प्रभुर्वि[जयते रा]जाधिराजः [क्षितौ] इति प्रशस्तिः ॥ श्रीं ॥

GIRNAR

No 77]

[about 1454.

This inscription is engraved on a very large slab of stone built in the wall of the Neminātha temple or as is popularly called of the 'Rā Khengār Mahāl,' on the left of the entrance of the Devakoṭa on the famous Girnar hill. This slab does not contain the whole of the inscription but it seems that a second slab was used on which the remaining portion was engraved. But as the other slab is not discovered as yet we have to remain satisfied with this incomplete inscription. The upper left corner of the stone is broken away, otherwise the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation. The inscribed portion measures 3½' in length and 2' in breadth. The poet who composed this praśasti was no doubt a learned man, but his ideas are many times far-fetched and are difficult to be understood. Though the engraving is done in a very clear way the inscription is full of grammatical mistakes of every kind

This important inscription was first published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol I, p 64, and again in the *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, p 159, and in the *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, p 347.

It opens with an invocation to the goddess of learning (Śārada) The meaning of the second and third verses is not clear, but the second verse seems to praise the sun god In the fourth verse the goddess Ambikā is praised. Then in three more verses the Girnar mountain called both Ujjayanta and Raivata in the record is described From the eighth verse an account is given of a family born of Hari, in which Śiva, Angaja (i.e Madana), Acyuta (i.e Kṛṣṇa), Bala [rāma] and others were born In that famous family called Yādava, was born a great king named Maṇḍalika, who built with many gold plates a temple of Nemi[nātha] His son was Navaghana, whose son Mahipāladeva built a temple of Somanātha at Prabhāsa His son was Śaṅgāra (Khangara), whose son was Jayasimhadeva The latter had a son named Mokalaśimha, whose son was Melagadeva The latter's son was Mahipāladeva, who had a son named Maṇḍalika From the seven-teenth verse to the twenty-first this king is extravagantly praised As the description of the royal family ends with this king it can be supposed that

the inscription belongs to his time. As we know that the last Maṇḍalika ruled from v s 1506-1527 this inscription belongs to that period probably to v s. 1510 or (1454 A D). On the twenty-fourth line, which is the last one in this slab, description is begun of Sāna a famous merchant, but there being no sufficient space on the slab for further engraving the record is left incomplete.

This inscription gives the longest genealogy of the Cūḍāsāmā kings, beginning with Maṇḍalika who is supposed to have begun his rule in v. s. 1316 to the king Mandalika the third of the name and who was destined to be the last ruler of the family, his kingdom being seized permanently by the Muhammedans in v. s. 1527. After Navaghana Mahipāla I is said in the inscription to have come to the throne. He was in fact the younger brother of Navaghana and not the son as is wrongly stated in the inscription. It may be noted that after Jayasimha I, the names of only direct descendants in the line are given. For Jayasimha was succeeded by his elder son Mahipāla and the latter by his younger brother Mokalasimha. Similarly Mokalasimha was succeeded by Mandalika and the latter by Meliga. Thirdly Meliga was succeeded by Jayasimha and the latter was succeeded by Mahipāla. But our inscription which is bent upon giving the names of only direct descendants has dropped in the genealogy the names of Mahipāla, Mandalika and Jayasimha, each of whom was succeeded not by his son but by his younger brother. Now on the same grounds the name of Navaghana the elder son of Mandalika I, ought not to have been given. But the composer of our praśasti wrongly thought that his successor Mahipāla was his son and not younger brother. For the full genealogy of the family from the first Maṇḍalika in the inscription to the third Mandalika see the Introduction.

Text

- 1मते.¹ श्रेष्ठः सुधीमार्त्ता संबोध नयति-या भुवपरित्राणानुरागाशयः ॥ पीयूषम्ब-
तवीक्षणादिजगती
- 2[तो]यदा सारदा ॥ १ यकांतेः² पुरतः सम[स्त]मरुचिप्रदो(द्यो)तनाद्या अमी
खद्योता इव रेजिरे त्रिजगती जायत्यन्तापा अपि । दासंति स्म यदीय सस्मर
- 3खयच्छ[उ]त्तशीश्वत् (?) । २ कि भूयध्याः प्रकटमु³कुटानीलरत्नप्रकृतश्चितारत्न⁴-
जितपनिमत (?) निमिदेधाविदि मीडटीवर⁵ समतरमिसि भूगेणदतापदृष्टां मतिरिति भवे
- 4तीवविप्रकरिणो हतुं तथा प्रार्थनासाफल्याय विभर्ति⁶ या फलतति माकदजां
धर्मिणां ॥ धत्तेकं सुतसंयुतं सुतशतेच्छापूर्ये कि नृणां ।⁷ तां ⁸विश्वैकहि
- 5 तमाः श्रीअबिकां संस्तुवे ॥ ४ ॥ श्री उज्जयंतं गिरिराजमधिपतीते सद्धर्म कर्म-
करणोद्यमिनां जनानां । सान्निभ्यमीहितममी गुरुमेघनादालेशाधिपप्रभृतय⁹

1 This line as well as some phrases in other lines are unintelligible

2. यकांतेः 3. मुकुटा. 4. रत्न ?

5. This and the following phrases are unintelligible 6 विभर्ति.

7 Such unnecessary strokes are common in this record

8. विश्वैकहिता. 9. मेघनादादेश ?

- 6 [खि दशा] सृजंतु ॥ ५ ॥ अथ च ॥ नानातीर्थोपवनतटिनिकाननै रम्यहर्म्यैः ॥ पोरैर्भू-¹⁰
मीपतिप्रयुक्तात्यंतसौख्यैरसंख्यैः ॥ शश्वद्भूषाभृदपि¹¹ विपुलां राध्वर्ष्यैः सु
- 7 राष्ट्र¹² राष्ट्रोदध्रेनुपमगिरिरादरैवतालंकृति यः ॥ ६ ॥ मागा गर्वममर्त्यपर्वतपरां प्रीति
भजंतस्त्वया ॥ आभ्यते रविचंद्रमःप्रभृतयः के केन मुग्धाशयाः [१:] एको रैवतभूष
- 8 ॥ रो विजयतां यद्दर्शनात्प्राणिनो । याति¹³ श्रान्तिविवर्जिताः किल महानद मुखश्रीशुषः
॥ ७ ॥ तत्र च ॥ गिरि¹⁴स्फुरदुरुस्थितिर्विततभूरिशाखोदयः ॥ सुपर्व महिमास्पद-
जगति व
- 9 ॥ श आस्ते हरेः ॥ यदुद्भवशिवांगजाच्युतबलप्रमुख्या अलकृति ददति निर्मलामखिलसत्सु
मुक्ता अपि ॥ ८ ॥ वंशेस्मिन्यदुनाम कावरपतेरभ्युग्रशौर्याबलेरानीद्राजकु¹⁵
- 10 ॥ लं गुणौघविपुलं श्रीयादवख्यातिमत्¹⁶ । अत्राभूत्पमंडलीनतपदः श्रीमंडलीकः कमात् ॥
प्रासादं गुरुहेमपत्रततिभिर्याचीकरन्नेमिनः ॥ ९ ॥ नवघननृपतिस्तदीयस्त्नु
- 11 नैवघनमहितव्रजेसिमादधानः ॥ नवघनवृष्टिः प्रजावनौधे । नवघनसारसदृग्यशोमिरामः
॥ १० ॥ महीमहेंद्रो महिपालदेवः पुत्रस्तदीयोजनि यद्वदेवः ॥ यद्दानदास्यं
- 12 सुरधेनुरत्नदुमास्तदानीमगमन्नयत्¹⁷ श्रीप्रभासे सोमनाथप्रासादकृत् ॥ ११ पंगारनामा
रिपुराज्यवृक्षेपुवगार एवाजनि भूमिजानिः ॥ इंगारकृततकुलराज्यलक्ष्म्या भृगार [धा]
- 13 ॥ रा जगतीलतायाः ॥ १२ आसीत् श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतिस्तत्पट्टभूमामिनी भास्व-
द्भोगरसालसार्द्रनयनो न्यायांबुधिश्चेतरुक् ॥ शत्रुत्रासनकृद्व्रतो¹⁸ च महिमा नम्रक्षमा-¹⁹
वृत्ततिः
- 14 ॥ स्फूर्जन्मौलिमणीमयूषसलिलप्रक्षालिताग्निद्वयः²⁰ ॥ १३ ॥ दिद्युते तदनु मोकलसिंहः
शत्रुभूषणजभेदनसिंहः ॥ यत्प्रतापमभजयदि हंसः सन्मनःसरसिजे
- 15 कलहंसः ॥ १४ ॥ तदनु मेलगदेवनरेश्वरः सुकृततुष्टगरिष्व²¹ सुरेश्वरः [१:] समभवद्भव
[नाथ²²] पदांबुजे । भ्रमरतां कलयन्नमलांगवान् ॥ १५ ॥ तत्पादोदयसाधुम्
- 16 त्युदयकृत्योद्यत्प्रतापाद्भुतो ॥ दिक्चक्रप्रसरत्करकमितभूवृच्छेखरे भासुरः ॥ आसीत् श्री-
महिपालदेववृपतिः निर्नाशितारिक्षमापालोत्वं (?)
- 17 कततिः कुनीतितिमिरप्रध्वंसनपूयलः²⁴ (?) ॥ १६ ॥ तत्सूनुर्जयति द्विषत्करिकुलत्रासौ (से)
कपचाननः ॥ श्रीमन्मंडलिकःक्षितीश्वरशिरः कोटीरहीरप्रभः ॥ स्व [१:]
- 18 सिंधूर्युपलक्षिताक्षतगतिर्विभ्रम्यतेद्यापि यत् कीर्त्तिस्मत्यमतीत्यवार्द्धिवलयं वर्द्धिष्णुसार-
त्यरा (?) ॥ १७ ॥ नात्यं (ल)घ्यः कुत उन्नतो नरपतिः कस्याः कुतो विश्वभू ॥
- 19 स्तं²⁵ पात्रे कुस्तः किमत्र कृतितौ किं द्विदृष्टतः स्वामिना । सौराष्ट्राधिपतिः सुखाय
रिपुभिश्चक्रेथ किं प्रीतितः ॥ कीदृक् मंडलिकः क्षितीश्वर इह श्रीराजराजिभितः ॥ १८
- 20 आलोनस्तम्बरूपो जयकलकलभस्यासुखांभोधिसेतु ॥ केतुः शौयांघसौधे²⁶ रणदधिमथनः
सद्यसो (शो)व्रक्षगोक्तः पूर्वोदिः²⁷ खड्गववश्वरकिरणरुचां वैरिराजांगना

10. पैरैर्भू

11. भूषां

12. सुराष्ट्रो

13. यांति

14. गिरि

15. नामके नरपते...शौर्याबले

16. यादव

17. The number 11 of the verse ought to be after यत्न.

18. व्रतो ?

19. क्षमा

20. मयूख

21. गरिष्ठ

22. नाथ

23. निर्नानि

24. or प्रत्यलः ?

25. तं पात्रे

26. शौर्यांघ

27. खड्गचचत्वर.

- 21 ²⁸मुवेवैधव्यदीक्षो जयति नरपतेर्मंडलीकस्य बाहुः ॥ १९ ॥ रे रे प्रत्यर्थिनो वः ।
किमपि हितवचः श्रावयेहं कृपालो²⁹ ॥ यस्याश्रीयाङ्घ्रिधातोस्थलितमृदुरजोयुत्कटशौर-
तेजः ॥
- 22 हत्वा भूलोकमेनं मलिनयतितमां तत्किमेतत्पुरस्ताद् । यूयं भुक्तामदश्नाक् श्रयतनरपंत-
र्मंडलीकस्य सेवा ॥ २० ॥ चातुर्यं व (व) त वेधसः सुरगवीरलदुमान् यत्पशु ।
प्रोयत्कर्करका
- 23 छदुष्टवपुषश्चक्रेयमाजन्मतः ॥ स चैतन्ययुजन्नपाकुलहृदो दानैकनिष्ठाततां ॥ दृष्ट्वा मंड-
लिकप्रभोत्रभवतस्तेद्याभविष्यन्कथ ॥ २१ ॥ इति श्रीराजवंशवर्णनं ॥
- 24 अथ श्रीशाणवर्णनं ॥ अस्ति स्वस्तिनिधि [:३] श्रियो निरवधिप्रेमास्पद सेवधि [:३]
श्रीधर्मस्य वसुधरोत्तमवधूमौलिस्फुरन्मंडनं । वापीकूपतटाककानम (न) जिनप्रासादसै
वाल्य

PASNĀVDA

No. 78]

v. s. 1514

[5-2-1458 A.D.]

This slab of stone containing a bilingual (Persian and Sanskrit) inscription was found fixed in the southern wall of the Darbargadh of Pasnāvḍā a very old town in Junagadh State, at a distance of 5½ miles to the east of Sutrā-Pādā. The Sanskrit portion measures 1'3½" by 3". The language of the record is very incorrect but the mistakes can easily be detected.

The inscription opens with the date, Sunday, the second of the dark half of Śrāvana of v.s. 1514 (7-8-1457 A.D.) and states that SULTAN MALIK ASAD, son of Malik Muhammad, and grandson of Malik Mubārak, was then governing Devapātana (ie Somanātha Pātana) on behalf of SULTAN KUT-BUDDIN (of Gujarat). He caused very strong iron gates to be made to the fort at PASNĀVDA. This work was completed on Sunday, the sixth of the dark half of v. s. 1514 (Māha).

Text

- 1 ॥ संवत् १५१४ वर्षे श्रावण वदि २ रवौ सुलतान श्रीकुतबदीन विजिराज्ये श्रीदेव-
पतन
2 ॥ तः सुलतानप[द्म]मलिक श्रीः मबारक सत मलिकश्रीमहमदसत मलिक श्रीअसदः
3 ॥ किरियाति वजे पस्तावदं । कोटेन हपन्यात । अमारति साहाण्ड । सरवीलवाबीरासिला
4 सूत्र पीम्मा सूत्र छरा । सूत्र षला । सूत्र धीणा ॥ १ सूत्र सूटामिहि सूत्र सल । कायस्थ ।
सत सारंगदे लघ्यमिती । संवत्
5 १५१४ वर्षे माह वदि [६] रिवौ लघ्यतं ॥

JEGADVĀ

No. 79]

v. s. 1518

[9-4-1462 A.D.]

This inscription is found in one of the deris near the Mātri Vāy in the village Jegadvā at a distance of six miles to the south-east of Dhrangadhra. It measures 27" × 13"

The inscription records that Ramābai, born in the Guhila family and married to Rāna Raṇavīra of the Zālā family caused a well to be built on the 10th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1518. Ramā's sons were Rāmādāsa, Arjuna and Gajabhrama.

Four more inscriptions, recording the same object are found in four other *deris* in the same place. Two of them are of the same date, but the remaining two do not give any date

The expression 'chief queen' पट्टराज्ञी used with Ramābai, wife of Rānā Raṇavīra seems to be a formal one, since the Halvad inscription of v.s. 1538 published below gives the name of Līlāde of the queen of Raṇavīra whose son Bhīma succeeded his father to the gādi. Ramābai built the well after the death of her husband in v.s. 1516.

Text.

(१)

- 1 संवत् १५१८ वर्षे वैशा
- 2 ष शुदि १० दिने श्रीहस्त
- 3 वशे राणश्री रणवीर^१ राज्ञी गुहि
- 4 लवशे बाई श्रीरमादे
- 5 इ वावि करावी पुत्र राण
- 6 श्रीरामदास राणश्री
- 7 अर्जनदे राणश्री [गज]
- 8 [भ्रम]^२. . .
- 9
- 10

(२)

- 1 बाई श्रीरमया
- 2 वापिका का
- 3 पि कारुण्या जीवजीव
- 4 नजीवना [१*] उचिता रचिता देव्या
- 5 रमया समयातगा [१॥*] १ रणवीरस्य
- 6 राजर्षे [:*] पट्टराज्ञी रमाभिधा वर्तते नि.क^३
- 7 लंकस्य धर्मस्य करुणा यथा [॥*] २

GIRNAR

No 80]

v s 1519

[13-5 1463

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a black marble image in the *nijamandira* of the Sampratirāja temple. It consists of two lines and

- 1 This word was left to be engraved in its proper place and was therefore engraved on the top of the first line
2. The further portion is worn out
3. Read. निष्क०

measures 2'10½" in length and only 3" in breadth. It is in a good state of preservation.

It records that during the time of the king MAṆDALIKA an image of Nemi-nātha was caused to be made by two brothers Sahasakaraṇa and Pomaśiṇa, sons of Śikhara and that it was consecrated by Udayavallabhasūri of the Vṛddhatapā pakṣa (i.e. Gacha), on Friday, the 11th of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in v. s. 1519.

Text.

- 1 ॥ सं १५१९ वर्षे वैशाखवदि ११ शुके रायाराय श्रीमंडलिकविजयराज्ये सो० शिखर-
सुत सो०
- 2 सहसकरणपोमसीहाभ्या (०) श्रीनेमिनाथविंशं कारितं प्रति० वृद्धतपापक्षे श्रीउदयवल्लभ-
सूरिभिः

JEGADVĀ

No 81]

v. s. 1524

[26-1-1468 A D

This inscription is engraved on a *pāṭho* standing on the eastern bank of the Kālāsara tank to the east of the village Jegadvā in Dhrangdhra State. A camel driver is engraved between the second and the third line of the inscribed portion, which measures 1'4" in height and 1'1" in breadth. The concluding three lines cannot be clearly read.

The record opens with the date, viz Tuesday, the second of the bright half of Māgha of v. s. 1524, and refers to the reign of a king named MAHĀ-RĀṢĀ VARASIMHADEVA. It seems to record the death of a person in a fight on the above mentioned date.

It must be noted that the king who held sway over Jegadvā at that time must be no other than a Zālā king of Kuvā. We do not however find a king in that family who was ruling in v. s. 1524 and who was called Varasimhadeva. A king of that name did rule in the Zālā family but he lived in an earlier period from circa 1441 to 1448 of the Vikrama era. The date, again, can definitely be read as 1524. I am, therefore, inclined to propose that Varasimhadeva was some *Bhāyāda* of the ruling family but was given the honorific title 'Mahārāṇa' only in the inscription. He may be the eleventh son of Rāṇū Satrasālji of the main ruling of Kuvā.

Text

- 1 संवत् १५२४ वर्षे माघ
- 2 मासे शुक्लपक्षे द्वितीया ति
- 3 थौ भौमदिने शतिमिपान
- 4 क्षत्रे शिवनाम्नि योगे वक्करणे
- 5 एव गुणविशिष्टायां पुण्यतिथौ
- 6 महाराण श्रीवरशंगदेविजयराजे¹
- 7 बाई कामेलासत बाई काकाला ?

8-10

1. Read. वरशंगदे i.e. वरसिहदे

KHĀMBHAD

No. 82]

v. s. 1531

[25-7-1474.

This inscription is engraved at the door of a small temple near the *deri* of Khāmbhadia Nāg in the village Khāmbhad. The inscribed portion is round an image of Gaṇapati and measures 1'7" in length and 6" in breadth.

It records that the temple was built on Monday the 12th of the first half of Śrāvana in v. s. 1531 in the village Khāmbhad by Mehta Harapal in the time of a Zālā king, whose name is illegible, but is probably Bluma

Text.

- 1 संवत् १५३१ वर्षे सरावण सुदि
- 2 १२ सोमे षोडश्यामे
- 3 झाला श्री [भीमराज्ये] महं हरपाल
- 4 देरी करावी।

KUTIYĀNĀ

No. 83]

v. s. 1531

[5-10-1574.

This inscription was found in Kutiyānā under Junagadh State, but it is now kept in the Junagadh Museum. It is broken in its lower portion. The record is full of mistakes

It opens with the date, Wednesday, the tenth of the dark half of Āśvina in v. s. 1531, and makes a mention of the Mahājanas of KUNTIPUR (i.e. modern Kutiyānā). The names of certain articles of commodity, viz., jawaari, cotton, etc., are given. It seems that the Mahājanas trading in the Māndvi were asked to contribute to some public purpose certain amount of grain, cotton, etc.

Text.

- 1 संवत् १५३१ वर्षे आश्विन¹ वदि १० बुध्ने²
- 2 श्रीकूतीपुरवास्तव्य³ मांडवीनकास्मि (१)
- 3 महाजन तलपद । त्रि ? वप्रिः⁴ ॥ तथा बछीआ
- 4 जोरी कलट⁵ ०१ । तथा बछीआत⁶ कीमति सवा
- 5 कबुलक १ प्र० ६ [जो]री क १ प्र टं० १ । वंडीकः ॥ विप्र
- 6 [क]पास भा १ प्र ६ कबुलक⁷ १ प्र० ॥ नागरपुण्य वंडीक
- 7 ... । पडीकसु कपास भा १ प्र० ॥ आपइ ॥ पाट
- 8 धनसा भा १ प्र ७९ को १ प्रट-
- 9 ... भा १ प्र. १४ जेहन पाडि
- 10 ते पल
- 11 नही

1. Read आश्विन 2. Read बुधे 3. Read कुंतीपुर कुंतीआणा
4. and 6 and 1? 5. Read कलशी ?

CANDRĀSAR

No. 84]

v s. 1534.

[9-2-1478

This inscription is found engraved on a stone fixed in the southern dam of the big lake to the south of the village Candrāsara in the Rājāsītāpur mahal of the Dhrangdhra State. Its length is 5'-9" but the breadth is only 4". The average size of the letters is 2" by 1½".

It records that a farmer or a kṣatriya (क्षेत्री) named Dīpacandra of Darbha gotra caused to be dug a beautiful tank for the comfort of beings on Monday the 7th of the bright half of Phālguna of v.s. 1534

On p 241 of the revised list of *Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* this inscription is read thus—

चंद्र हारं तढागं च कारितं दर्भ गोत्रिणा ।

वृषणां शानयेन्यून चंद्राधन क्षत्रिणा ॥

and the making of the tank is attributed to the king Candrasimhaji of Halvad. But there is no doubt that the correct reading of the text is as given below. The date 1534 is quite clear. In another inscription of v.s. 1911 at the same place published below this work is attributed to Candrasimhaji and the date for that occasion is given as v s. 1640 simply to suit to the reign of Candrasimhaji the Zālā ruler of Halvad. The present inscription tells us that the author of the tank was Dīpacandra and that his gotra was Darbha, whereas the gotra of the Zhālā family in which Candrasimha was born is known to be Mārkaṇḍeya. It is thus clear that the building of the tank is wrongly attributed to Candrasimhaji by tradition, that the writer of the inscription of v.s. 1911 simply bowed down to that tradition and stated the wrong year for that purpose, and that BURGESS wrongly read the inscription in the light of the tradition, if at all the Zālā ruler might have repaired and enlarged the tank.

Text

- 1 संवत् १५३४ वर्षे फागुण सुदि ७(?) [सोमे म]नोहरं तढागं च । कारितं दर्भगोत्रिणा
- 2 सत्वानां शान्तये नूनं । दीपचंद्रेण क्षेत्रिणा ।

GOSĀ

No 85]

v.s. 1536

[6-2-1480

This inscription is found in the southern part of the village Gosā. It measures 12"×11".

It refers to the rule of Patshaha Mahammad and the Jethvā chief Vikamārtji and states that on Sunday, the 11th of the dark half of Māgha in v.s. 1536 one Munjāl, son of Surā, belonging to the Nāgar Vānia community caused a well to be dug up in Gosā.

Patshaha Mahammad mentioned in the record was the powerful Gujarat Sultan Mahmud Begadā who conquered Kathiawad in v.s. 1527, ended the Cūḍāsamā rule at Junagadh and enforced his claims as overlord over

*See Limbdī Inscription of v.s. 1830 published below.

the small states in Kathiawad, Rana Vikramtji of Porbandar being one of them.

Text.

- 1 संवत् १५३६ माघ वि
- 2 दि ११ रिवौ पातसाह श्रीम
- 3 हमंदराजे जेटवा श्रीविक्रमा
- 4 इता गोसाग्रामांत नागरन्या
- 5 ति बाणि सूरसुत मुंजालिजे
- 6 बाव्य कराव्युं लिखित मु
- 7 जालसुत भोजा

RAMPURA

No. 86]

vs 1538

[1-2-1482

Between the villages Rāmpurā and Rātā in the Wadhwan State there is a well where the following four inscriptions of the same date are found. The letters of all are well engraved and well preserved. The first inscription measures 18" in length and 14" in breadth, the second 17½" by 14", the third 17" by 13½" and the fourth 17½" by 14½".

All the four inscriptions bear the same date, viz., Friday, the 13th of the bright half of Māgha of vs 1538 or Śaka 1403. Though they are differently worded, as may be seen below, their object is the same. It is as follows:—In the time of Pādashāha MAHAMUD and during the regime of Rānā VĀGHJI and when Paramāra Lakhadhir and Hādā and Alukhān were governing the locality two wives, Ranibai and Velhāde of Setha Vinā of Śrīmāl community residing in JHĀNĪHANAGAR (i.e. Jhinjhuvāḍā) caused a well to be made in Sūryapura for public use. The account of the family to which Vinā belonged is given thus—Setha Kelhāṇa had a wife named Pomī. They had a son named Aṣo. His wife was Vānu, from whom he had a son named Māṇḍana. The latter had two wives—Manī and Mānu. By Manī he got four sons—Viṇo, Dhano, Suro and Viso. Vīno had two wives—Ranibai and Velhādebai, who caused the well to be made as mentioned above. Surā had two wives—Samptu and Sobhaganī; while Visā had a wife named Harī. The names of the officers of Rānā Vāghji in whose time the well was dug are also given.

Padshaha Mahamud mentioned in the record is the Gujarat Sultan Mahamud Begada and Rānā Vāghji is the Zala ruler of Kuvā. Paramaras Lakhadhirji and Hada were governors of the part and Khan Alu Khan was the *thānādar* of Jhinjhuvada.

Below is given the text of only two inscriptions, the remaining two being almost similar to these

Text

(१)

- 1 ॥ १० ॥ संवत् १५३८ वर्षे शके १४०३ प्रवर्त्तमाने माघमासे शु
- 2 कल्पसे १३ शुके पातसा श्रीमहिमूद राणश्री वधविजयराजे

- 3 परमार लषधीर परमार ह्या[दा]विजयराज्ये षानश्रीअत्तूषा
 4 नराज्ये महं श्रीवेणा भार्या बाई राणी, बाई वल्हादे, चलं चित्तं च
 5 लं चित्तं चलं जीवति योवनं चलाचलस्य संसारो धर्म एको हि
 6 नश्चल १ एकगोपदमात्रेण उदकं धारये मही षष्ठिर्वषसह
 7 श्रणी शिवलोके स गच्छति १ जले ब्रह्मा जले विष्णु जले संस्ता
 8 च देवता जलं जगस्य आहार त्रैलोक्य स चराचरं २ दशकूपसमो
 9 वापी दशवापीसमो सरः दशसरसमो कन्या दशकन्यासमो द्वि
 10 ज ॥ अहो प्राज्ञ सुरोत्तस सजसे.....सर्वेषां देवदैत्या
 11 नां मानुषाणां न संशयः जलं श्रीदं जलं रम्यं जलं आयु विवर्ध
 12 नं जलं जगस्य आहारं सर्व उदकसंभवं ॥ शुभ भवतु ॥ श्री

(२)

- 1 संवत् १५३८ वर्षे शाके १४०३ प्रवात्रिमाने माघ
 2 मासे शुक्लपक्षे १३ शुके पातसा श्री महिमूद
 3 राण श्रीवाघजीविजयराज्ये अदेह सूर्यपुरे झंझन
 4 गरवास्तव्य षान श्री अत्तूषानराज्ये मन्त्रि श्री श्री
 5 मालज्ञातीय श्रेष्ठि केल्हणभार्या बाई पोमी सु
 6 त श्रेष्ठि आसा भार्या बाई वानू सुत श्रेष्ठि माडण भा
 7 यां प्रथम बाई अरघूबाई मानूबाई मनीसुत धना
 8 मंह सूरु भार्या प्रथम वै संपू वै सोभाणिणी महं
 9 श्रीवीणा भार्या बाई राणी बाई वल्हादे भात्रि महं वी
 10 सा भार्या बाई रूडी राज्यमानि महं श्री वीणा वा
 11 पी कारापनीयाः । शुभ भवतु कल्याणमस्तु ॥

KHODU

No 87]

v s. 1544.

[17-7-1488.

Khōḍu is a very old village in Wadhwan State at a distance of 15 miles to the north-west of Wadhwan. Near the temple of Phuleśvara Mahādeva a stone slab containing the following inscription is lying. The inscribed portion is in an excellent condition but being so full of mistakes cannot be well read. It measures 5½ feet in length and only ½ foot in breadth.

The purport of the record is this. VĀJA, son of Rānā SURADĀSA who was son of Devā died in JHĀLĀVĀD on Thursday, the eighth of the bright half of Śrāvana in v s. 1544. To commemorate his memory his mother named 'Purāde' caused a *devi* to be made.

Vāja was evidently a *bhāyāt* of the main Zālā family of Kuvā.

Text

- 1 संवत् १५४४ वर्षे श्रावण सिदि ८ गुरू राण श्री सूरदास देवाद्यत वाज झाला-
 वाडमां ग
 2 त्वा जानवणी ? राणा श्री सूरदासनी देहेरी माता श्रीपुरादे देहेरी करावी सूत्र मोटा
 नीपा
 3 ई करावि जोसि प-छ सारिथिः (?) सुत जसा (?)

BĀDĪ

No. 88]

v.s. 1572.

[1516.

This inscription is engraved on a stone lying near the temple of Khodiyār Mātā in the village Bādī in the Gogha district. The letters are very carelessly engraved

It opens with the date, Thursday, the eleventh of the dark half of Māgasara of v.s. 1572 and seems to record that by order of the MAHĀMAṬIK PIR MUHAMMAD and other officers Miyā Alādiyā, Dosī Shivarāja, Meheta Mankī, Patel Varajang, Brahman Nāga made a grant of a piece of land in the village BĀHADĪ in the possession of the VAZIR Imprecatory lines are given at the end so that no Hindus and Muhammedans should violate the grant.

Text

- 1 संवत् १५७२ वर्षे मागसर
- 2 वदि ११ गुरौ महामलेक
- 3 पीरमहिमद तथा समस्त वजे
- 4 दार (?) वचनात् वजीरनि बाह्डीप्रा
- 5 मे मीयां श्री अलादीया, दोसी
- 6 सिवराज, महं० सांका, पट० वर
- 7 जांग, ब्राह्मण नागा, सुटी
- 8 आनी फूलसरी ते हलनी
- 9 भूमि मूकी ही कोलो (?) पि हीदु
- 10 मसलमान इहनि तेहनि
- 11 प्रमस्वर दोषि जाको कालि
- 12 कालि चेह लोपि तेहीनी प्रथीनुं
- 13 पाप प० हरदास कणवी

KUVĀ

No. 89]

v s 1572

[207 1515

Kuvā is the chief town of a Mahal of the same name in Dhrangdhra State. It is also called Kankāvātī In its north-west quarter there is a well called Khārīvāva The present inscription is found fixed there. Its length is 3'-2" and breadth 1'-2". Being very incorrectly engraved it is doubtful if the reading of certain names is correct. The mistakes can easily be understood, so they are not given in the footnotes.

The inscription records that on Thursday the ninth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1572 (śaka 1437) Patel Abu repaired the well At that time Bādasnahā Muzfar was ruling (over Gujarat) and Rānā Rānā kade, evidently the Zālā ruler of Halvad was ruling as his subordinate and Tājakhān and AMAN were governing as Subas. The village Patel was a Muhammedan named Muso.

*The date does not agree.

The Bādashaha Muzfar mentioned in the record was the Gujarat Sultan Muzfar II who reigned from A.D. 1513 to 1526 at Ahmedabad.

Text

- 1 संवत् १५७२ वर्षे शके १४३७ प्रव्रमाने दक्षिणायने वषारतौ महामांगलप्रद श्राव
- 2 णमासे शुक्लप्रथे नवम्ययां तथौ भृगवासे रोहिणी नक्षत्रे पातसहा श्रीमदफर व
- 3 जिराजे महाराणश्रीराणगदेविजयराये पानश्रीताइ (?) पान
- 4 मी० श्रीअमन व्यापारे पटलश्रीब्राह्म (?) ग्रहे भार्या बाई जलेषां सु
- 5 त पटल आलीग्रहे भार्या बाई षमी सुत पटल हाजी ग्रहे भार्या बाई
- 6 जवा सुत पटल मूसो ग्रहे भार्या बाई ओमणां वापी अधरण सुत पटलई
- 7 सप मात्र अबु पटल मूसे वापी उधरण* मात्र ब्रह्म मात्र शलमानं मात्र भा
- 8 ईआ मात्र पीहा मात्र हांसा मात्र फवीद शुभं भवतु आरोग्यकल्याणमस्तु ।

SARĀ

No. 90]

v.s. 1579.

[20-11-1522

Sarā is a small but very old village in the Sāyalā taluka It is 18 miles to the north of Thān In the Darbargadh there is a masjid called Gebal Shah Pīr There the subjoined inscription was found. It measures 1'-10" in length and 12" in breadth

The inscription records that Moḍhera Hājadi, resident of Sarā caused a masjid to be made on Thursday, the second of the bright half of Māgasar in v.s 1579 during the rule of PĀTSĀHĀ MUZFAHSHAH and his queen BIBI RĀNĪ.

Muzfar Shah was the Gujarat Sultan who ruled from A.D. 1513 to 1526.

Text

- 1 ॥ संवत् १५७९ वर्षे मांगशार शुदि २ गह
- 2 ॥ पातसाह श्रीमुदाफरशाह बीबीश्रीराणी
- 3 ॥ वजिराज्ये सरावास्तव्य हीदि मी० मलकजी क
- 4 ॥ तब मोडेर आला भारज्या बीबी सत मोडेर
- 5 ॥ दाउद भारज्या षादी मात्र कासम मोडेर
- 6 ॥ भारजा वाली मसीत मोडेर हाजदि करा
- 7 ॥ बी सत मोडेर हीजी मोडेर डोसी मोडेर सलम्

To be continued

*This word उधरण i.e. उद्धारण shows that the old well was probably repaired.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

The *Aryan Path*, the premier monthly journal of Bombay, "stands for all that is noble in the East and the West alike." After a meritorious service of no less than a decade it has just entered its eleventh year as evinced by its issue for January 1910 (Vol. XI, No. 1). The entire credit for running this illustrious monthly with increasing popularity and international reputation must go to Mrs. Sophia WADIA, who by her learning and ability has succeeded remarkably well in establishing a firm contact with thinking minds and busy pens of the foremost countries in the world. The need for such an organ maintaining a dignified but philosophic outlook on all matters of moment affecting the conflicting creeds and warring nations is greater at present than in bygone days in view of the infinite capacity for mischief generated by our so called civilization. The message of the *Mahābhārata* "A man should practise *dharma* as if he is held by the hair by Death" appears to have been lost on us. The need for self-purification and self-discipline, not to say the curbing of the desire for "self-help" is also to be emphasized by all whose voices are heard by the "maddening crowd" who control the machinery of the state and direct it for "ignoble strife." We feel confident that the *Aryan Path* with its eclectic message deeply rooted in spiritual development and strengthened by the hard work of a decade will continue to spread this beneficent message to the innermost recesses of the civilized world in the years to come. It requires no prophet to tell man that he is a brute but it certainly requires a prophet or a philosopher to point out the divine capabilities of this brute. The *Aryan Path* points the finger to this God in Man and we must stand by it in its uphill task of spreading this important message un-mundful of all sacrifices.

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The Karnatak Historical Research Society of Dharwar inaugurated its Silver Jubilee celebrations on 29th May 1940 under the distinguished presidentship of Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., the Director-General of Archaeology of India. On this occasion two Silver Jubilee publications of the Society were announced and the portrait of the founder Mr. Venkatrao ALUR, B.A., LL.B., was unveiled. During the last 25 years the Society had "to rouse the political consciousness of the Kannadigas" and to recall to them their glorious past. The Society conducts an English Journal called the *Karnatak Historical Review* of which five volumes have been so far published. Publications of the Society in Kanarese language, though they may possess a local appeal to the Kanarese knowing public are not likely to rouse much interest in the Society's work in other parts of India. We trust, therefore, that the Society would develop their Research Journal into a first class medium for making widely known all important results of research conducted by the members of the Society. The Museum of the Society contains 457 coins, 8 stone images, 37 palm leaf manuscripts and 50 choice photographs of temple architecture in Mysore. This collection of exhibits in the Museum needs also to be increased and we have no doubt that with the sound advice of Rao Bahadur DIKSHIT and the ardour for research displayed by the organizers of the Society the Museum can be developed into a Model Museum of Karnatak antiquities and culture. The Karnatak territory is not lacking in well-to-do and highly educated persons and given the will to develop the Karnatak Historical Research Society into a research centre with a dynamic drive it will not fail to attract scholars from other parts of India. We congratulate the present and past organizers of this Society for the groundwork of research done by them during the last quarter of a century and wish the Society ever-increasing prosperity and success in all their endeavours to put the Karnatak Historical Research in its proper academic perspective.

A-I. ŪRNĀVĀBHI- "SPINNE".¹

By

ALBERT DEBRUNNER, Bern

Die Ausführungen von Otto PAUL in der Zeitschrift "Wörter und Sachen" (20, 1939, 56-58) und von H. GÜNTHER ebenda S. 247 f. veranlassen mich, ein paar Bemerkungen zu veröffentlichen, die ich mir zu gelegentlicher Verwendung aufgezeichnet hatte.

Von dem das Vorderglied *ūrṇā*- "Wolle" enthaltenden Wort für "Spinne" sind durch die Petersburger Wörterbücher (einschliesslich der Nachträge im 4. Band des grossen) folgende Bildungen bekannt geworden.

Kāth 8, 1 (83, 8) (Prosa) *ūrṇa-vābhi*-, ŚB 14, 5, 1, 23 *ūrṇa-vābhi*- ist die Grundlage des Dämonennamens RV. 2, 11, 18 b, 8, 32, 26 b, 8, 66 (77), 2 b *aurṇavābhā*- (eigentlich "Spinnensohn"), ist demnach die älteste bezeugte Form des Wortes; *aurṇavābhā*- und *aurṇavābha*- kennt als Patronymikon das ŚB 14, 7, 3, 26 (=BÄU. 4, 1), als Eigennamen Nir und Bṛhadd.

Etwas jünger bezeugt ist *ūrṇa nābhi*-. TB. 1, 1, 2, 5; BÄU. 2, 1, 20; Mund. U, Kauś, BhP (*ūrṇa-nābhi*- Kṣurikop. 9), noch jünger *ūrṇa-nābha*-. : Śvet. U 6, 10, Lex, als Name ep und im Gāṇa śīva zu P. 4, 1, 112 (als Grundlage des Patron. *aurṇanābhā*-) und im Gāṇa rājanya zu P. 4, 2, 53 (als Grundlage von *aurṇanābhaka*- "vom Stamm der U. bewohnt").

Aus dem Pāli bringt GÜNTHER a. a. O. einige Stellen für *unnānābhi*- und eine für *unnānābhi*- bei.

Zu diesen verbuchten Belegen kommen aus den Paralleltexten zur Kāthakastelle hinzu: MS. 1, 6, 9 (101, 5) *ūrṇā-vābhi*- und KapīṣṭhSaṃh. 6, 6 (64, 11 Raghu VIRA) *ūrṇa-vābhi*-. Damit ist das Altersvorrecht des -v- über das -n- bestätigt.

Etymologisiert wurde *ūrṇa-nābhi*-, wie GÜNTHER zeigt, schon von indischen Kommentatoren von Pālitexten aus v. *nābhi*- "Nabel", and PAUL a. a. O. erklärt es als " (Wesen) dessen Nabe (Nabel) Wolle hat ", die v-Variante trennt PAUL in *ūrṇa-vābhi*-, wobei er begreiflicherweise für das -bhi- keine Entsprechung findet. Beiden ist entgangen, dass schon AUFRECHT (KZ 4, 1855, 282) *ūrṇa-vābha*- einleuchtend zu *ur-aiw* und deutsch *weben* usw. gestellt und als "Wollweberin" gedeutet hatte; diese Etymologie war bequem bei BÖHTLINGK-ROTH unter *ūrṇa-vābhi*-, bei WACKERNAGEL Al Gr II 1, 11 § 3 ea (wo

1. Dieser Aufsatz war schon seit Monaten geschrieben, als ich von S. M. KATRE seine Bemerkungen über dasselbe Wort im *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* I, Nos 2-4 (März 1940) S. 153 f. zugeschickt erhielt. Auch er hebt die Bedeutung des Suffixes -i- und des Doppelakzents der neubelegten Wortform hervor. Da ich aber das Problem weit darüber hinaus behandelt habe, darf ich damit rechnen, dass meine Ausführungen ihren Wert behalten.

ebenso einleuchtend *ūrna-nābh-* als volksetymologische Umdeutung von *ūrna-vābh-* erklärt ist) und bei WALDE-POKORNY I 257 zu finden.

Die Bildung von *ūrna-vābh-* ist klar: es ist ein Kompositum mit Nomen agentis auf *-i-* im Hinterglied und abhängigem Nomen im Vorderglied (vgl. WHITNEY Sanskr. Gr.² § 1276 a, 1287 c, WACKERNAGEL a. a. O. 224 § 92 d), wie z. B. v. *saho-bhāri-* "Kraft nährend", AV. *pathi-śādi-* "am Weg sitzend", v. *pād-grbhi-* "am Fuss ergreifend" (Name), ŚB *mano-mūṣi-* "den Sinn raubend." Allerdings hat in diesen Bildungen das Hinterglied gewöhnlich Tiefstufe oder Vollstufe. Die Dehnstufe ist ausserst selten: ich kenne nur *hamsa-sāci-* als Namen eines Vogels ("Gänse begleitend") in einem Mantra TS. 5, 5, 20, 1 (= KāthAśv 7, 10 (181, 4); der Name *puskarasādi-* ApSS ist wohl nur Verschreibung für *pauskarasādi-* BOHTLINGK Wb. s. v.)². Wir werden es also begrüßen, wenn uns neuerdings die Kürze in *vābhi-* bezeugt ist: In dem Band *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda* (New edition), Part I (containing, Ādhāna and Pūnarādhāna sections)³, ed. by Pāṇḍit Vāmanśastry KINJAVADEKAR und Brahmaśrī Rāmādīkṣit HANGAL (Poona 1938) ist auch die oben angeführte Stelle des TB. abgedruckt (S 3 Z 1 3), aber unser Wort lautet dort nicht *ūrna-vābhayah*, wie in der Ausgabe der Bibliotheca Indica, sondern *ūrṇā-vābhayah*, und KATRE bemerkt in der Übersetzung, die er zu dem genannten Buch beige-steuert hat, mit Recht: "The word has not so far been recorded either in PW or pw" (S 4 f. Anm. 6). Ich zweifle nicht, dass dieses *ūrṇā-vābhi-* die ursprüngliche Form des Wortes ist: die Vollstufe *-vābhi-* entspricht der Norm weit besser als die Dehnstufe *-vābhi-*. Da die Wurzel *vabh-* sonst verschwunden war, suchte man "volksetymologisch" Anknüpfung und fand sie zuerst wohl in dem Synonymen *vā-* "weben" (daher die Umgestaltung zu *vābhi-*), dann an *nābhi-*, und schliesslich wurde *-nābhi-* nach der Regel *aṅgūn-*: *daśāṅgulā-* (WACKERN. a. a. O. 118 f § 51 a) zu *-nābha-*.

Die Beibehaltung des *a* von *ūrṇā-* im Vorderglied entspricht der Regel (WACKERN. a. a. O. 49 § 21 aa), wenn auch Ersetzung des *ā* durch *a* in solchen Fällen vorklassisch häufig ist (ebenda β). So heisst es VS ŚB. SāṅkhŚS *ūrṇā-sūtrā-* "Wollfaden", AB. ĀśvGS *ūrṇā-stukā-* "Wollbuschel", TB 3, 7, 4, 10; 6, 5 *ūrṇā-mrdu-* "wollenweich", dagegen (wohl wegen der zweifachen Konsonanz) v. *ūrṇa-mradas-* "wollenweich"; von andern Verbal-determinativen vergleiche man etwa v. *senā-nī-* und ep. *pṛtanā-nī-* "Heerführer".

Der Doppelakzent der neuen Bezeugung des Wortes ist ebenfalls eine Altertümlichkeit. KATRE a. a. O. erinnert mit Recht an v. *brāhmanas-pāti-*, *śūnah-śēpa-* u. dgl. (WACKERN. a. a. O. 262 f § 103 a); zu bemerken ist jedoch, dass diese und alle andern Fälle von Doppelakzent (ebenda 41 § 17 b) andern Kompositionstypen angehören. *ūrṇā-vābhi-* ist meines Wissens das einzige Beispiel für Doppelakzent in einem Kompositum mit regierendem

2 Über P. 6, 2, 40, 41 *-sādi(n)-* *-vāmi-* s. WACKERN. a. a. O. 220 § 91 f α A.

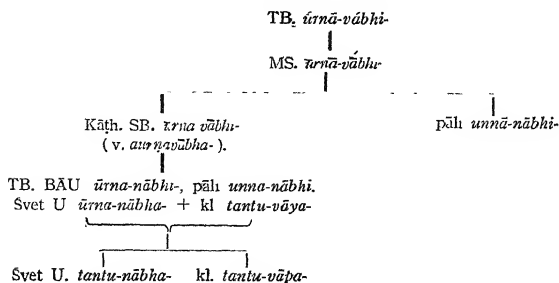
3. Seine Kenntnis verdanke ich der freundlichen Zusendung durch Prof. S. M. KATRE in Poona.

verbalement Hinterglied ! Das gibt uns aber nicht etwa ein Recht, dieses Beispiel anzuzweifeln ; denn die von KATRE angeführten Bemerkungen der Kommentatoren zeigen deutlich, dass auch ihnen der Doppelakzent vorlag

Es gibt übrigens noch andere Wörter, die an die behandelten anklängen. So schreibt die Ausgabe der Ānandāśr. Sanscrit Series in der Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad 6. 10 *tantu-nābha-* gegenüber *ūrna-nābha-* der Ausgabe der Bibliotheca Indica ; das kleine Peterburger Wörterbuch belegt dieses *tantu-nābha-* auch aus Śaṅk. zu Bādar. 2, 1, 25. Ferner gibt es kl. *tantu-vāya-* "Weber", nach den Lex. und Gramm auch "Spinne" nach den Lex. auch *tantra-vāya-* "Weber, Spinne" und *tantu-vāpa-* "Weber, das Weben", endlich *tantu-vāna-* "das Weben" Das Hinterglied *-vāyā-* von der Wurzel *vā-* "weben" (vgl TB. *-dāyā-* "gebend" von *dā-*, v. *upa sthāyam* "das Herantreten" von *sthā-* ; P 3, 1. 141) kennt schon der RV : *vāso-vāya-* "Gewand webend" 10, 26, 6 c ; dann AB 8, 12, 3 und 8, 17, 2 *traścīna-vāya-* "Querband" (eig. "Querweber"), ep kl *tunna-vāya-* "Schneider" ("Gestochenes webend") ; also *tantu-vāya-* *tantra-vāya-* "Faden webend". Daraus ist umgestaltet *tantu-vāpa-* durch Anschluss an *vap-* "hinstreuen" und *tantu-nābha-* durch Kontamination mit *ūrna-nābha-* (*tantu-vāna-* enthält natürlich ein Nomen actionis auf *-(a)na-*)

Zum Schluss ein Wort über das Geschlecht dieser Wörter für die Spinne. Es wäre nicht nötig wenn nicht PAUL a a O 57 *ūrṇanābhi-* als Femininum von *ūrnanābha-* bezeichnete weil er gegen die geschichtliche Folge der Wörter im Ai, aber seiner Etymologie *ūrnanābha-* = aw * *varnanāwa-* > *varanava-* zuliebe, *ūrnanābha-* für die älteste Form hält (in den Zitaten aus dem PW. setzt er S, 56 richtig das Maskulinum an !). Die Lexika geben aber für alle diese Wörter männliches Geschlecht an, und mit vollem Recht ; schon der Kompositionstypus *ūrṇā-vābhi-* beweist das Mask, natürlich auch für die Umgestaltungen des Wortes ; auch spricht in den Belegen rein nichts für Femininum, wohl aber manches für ein Maskulinum, z. B. Kāth so 'yam *ūrnavābhih*, MS yé 'dhare ta *ūrṇāvābhayah*, ŚB 14, 5, 1, 23 *sá yātho 'rṇāvābhis tāntuno 'ccāret* "wie diese Spinne vermittelt des Fadens aus sich herauskommt".

Der Stammbaum der Bildungen ist also so herzustellen :



ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND RESEARCH WORK *

By

P C. DIVANJI, Bombay.

- I. Genesis of the Study of Ancient Indian History.
- II. Available Sources for that Study.
- III. Commencement of Research Work and Its Reaction on History.
- IV. Progress in Research Work and in History.
- V. Discovery of the Indus Valley Civilization and Its Reaction on Historical Studies.
- VI. Problem Left Unsolved By Them
- VII. Ways and Means To Solve It.
- VIII. Immediate Objective Requiring Concentration
- IX. Necessity of Active Co-operation between the Research Scholars and the Archæologists.
- X. Suggestions for their Lines of Action
- XI. Their Effect on the History of Indian Culture.
- XII. Way to Further Progress and Appeal to Research Scholars

I. *Genesis of the Study of Ancient Indian History.*

Although the East India Company had ceased to be a purely trading company and had begun to take an active interest in the political condition of India since about the beginning of the second half of the 18th Century, it was not until the then predominant power of the Peshwas was gradually broken by making separate subsidiary alliances with the members of the Maratha Confederacy, and was finally crushed out of existence in 1818 during the Governor-Generalship of the Marquis of Hastings that the said Company can be deemed to have laid the foundation of the British Indian Empire. Shortly after that foundation was laid the work of its consolidation and reconstruction was commenced with a view to its roots being planted as deep as possible in order to make it as permanent as human institutions could be and as human ingenuity and foresight could make it. Amongst the various steps that were taken towards that end on getting the constitution amended by an Act of Parliament in 1833 was the ascertainment of the history of India prior to the commencement of the struggles for supremacy between the British and the other European powers, the Portuguese and the French, who had some possessions in India, in order that the mistakes of the past rulers of India may not be repeated by the British.

II *Available Sources for that Study*

2 There were ample materials for the study of that history upto the date of the first Mahomedan incursion in India headed by Mahomed of

* This paper was read before the Archæology Section of the Tenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati in March 1940.

Gazni¹, namely the first quarter of the 11th century, because the Mahomedans had all along kept sufficient records in the Persian language of the most important events that had taken place since then. The task of ascertaining the vicissitudes through which the different provinces of India had passed prior to that date was however by no means easy for the European administrators and historians, who had undertaken the study of Indian history, because, whereas, on the one hand it could not be denied that the Indian civilization was at its zenith from a date long long prior to the commencement of what is called the mediæval period, there was, on the other, a total absence of purely historical records thereof kept in Sanskrit or in any other language and such Sanskrit works as contained materials from which the necessary dates could be ascertained were so voluminous and so mixed up with mythology that a very labourious research was required to be made for that purpose even after one acquired a workable knowledge of the language. Before Mount Stuart ELPHINSTONE undertook to write the first History of India in 1833 such research work, so far as the Sanskrit works on law and general literature were concerned, had already been commenced by Oriental scholars like Sir William JONES and others, who founded the Bengal and Bombay Branches of the Royal Asiatic Society. But the vast mass of the Vedic, Paurāṇic and Prakrit literatures, from which historical materials could be garnered, had remained practically unexplored and much of it had also remained unknown to the European scholars. Some Christian missionaries had dived into a portion of it but they had been led to form some fantastic and unsavoury notions about the character of the Indian civilization. ELPHINSTONE therefore stigmatized that source as unreliable and set down 326 B.C., the date of the incursion of Alexander the Great of Macedonia according to the Greek writers, as the earliest date from which the past history of India could be re-constructed.

III. *Commencement of Research Work and Its Reaction on History.*

3 Such evaluation of the known indigenous sources rendered it necessary to make scientific researches for more reliable ones. Towards that end, the authorities turned their attention to the collection of such other historical evidence as it was possible to procure on searching for epigraphs, coins, plates, tablets, relics of artistic works, grants and literary records. In order to carry out that plan, they created the posts of the Director of Archaeology in India and of the Superintendents of Circles for the Search of Sanskrit Mss., all over India. Thus, while on the one hand CUNNINGHAM, BURGESS, COUSENS, FERGUSON, PRINCEP and others carried out archæological researches, PETERSON, BHANDARKAR, Rajendralal MITRA, STEIN and others carried on the

1. Technically speaking the first Mahomedan invading army that had entered India from the north-west was that of Mahomed Kasim and it had done that in the last quarter of the 8th century but it had touched only the border-province of Sind, and the principal Hindu States then in existence in the interior and along the other borders had remained unaffected by it.

search for Sanskrit Mss, all over India. The former brought to light many hidden inscriptions, coins and relics and led to the development of the sciences of palæography, epigraphy, numismatics and archaeology on which CUNNINGHAM, PRINCEP, PETERSON, BHANDARKAR, Bhau DAJI, Bhagwanlal INDRAJI and others worked very hard and the latter aided further by the researches of the representatives of learned societies here and in Europe like Bhau DAJI, BUHLER and others led to the establishment of Mss libraries at important centres in India like Poona, Calcutta, Benares, Jammu, Bikaner and Madras and in Europe like London, Paris, St Petersburg, Rome &c., and to the application of the method of historical research to the interpretation of the Indian religious works.

4 While this spade-work was in progress for nearly four decades Henry BEVERIDGE published his *Comprehensive History of India* in 1862, Sir H M ELLIOT brought out his *History of India* in 8 volumes commencing from 1867 and COWELL revised ELPHINSTONE's *History of India*. The two former had not indeed sufficient materials before them because research work had been commenced shortly before they composed their works. But even COWELL, who had some pre-historic materials before him did not think it worth his while to collect and sift them with a view to arrange them chronologically and give them a place in a chapter on the history of a period prior to the date of Alexander's incursion.²

5. The British Indian Government, however, made use of the results of the researches so far made by getting the volumes of the Imperial and Provincial *Gazetteers* composed and published for the benefit of its administrative officers. The Oxford University too decided to start independently literary research work and inaugurated the *Sacred Books of the East Series*, in which were published English translations of important works in Sanskrit and other ancient eastern languages with critical notes, introductions &c. The Indian Universities too had by that time begun to turn out able Indian scholars. Dr. Max MULLER, the general editor of the said series, therefore availed himself of the co-operation of some of those scholars like K. T. TELANG in addition to the European oriental scholars like BUHLER, JOLLY, and others. A historical study of the Vedic literature was pursued also at other centres of learning in Europe and notably therout in Germany by ROTH, SCHLEGEL, GOLDSTUCKER, WEBER and others. As the result of all this literary activity of the European linguists, who already knew Greek and Latin, the Science of Comparative Philology was founded, the theory was established that the Indo-Aryan civilization was a sub-branch of the Indo-Iranian civilization, which itself was a branch of the Indo-European civilization and it was placed beyond the possibility of a doubt that the Jain and Buddhist works in Prakrit contained unmistakable data for the re-construction of the political history of India from the foundation of the Śaśunāga dynasty at Guvraja in Magadha by King Śisunāga in about 602 B.C. to the accession of Candragupta Maurya on the throne of Magadha, on extirpating the line of the

2 V. A. SMITH's *Early History of India*, Third Edition, Ch I, p 1

Nandas between 323 and 321 B.C. with the assistance of the well-known statesman Cānākya *alias* Viṣṇugupta. Moreover the *Histories of Sanskrit Literature* by WEBER, Max MULLER, and MACDONELL, *Buddhist India* by Rhys DAVIDS, BHANDARKAR's *Early History of the Dekkan*, and PARGITER's *Dynasties of the Kālī Age* had also shown the way to re-construct Indian history from the indigenous sources.

6. These were results so definite and based on such solid foundations that even the strictest votary of truth, sitting solemnly to weigh facts like a jury-man, which was the ideal of a historian set up by Goethe and adopted by Vincent SMITH,³ could not shut his eyes against them. Accordingly when the latter published the third edition of his *Early History of India*, which is the earliest edition which seems to have come down to India, he recognised "literary tradition" as a source of history buttressed by as much corroboration as could be drawn from the works of the Greek travellers and ambassadors⁴ and devoted the first about 50 pages of the book containing 475 pages to a discussion as to the nature and reliability of the sources of information with regard thereto and the reliable facts which could be gathered therefrom. So far as political history was concerned, he pushed back its commencement to 602 B.C., relying for that purpose on the conclusions drawn from the Buddhist and Jain Prakrit works and as regards the condition prior to that date he made the following remarks, namely "Modern research has brought to light innumerable facts of the highest scientific value concerning pre-historic India but the impossibility of assigning dates to the phenomena discovered excludes them from the domain of the historian whose vision cannot pass the line which separates the dated from the undated,"⁵ although the latter may be invaluable for the purposes of ethnology, philology and other sciences. The great Sanskrit epics, he looked upon as "of value as traditional pictures of social life in the heroic age" but as not containing "matter illustrating the political relations of states during the historical period"⁶.

IV *Progress in Research Work and in History*

7. A decade before that standard work on history appeared Lord CURZON had begun to take an unusual interest in the archaeological department. He had got a special Act passed by the Indian legislature in order to empower it to take the necessary step towards the preservation of the ancient

3. SMITH quotes in support of his view the following definition of the duty of a historian from the *Maxims and Reflections of Goethe* namely—"The historian's duty is to separate the true from the false, the certain from the uncertain and the doubtful from that which cannot be accepted. Every investigator must, before all things, look upon himself as one who is summoned to serve on a jury. He has only to consider how far the statement of the case is complete and clearly set forth in the evidence. Then he draws his conclusion and gives his vote, whether it be that his opinion coincides with that of the foreman or not" (*Early History of India*, Third edition, Introduction pp. 34.)

4. *Op. cit.*, Ch. I, p. 10.

5. *Op. Cit.* Ch. II, p. 27.

6. *Op. Cit.*, Ch. I, p. 10.

monuments throughout the Indian Empire. He also re-organised the department and expanded it by appointing Superintendents of Circles under its Director-General and provided for a handsome recurring grant being placed at his disposal for enabling him to carry out the necessary repairs to the existing monuments, to make arrangements for their preservation and also so far as may be possible to excavate new sites selected on the strength of reliable evidence. This gave an unusual impetus to the officers of the department to strive to assist the historians in their attempt to place the ancient history of India on a more solid basis than that of mere literary tradition. The discovery of the fort-wall of Rājagṛha and Jarāsandha's Akhadā in Bihar was the outcome of this impetus. But for one reason or another it was not followed up by excavations in the surroundings of those sites which might most probably have brought to light unmistakeable positive evidence of the statements of facts contained in the literary works. The consequence was that archæology remained what it had hitherto been, a hand-maid of history and could not become its guide along an untrodden path. And since the sciences of epigraphy and numismatics depend for the supply of the necessary materials for their advancement on archæology, and since the votaries of that science limited their activity to the discovery of facts tending to confirm, correct or contradict the conclusions arrived at by historians from the literary sources or at best to fill in the gaps left by them, they too even in their highest flights could not pierce the layer of clouds at the 4th century B.C. which obstructed from the vision of the denizens of earth, the bright celestial region above it peopled by the Aryans of the Vedic and Epic ages.

8. Therefore although literary research continued to progress, history remained static between the years 1914-19, as can be seen from the second impression of the *Early History of India* by Vincent SMITH published in 1919 and the second chapter of the *Ancient History of India* by D. R. BHANDARKAR published by the Calcutta University in the same year. From the fact that the second edition of *The Hindu History* of A. K. MAZUMDAR of Dacca was published in 1920 it appears that its first edition must have been published before that but as at any rate the position of the history for the period 3000 B.C. to 600 B.C. as re-constructed by him did not receive recognition at the hands of any university authorities the above observation remains unaffected by that fact.

V *Indus Valley Civilization and Its Reaction on Historical Studies*

9. The three or four years that followed 1919, which marked the conclusion of the Great War by the Treaty of Versailles, were the years of some of the greatest upheavals not only in the contemporary political history but also in the ideas of scholars as to the ancient history of India. The great event which caused that upheaval was the accidental discovery in 1921 by the late Mr R. D. BANNERJI of certain seals at Mohenjo-daro in the Larkhana district of Sindh while digging up certain mounds there for the purpose of locating an old Buddhist monastery. His chief, Sir J. MARSHALL, agreed

with him that those seals, though not capable of being deciphered, pointed to the spread of a pre-historic civilization in the region of the Indus Valley since similar seals had been found also at Harappa in the Punjab and encouraged him to make a determined effort to get the relics of that civilization from the deeper layers of the earth there. His effort was crowned with success beyond anybody's expectation for it led to the discovery of three cities built one over the other, by a fairly civilized race of people, according to fixed plans, and of statues, images, implements, pottery, toys and ornaments besides seals of the above nature, from the buried houses, prayer and assembly-halls, gutters, roads, by-roads, wells &c comprised in those cities. On their being subjected to a most careful scrutiny they led to the unmistakable conclusion that those cities must have been built between 3000 and 4500 B.C. by an Anaryan race of people. A comparison of those relics with those found at the sites of old Sumeria and Elma in Asia Minor led to the further conclusion that there must have been a close commercial intercourse and a cultural affinity between the Indus Valley people and the Sumerians. A patient study of the seals made by scholars like Rev. Father HERAS has further made it possible to infer that the said people must have belonged to the Dravidian stock whose early home was in Baluchistan and that their principal deities were Śiva with or without his consort and the Mother Goddess and that even in that distant age Śiva was being worshipped in the form of a Linga.⁷ All these conclusions stirred the historians to the very depths of their souls and set them thinking seriously whether in view of them it was right to adhere to the view that the political history of India really commenced from 600 to 650 B.C. As the result of this convulsion in the minds of the historians many works on revised history had been published since 1921, the notable ones amongst which were the following namely — *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, by F. E. PARGITER, 1922, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, by E. J. RAPSON, 1922, *Early History of India*, by V. A. SMITH, 1924, *A Sketch of the History of India* by DODWELL, 1925, *Ancient and Medieval Hindu India*, and *Downfall of Hindu India*, by C. V. VAIDYA, between 1924-26, *Hindu India*, Parts 1 & 2, by S. K. AYYANGAR, 1927, *Outlines of Ancient Indian History and Civilization*, by R. C. MAZUMDAR, 1927, *A History of India*, by SRINIVAS and AYYANGAR, 1927, *Chronology of Ancient India*, by S. N. PRADHAN, 1927, *Mohenjo-dāro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, Vols I to III, by Sir J. MARSHALL, 1931, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vols. I & II, by Hema Chandra ROYCHAUDHARI, 1931, *Political History of India*, by the same author, 1932, *Imperial History of India*, by K. P. JAYASWAL, 1934, *Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India* by R. D. BANNERJI, 1934, and *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, by ALLAN, HAIG and DODWELL, 1934. Thereout JAYASWAL's work is an English translation of a Chinese version of a Sanskrit work on history commencing from 700 B.C. The writers of the rest of the works can be divided into two classes, the radical historians and the conservative historians. In the

⁷ *Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India*, by R. D. BANNERJI, 1934, Foreword by D. A. MACKENZIE, p. vii.

first class fall PARGITER, RAPSON, VAIDYA, S. K. AYYANGAR, R. C. MUZUMDAR, SRINIVASA and AYYANGAR, PRADHAN, and BANNERJI and in the second V. A. SMITH represented by S. M. EDWARDS, DODWELL, H. M. RAYCHAUDHARI and ALLAN, HAIG and DODWELL. These two classes are distinguishable by the amount of enthusiasm and frankness with which they availed themselves of the results of the literary researches made during the period preceding the composition of the work of each although owing to the changed outlook almost all of them were compelled to devote a first few pages of their works to an account of the ancient geographical situation of the Indian Peninsula and the changes it had undergone during nearly the last 5000 years, the early and later Vedic civilization and the civilization of the epic period and the post-epic period down to about 650 B.C., when according to the Buddhist works in Pali and Jain works in Ardhamāgadhī there were 16 states in Northern India⁸

VI. *Problem Left Unsolved By Them*

10. In spite of this changed outlook which is no doubt due to the archaeological discovery above referred to, and in spite of so many histories having been composed in the meanwhile, it cannot be denied that the only original attempts to push back the beginning of political history to a distant past were those of PARGITER and PRADHAN, the others having merely summarised the conclusion arrived at by the research scholars in the meanwhile. Of these two again, PRADHAN seems to have attempted to re-construct history from the later Vedic age downwards, the most outstanding personality wherein was Divodāsa, son of Vadhryaśva of Kāśī and the most notable event in whose life recorded in the Rgveda is a battle with Śambara and Vaci in which he had the help of one Daśaratha, who is identified with the father of Rāmācandra. The learned doctor has arrived at the conclusion that this event must have occurred about 1514 B.C.⁹ and taking that as the starting point he has attempted to make out connected lines of contemporaneous kings of several dynasties continued upto the time of Buddha and Mahāvīra. For establishing their contemporaneity he has made use of data obtainable from the Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Upaniṣads, the Sūtras, the Epics and also some Buddhist and Jaina canonical books. The above conclusion, though arrived at after so much extensive and intensive research, deserves to be examined seriously and carefully because the author seems to have overlooked certain data not consistent with his conclusion. And even he has not pursued the subject further and tried to give a connected history of the period between 1514 B.C. and 583 B.C. as it could be gathered from the sources which he had tapped. As for PARGITER, he seems to have relied almost exclusively on the Paurāṇic tradition and the result which he arrived at was such as to compel

8 Eg., see *History of India*, by SRINIVASA and AYYANGAR, Part 1. *Hindu India*, pp. 1 to 36. *Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India*, Bk I, pp. 1-58. *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* by ALLAN, HAIG, and DODWELL, pp. 1 to 15.

9. *Chronology of Ancient India*, Ch. XV, pp. 168-76.

Dr RAYCHAUDHARI to criticise it in the following words —“ But the scheme of chronology proposed by them (i.e. PARGITER and other scholars of his class) on the basis of this (i.e. the Paurānic tradition) has not yet been thoroughly discussed and tested so that it can be safely adopted in any survey of Indian history. The earliest land-marks known for certain in Indian history are still “the approximate dates of the Achæmenian invasion of India (Cir 520-18 B C), and of Alexander’s irruption (Cir 326-25 B C). By calculating backward from these dates and with the assistance of the chronicles of the Brahmans, Jains and Buddhists a rough chronological frame-work has been established from about 600 B C downwards.”¹⁰ ALLAN, HAIG and DODWELL writing in 1934 also deplore the lack of reliable materials for the re-construction of Ancient Indian history in the following telling phraseology namely .— “The most striking feature of the literature of Ancient India when compared with the European is the absence of historical works. It has no Herodotus or Thucydides, no Livy or Tectus. The early literature is entirely religious and exegetic in origin and while the important data regarding the social life of the people can be deduced from it, it contains little reference to historical events and still less matter of chronological value.”¹¹ They have illustrated this remark by a specific reference to the Epics while as regards the Purānas they say —“The Purānas, whose authors might in some ways be compared to our mediæval chroniclers, are mainly legendary and mythological collections; they contain a certain amount of genealogical matter, the historical significance of which it is difficult to estimate.”¹² Having thus dismissed the Epic and Paurānic sources they came to the Sanskrit and Pali works of the Buddhist period and remark —“The historical data that can be gathered from the Sanskrit and Pālī literature cannot be despised but interpretation is often difficult and there is an entire lack of chronological data. It is with the help of synchronisms given by foreign, mainly Greek and Chinese, writers that the chronology of Indian history has been built up.”¹³ Such being their opinion, although they had some good things to say about the Indus Valley culture, they commenced Indian history proper from the date of the incursion of Alexander preceded by a short account of the Kingdom of Magadha, which existed at that time, occupying a few pages (16 to 20).

11 This undoubtedly means that the historians of India whose opinions carry weight with the authorities and are imbibed *ad hoc* by the university students here and abroad, are not prepared to extend the scope of ancient Indian history beyond the seventh century B C, whatever the quantity and quality of the facts deduced solely from the indigenous literary records, unless they can lay their hands on some sure data enabling them to fix up definite chronological periods in which such facts can be deemed to have occurred. We

10. *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, Introduction pp. XXXI-II.

11. *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, Part I Ch. I, “Sources and Early History” p. 1.

12. *Op. cit.*

13. *Op. Cit.*, p. 5 ff.

cannot afford to ignore their opinions. Can we then bear to look unconcerned at the present unfortunate extrangement that has taken place between the peevish son, history and his two living parents, archæology and oriental research? Our patriotism, our love for truth and our ambition to secure for our country an honoured place in the coming new world-order by making an admirable contribution to the stock of the world's knowledge of the first appearance of human life on earth, of the different currents into which it has flown, of the forces which have impeded and those which have invigorated their flow during their long journey in the plains of time and of the occasional conflicts between the mutually irreconcilable ones amongst them such as the one we are witnessing to-day and to the foresight and resourcefulness required in determining the future course or courses of those currents, would not allow us to do that. What then shall we do to bring about an amicable settlement of that family dispute?

VII *Ways and Means To Solve It*

12 The easiest way that readily suggests itself to anyone interested in this affair is that individual scholars should in right earnest sit down to work on the available materials in order to supply the want of history. That it is not however the surest way is already proved by the experience we have had during the last quarter of a century. There has been no dearth of enthusiastic individual scholars in India. We have seen that some such have already worked hard on the materials brought to light upto the time that they conceived the idea of making a substantial contribution to the re-construction of ancient Indian history and produced historical works commencing from the Vedic period. But we have also seen that they have failed to impress the cool thinkers who are at the helm of affairs at the leading universities. They would apparently nod their heads only if something tangible is discovered in support of what the Indian literary works lead us to believe. The officers of the Archæological Department now fortunately headed by the Indian scholar of the calibre and established reputation of R. B. K. N. DIXSITI and the leading lights of certain private institutions here and in the West have not been slow to realize their duty in the matter. The latest reports to hand¹⁴ show that certain sites situated in the Ranchi and Singhbhum districts of Bihar have been dug up departmentally and relics of the palæolithic or at least the neolithic age were discovered therein, that excavations carried on by Dr. K. A. A. Ansari at Bijnor, Dehra Dun and other places outside the Indus Valley have confirmed the belief held by some scholars that the kind of civilization which was prevalent in the parts of Sindh, and Punjab watered by the Indus in pre-historic times was not confined to that region but had extended to the Ganges delta as well¹⁵ and that the department had also sought the guidance of a British archæologist named Sir Leonard Woolley on getting its activities

14 "Times of India," dated October 5th, 1939

15 *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, (1936), published by the Kern Institute, Leyden, *Poona Orientalist*, IV, 1 & 2, p. 91

during the last few years critically examined by him¹⁶ We also learn that an American school of Iranian and Indic Studies has been taking an active interest in the re-construction of the cultural history of India on scientific lines and had in 1935 sent to India a deputation headed by Dr Earnest Mackay charged with the duty of gauging by experimental field-work the extent of the Mohenjo-daro civilization and that its labour and outlay were amply rewarded by the recovery of such an unusually large number of such antiquities from a site near Chanu-daro in the Nawabshah district in Sindh, as throw "a new light on the problem of the successive cultures that flourished in the Indus Valley in the third millennium B.C."¹⁷ These discoveries striking as they are, have, instead of solving the riddle of the Mohenjo-daro civilization, added yet another to it, namely that of the chronological sequence or the co-existence of different types of civilizations, Āryan and Anāryan, in the same area. In view of that can we hope that the formation of Field Clubs for conducting excavations at several places in the United Provinces, Bihar, Gujarat, Kathiawad, Karnatak and other provinces which the learned Director-General has advised in order that the efforts of the Government department may be supplemented by non-official ones backed up by financial support from philanthropic resourceful gentlemen would tend to an early solution of the riddle? I believe, not, so long as the stray inferences suggested by the relics that have been and may hereafter be discovered remain unsupplemented by other corroborative evidence which would enable the historians to make out a connected and dated account of the period or periods to which the relics relate Where shall we search for such evidence?

13 The answer to that question is that archæological research is only one of the wheels of the slowly-moving cart of our political history It has another wheel, namely that of literary research An impatient listener is likely to murmur at once that it has already been tried and found wanting To him I appeal to bear with me for a while I agree that there are no such contemporary foreign records as the historians are accustomed to rely on for the period commencing from the incursion of Alexander of Macedonia They do not, however, exhaust all the available materials It cannot be denied by any honest and open-hearted thinker that such of the Indian literature as has been preserved for our generation by the much-maligned Brahman community and the conservative Sannyasis and Sadhus is still considerably extensive and valuable even from the purely secular stand-point It is true that our country had produced no Herodotus or Thucydides, no Livy or Tacitus, but that is due to the predominantly religious character of the civilization which has survived in a modified form through several thousands of years and it is due to that very character that this country can boast of having admirably preserved at considerable risk and sacrifice and with infinite and unparallelled reverence the records not only of events which occurred ever since the development of human

16 *Report on the work of the Archæological Survey of India*, by Sir Leonard WOOLEY, 1938.

17 *A.B.I.A.*, Leyden, (1936), Poona, IV, 1 & 2, pp. 90-91.

life on earth but also of those which some of the seers had in their ecstatic visions witnessed just as they had occurred ever since the idea of "being manifold" arose in the mind of "The One."¹⁸ Thus in India history becomes a branch of anthropology, anthropology that of cosmology and cosmology that of metaphysics generally and of its two branches epistemology and ontology in particular. The names of those great seers and sages who contributed to the development of these records from eon to eon are so numerous that a mere mention thereof instead of occupying a line or a page would occupy several pages. I can anticipate being confronted with the fact that the great European and Indian savants of the 19th and the first three decades of the 20th century had explored all the available Vedic literature and brought to light all the best points therein. But let me remind this audience that in recent years even European scholars have begun to realize that the way in which the said literature has been interpreted by the Oriental scholars so far, is not the only possible way of interpreting it and that one of the alternate ways is the one in which the great Smṛtikāras, amongst whom I include the authors of the epics also, understood it and interpreted it in their works in the age succeeding the Vedic after some upheaval, whose effect must have been so extensive and deep-rooted as to make re-organization of the social fabric, on keeping in view the changed circumstances, necessary and to embody its scheme in a language which the majority of those for whose benefit it was meant could easily understand, as distinguished from the old Vedic. But considerable progress will have to be made before the necessity to interpret the Vedic literature would arise. Our immediate purpose can be served by the Itihāsas and Purāṇas and to some extent the Brāhmaṇas including the Āryanyakas and the Upaniṣads. I agree that in the mixed and somewhat exaggerated forms in which the accounts of the races which inhabited this country according to tradition, appear in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas they can be of no use to a secular historian. But that is exactly where the oriental scholars can help the historians. As made out by me in my paper on the *Historical Value of Purāṇic Works*¹⁹ the facts that can be gathered from them can be scientifically tested by comparison with similar facts relating to the same period gathered from another independent source, e.g. the Jain Purāṇas in the case of the Mahābhārata period²⁰ and

18. "It willed.—I am one, let me be manifold" *Chāndogya Upaniṣat*, VI, 2-3.

19 *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, I, 4, pp 102-25

20 The reason which makes these Purāṇas available for the collection of historical facts of the above-mentioned period is that the history of the Indian religion contains to my mind clear evidence of the Jain and Bhāgavat sects being the offshoots of a single sect started by way of protest against the doctrine that the highest goal of man was to secure happiness in this world and in the Swarga ruled over by Indra by the performance of animal sacrifices and of their having held in reverence several important personages of the pre-Mahābhārata period and preserved their memories in literary compositions made in a Prakṛt dialect and traditionally handed down till committed to writing. It is therefore desirable for the Hindu writers to shake off their prejudice that the Jain accounts are only perverted versions of stories borrowed from the Hindu literature.

those which pass that test can be safely pressed into the service of secular history. It is no doubt true of them too that the facts of history are at times mixed with legends or twisted for the purpose of exalting the dogma of their own sect in the eyes of their readers. Great and minute circumspection would therefore be required in selecting facts from them also as in selecting them from the orthodox Purānas. It would be necessary in some cases to remove the sectarian varnish which may be found applied to them in order to suit the particular purpose their writers had in view. Once this is done in the case of both the sets of facts they become ready for comparison and out of them that can be taken to answer the purpose of the historian which in view of his knowledge of the other relevant circumstances appears to him more rational. In forming that judgment, however, it must be borne in mind that mutability is the inherent characteristic of all the products of nature, that the heart and head of man are susceptible of development in several other directions than those known to us in this age, that human thoughts are capable of being expressed in other ways besides that in which we are habituated to express them and that nature could have revealed her secrets to the human beings of a far distant age as the result of a method of approach different from that with which we have become familiar for the last 3½ centuries. If these truths are borne in mind while working on the above materials I feel sure that we would be able to get several important facts which would serve as landmarks on the road which we have to traverse and supply many of the missing links which the research workers are striving to get.

(To be Continued)

NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA : THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION*

By

V M APTE, Poona.

ĀG I 17 6 *Paścāt kārāyisyamānasyāvasthāya śitoṣṇā apah samā-
nīya "Usnenā Vāya udakenēḥ" iti*

Trans (The father) taking his position to the west of (the boy) for whom the ceremony is being performed, pours cold and hot water together with the mantra 'With hot water, O Vāyu, come hither'

The context is the ceremony of Caula [or forming the (hair-) crest] performed in the boy's third year

Sources AV. VI. 68 1^{ab}=(a) Āyamagan savitā kṣureṇa (b) *Usnenā vāya udakenēḥ* [=Savitṛ has come here with the razor] . clause (b) as will be seen, is identical with our formula The hymn AV 68 in its liturgical employment accompanies the act of shaving.

PG 2 1 6 has the identical formula and variants of it are found in other Sūtra texts such as SMB, ĀPMB, MG, GG., etc

ĀG I. 17. 7 *Tāsām gṛhivā navanūtam dadhidrapśān vā, pradakṣyam
śiras trir undati* (a) 'Aditih keśān vapatu,' (b) 'Āpa undantu varcase' *iti*.

Trans Taking (some water) out of those (i.e., the mixture of hot and cold water referred to in the preceding sūtra) and fresh butter or globules of dadhi (curds), (the father) moistens (the boy's) head three times from the left to the right, with the mantra "May Aditi cut (thy) hair, may the waters moisten (thee) for glory"

Sources The first two pādas of the verse AV VI 68 2 [immediately following the one (AV VI 68 1^{ab}) quoted under the preceding sūtra] are (a) "Aditih śmaśru vapatu (b) Āpa undantu varasā|" This part is identical with our mantra except for the word *śmaśru* instead of our *keśān* but this does not make it a different mantra for the following reason Our text while describing the *Godāna* ceremony later prescribes in ĀG I 18 3 the employment of the same mantras that are employed here for the *Caula* ceremony with the modification that the word '*śmaśru*' is to be substituted for the word '*keśa*' So the AV Mantra above (AV VI 68 2) is exactly the mantra prescribed in our texts for the '*godāna*' ceremony as the *Ūha* (modified form) of the mantra cited under this sūtra. The AV verse, then, is definitely the source of our mantra

It is interesting to find out in what sacrificial context, such mantras

* Continued from p 110 of Vol III

(treating of *hair-dressing*) were possibly employed in other Samhitās! TS 1. 2 1 1 reads 'Āpa undantu (jīvase dīrghāyutvāya) varcase' The part outside the brackets is identical with our (b) *The two formulas immediately following TS 1. 2 1 1 are identical with those that follow in our text!* Evidently then these TS formulas stand in a close relation to the formulas cited in this Kandikā The TS context is the shaving of the whiskers of the sacrificer, which is part of his bath etc as a preparation for his initiation into the Soma-sacrifice

ĀG I 17 8 and 9 *Daksine keśapakse tīrni trīni kuśapīṇjūlāny abhy-
ātmāgrāṇi nidadhāti* (a) 'Osadhe trāyasvainam' *iti* || 8 || (b) 'Svadhite
manam hmsih' *iti mspīdya lauhenā ksurena* || 9 ||

Trans (8) Into the right part of the hair, he inserts three (*and again*) three Kuśa bunches with the ends pointing towards (the boy) himself (i.e., three each time before cutting the hair) with the formula 'O Herb! protect him' (9) "With the mantra 'O Axe! do not injure him,' he presses a copper razor (on the kuśa bunches)

Sources As pointed out under the preceding Sūtra, TS 1 2. 1 1 has both the formulas (a) and (b) in an identical form VS 4 1 also has them in exactly the same context as in the TS (which has been described already) But these two formulas occur also in these two Samhitās elsewhere and in other Samhitās and Brāhmanas, so frequently that the contexts in which they are employed may be classified as follows (1) Shaving of the whiskers of the Soma-sacrificer, as in TS 1. 2 1. 1 (mentioned already). (2) The cutting of the 'Yūpa' by the adhvaryu with the aid of a carpenter. The address 'Osadhe' in this case is appropriate because darbha grass is placed on the Yūpa (just as Kuśa grass is inserted into the hair) before cutting it; compare TS 1.3.5 1 and VS 5 42 (pointed out by STENZLER on p 43) (3) Cutting of the Omentum in an animal sacrifice, 'Osadhe' in this case being addressed to a grass-blade placed on the navel of the victim, Compare TS 1 3.9.2, and VS. 6 15 mentioned by STENZLER p 431.

The two formulas are also met with in the ŚB and the Śrauta Sūtras of Kātyāyana, Āpastamba and Mānava, in one or the other of these three contexts, the first one (the shaving of the whiskers of the Soma-sacrificer) being almost an exact Śrauta counterpart of our Grhya ceremony!

ĀG I 17 10 *Pracchinati* · (a) 'Yenāvapat savitā ksurena (b) Somasya
rājño Varunasya vidvān | (c) tena brahmāno vapateḍamasya (d) āyusmāñ
jaraḍastir yathāśat' *iti*.

Trans · He then cuts [(the hair) and the Kuśa bunches laid thereon] with the mantra :—

"That razor by which Savitr, the knowing one, shaved (the hair) of Soma the King and of Varuna, with that, ye Brāhmaṇas, shave now his (hair), so that he may be long-lived and reach old age.

Sources · For Clauses (a), (b) and (c), Prof STENZLER refers to AV. VI. 68.3. The first three pādas of this verse are identical with our (a) to

(c) and appear to be their sources, *particularly as AV VI 68 1 and 2 are responsible for the formulas cited in the preceding sūtras AG I. 17. 6 and 7 as shown above*. The first three pādas are also traced to TB 2.7 17.2 which is interesting as revealing another sacrificial context for formulae of this type viz. *the shaving of the king* before mounting the chariot in the 'Coronation' ceremony. The three pādas are also traced to ĀPS 22 28 6 and parallel Sūtra-texts with slight variations. (d) The fourth pāda is traced in an identical form to AV VIII 21^a occurring in a hymn directed against witchcraft. It is also found in RV. Khila X. 128 9^a and VS 31 52^a with 'yathāsam' for our 'yathāsad'. This pāda is a general prayer for long life, easily detachable from the first three pādas, to which it seems to have been tacked on here, *by our text*

ĀG. I 17 12 : (a) 'Yena dhātā bhaspater (b) agni indrasya cāyuse vapat | (c) tena ta āyuse vapāmi (d) suślokyāya svastaya ' iti drṣṭīyam |

Trans : (He cuts the hair) a second time with the mantra 'That with which Dhātṛ has shaven (the head) of Bhaspati, Agni and Indra, (to ensure) long life, with that I shave (thy head), (to secure) for you, long life, fame and welfare

Sources . The mantra is traced to VSK. III 9. 5 (a) Yena dhātā bhaspater (b) indrasya cāyuse'vapat, (c) tena te vapāmi brahmāna (d) jīvātave jivānāya || The first two pādas are identical, save for the omission of the superfluous 'agneh' at the beginning of our (b) ; the general sense of the verse is the same and the variations in the last two pādas are such as occur in the different versions of the same Grhya-mantra in the different saṁhās.

Prof STENZLER (p 44) thinks that in the first line *cāyuse* is probably a later addition but I think that *āyuse* is wanted in both the hemistichs for the parallelism of the acts human and divine. Probably, STENZLER thought so, because the second pāda is metrically faulty, being too long and would be improved by the omission of *some superfluous word* which according to him was *āyuse*. But VSK. III 9 5^b the source of our mantra suggests that it is the word 'agneh' that is superfluous in our mantra and the VSK-pāda which *omits it is metrically faultless*. Nor does the sense of the verse suffer by the omission of 'agneh'

ĀG. I. 17 13 (a) 'Yena bhūyaśca rātrīyām (b) jyok ca paśyāti sūryam (c) tena ta āyuse vapāmi (d) suślokyāya 'iti drṣṭīyam |

Trans . (That) whereby, further, during the night and for long, he may see the sun,—with that I shave thy (head) for thine long life, fame and welfare

Pāda (a.) The literal translation above, which closely follows the order of the words shows that *the first two pādas as they stand hardly make any good sense*, 'he may see the sun at night' being the puzzle!

Prof. STENZLER whose work was published in 1865, remarks (p 44) that he reads the *pāda* (a), as given above, because all the MSS and the Prayoga-ratna agree in giving that version although it is on the face of it,

corrupt and that Pāraskara II. 1 16 gives it in a better form. Prof OLDENBERG also follows the above version and draws attention to Pāraskara's variant in a footnote (p 185)

It is surprising that the reading of the Bibliotheca Indica edition, (published in 1866-69) '*Yena bhūyaś carātyayam*' of the first pāda which gives an excellent sense has not been noticed by Prof OLDENBERG whose translation appeared in 1886. The Trivandrum edition (since published) has the same reading. The parallel passage ĀPMB 2. 1. 5¹ has the same pāda MG. 1 21 6^a is also the same pāda with only the variation, 'caratyayam' for 'carātyayam'. So the reading of STENZLER's MSS should be corrected into '*yena bhūyaś carātyayam*' which could easily be corrupted into '*bhūyaś ca rātryām*'. The reading of PG II 1 16^a '*yena bhūriś carā divam*' cannot be adopted as STENZLER's reading is too remote from it to be supposed to have been a possible corruption of it

Pāda (b) :—This pāda is found in ĀPMB 2 15b, in PG II 1 16a with 'paśyāsi' for 'paśyāti' and in MG 1 21 6 with 'paśyati' for paśyāti, which are unimportant variations and has not suffered corruption like Pāda (a) Compare—RV IX 4 6^b = 'Jyok paśyema sūryam'

Pādas (c) and (d) —These are the same as the last two pādas of the mantra cited in the preceding sūtra, which shows that the mantra is a perfectly legitimate makeshift composition of the sūtra period as, besides, it is traced to no early vedic text.

The translation of the first two pādas (adopting the reading of the Bibliotheca Indica edition for the first pāda) would be 'That whereby he may further live and see the sun long' etc

ĀG.—I 17 16. *Ksuratejo nimijet* : (a) "*Yat ksuraṇa marcayalā supeśasā* (b) *Vaptā vapasi keśān* (c) *śunddhī śiro* (d) *māsyāyuh pramoṣīr*" *iti*.

Trans He wipes off the edge of the razor (with the Mantra) :—'In that with a harmful (though) well-sharpened razor, (thou) a shaver, shavest (his) hair, clean his head but do not steal away his life

Sources Profs STENZLER and OLDENBERG compare AV VIII 2 17 (ĀPMB, PG, HG and MG. also have parallel verses) This AV. verse is the same as our verse with the following variations :—

In (a) AV reads '*sulejasā*' (which is also the reading of MG 1 21 7^a) for our '*supeśasā*' (found in PG 2 1 19^a, HG 1 9 16^a and ĀPMB 2 1 7^a) In (b) AV has '*Keśāśmaśu*' (found in ĀPMB and HG) for our '*Keśān*' (found in PG and MG) That this latter is no variation really, as our text prescribes this same mantra in ĀG I 18. 3 *with the AV. variant* in the Godāna ceremony has been already noted. The reading '*Vaptar*' (O Shaver!) in HG and MG. is better (as agreeing well with '*vapasi*' the verb in the 2nd person singular) than our '*Vaptā*' though it is also found in AV and PG In pāda (c) our '*śunddhī*' (also found in ĀPMB, PG MG) is a much better reading than the puzzling AV. reading '*śumbhan*' or '*śumbham*'. The reading '*Mukham*' in AV. and HG for our '*śiro*' does

not constitute a variation as it makes the pāda parallel to our AG I. 18. 5 which is a modification of this pāda to suit the Godāna ceremony

It may be noted that 'shaving' as the business of a professional barber is mentioned through a simile in RV X 112 1^a - "Vapṛaṁ smaṣṭu vapast prabhūma" | addressed to Agni

AG I. 17 17 *Nāpitam śisyāḥ* "Śītoṣṇabhir adbhir amatham karvaṇo" *kṣanvan kuśalīkuru* " *iti*.

Trans. He instructs the barber 'Doing whatever is done with water, with (this mixture of) hot and cold waters, arrange in order ('*Kuśalīkuru*' is a euphemism for '*vapa*' = shave) the hair

Sources. The mantra (technically a *prasa*), has parallels in PG II 1. 21 = '*Akṣanvan parivapa*' (pointed out by STENZLER) and in Kau. 54 1 '*akṣanvan vapa keśaśmaśruṇoma parivapa, nakhāni ca kuru*' which explains and amplifies our '*kuśalīkuru*'

AG I. 18 5 '*Śunddhu śīromukham masvāyuh pramoṣṭi*' *iti*

Trans. (The mantra cited in I 17. 16 for the 'Caula' ceremony re appears in a modified form here in the Godāna ceremony) 'Clean his head and face, do not steal away his life'.

Context. I. 18 1 lays down that the rules for the Godāna ceremony are the same as for the 'Caula' ceremony described in the Section I 17. Now I 18. 3 says that *the mantras employed in both the rites are also the same* with the modification that for the 'Godāna' ceremony the word 'Smaṣṭu' is to be substituted for the word 'Keśa' wherever it occurs in the Mantras of the 'Caula' rite. In this Sūtra, our text actually gives an illustration of this rule for the modification of mantras. The mantra cited here is, for example the modification (technically called 'Ūha') of the latter part of the mantra cited in I 17 16. in connection with an exactly parallel ritual act in the 'Caula' ceremony

The significance of the use of 'Śraṇi' as well as 'mukham' in the mantra is as follows. 'Clean the face (mukham)' is appropriate in the ceremony of 'Godāna' (shaving the beard) but the addition of 'śraṇi' (Clean the head and the face) is explained by the practice prevalent among orthodox persons in India of shaving the head along with the beard and never shaving the beard only, leaving the hair on the head untouched

Sources. These have been pointed out under AG I 17 16 where it has been shown that AV VIII, 2 17^c with its reading 'Mukham' is parallel to this mantra.

AG I 18 6 "*Keśaśmaśrulomanakhāny udakṣamsthāni kuru*" *iti sam-presyati*

Trans. (In this ceremony) he instructs (the barber) 'Cut ('*kuru*' = do, is a euphemism for '*vapa*' like '*kuśalīkuru*') the hair on his head (keśa), face (śmaśru) and body (loma) finishing (them) in the north'

Prof OLDENBERG states (p 186) what according to Naityana, is the full formula. The fact is that our text implies that the formula given in I 17 17.

for the 'Caula' ceremony is to be employed in the Godāna ceremony also with the necessary modifications which *only* are given in this sūtra, the rest being taken over from I 17 17

Sources Kauś 54 1 quoted above under I 17 17 is a formula parallel to this one Kauś 53 19 = 'Yat ksurenety' *udakpatrena ksurena iti* [= the razor is held so that its blade points towards the north] furnishes an explanation of 'Udaksamsthāni kuru' in our formula When the razor blade points towards the north, the hair on the north side only of the youth's head and face can be cut As the youth must face the east, the hair are cut so that they end i c the hair cut last are those on the north or his left side

ĀG I 18 7 . *Āplutya vāgyataḥ sthivāhahśeṣam ācāryasakāṣe vācam visrjeta 'Varaṁ dadāmi' iti*

Trans After bathing and remaining silent (lit controlled in speech) for the rest of the day, he should release speech (i.e break the silence) with the formula 'I give a vara (i.e a free gift)'

Context This marks the end of the godāna ceremony

Sources Not only the formula but the words ('vācam visrjeta') of this sūtra also, seem to be based on the passage (8 9 5 7) of the AB which runs "Atha yad 'varaṁ dadāmi jityā abhijityai, vijityai, samjityā' iti vācam visrjeta etad vai vāco jitam yad dadāmiyāha" (when he breaks his silence with the words 'I give a free gift, for victory etc' that indeed is the victory of speech that he says 'I give') The context is the placing of a kindling-stick on the Āhavanīya fire in the Punarabhiśeka ceremony. In ŚB 13 4 1. 10 also, we have *Varena vācam visrjate, "varaṁ dadāmi brahmane"* = He releases speech with (the announcement of) a 'Vara' or free gift etc With these words uttered at the time of the morning oblation to the fire, the sacrificer and his wives break the silence observed during the previous night which they have spent in the sacrificial hall This ŚB context is very suggestive of the context in our text.

ĀG I 20 4 —. (Devasya tvā savituh prasave' śvīnor bāhubhyām pūśno hastābhyām) *hastam grhnāmyasau' iti tasya pāṇinā pāṇim sāṅgus-tham grhnīyāt* |

Trans with the mantra " (At the inspiration of god Savitr, with the arms of the two Aśvins, with the hands of Pūśan) I grasp thy hand, O, so and so ' " the ācārya should grasp with his (own) hand, the (pupil's) hand along with the thumb

Context This is done in the Upanayana ceremony after the ācārya has emptied his joined hands full of water over the pupil's joined hands (which) also (are) full of water

That the bracketed part above constitutes the mantra proper and the part outside, the improvised additions suiting the 'Upanayana' context is clear from the fact that the same part occurs again in ĀG I 24 15 with the addition 'pratigrhnāmi' [=I accept (thee) i.e. the Madhuparka, as the context there is the acceptance by the guest with his joined hands, of the Madhuparka offered

to him]. A survey of the sources of this mantra reveals (as shown below) that the *Madhuparka* context is the more original context of the mantra in early texts, and it is intimately related to and follows the mantra cited in I. 24. 15 'Mitrasya tvā cakṣuṣā pratīkṣe' | I observe thee (i.e. the Madhuparka while it is being brought to him by the host) with the eye of Mitra | I therefore discuss these mantras together here in the following order. I shall take up the mantra in ĀG I. 24. 14 (a) 'Mitrasya tvā' etc. first; then the Mantra in I. 24. 15 (b) "Devasya tvā" etc. which is the same as the bracketed part in our present Sūtra I. 20. 4 with 'pratigṛhṇāmi' added as the mantra is addressed to the 'Madhuparka' and the Mantra in our present Sūtra I. 20. 4 last 'Devasya tvā' etc. (i.e. the bracketed part) with 'hastam gṛhṇāmi' added, the Mantra being addressed to the boy who is being initiated.

Sources (a) and (b) are found in VSK. 2. 3 and 4 respectively; (c) is employed in VSK. 2. 3 when the *Prāśitra* (the Brahman's portion consisting of *yava* or *pippala*) is being gazed at and (b) in VSK. 2. 4 while it is being eaten. Our text seems however to have derived these mantras from the *Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa* which is closely related to our text as belonging to the Rgveda. KB. 6. 14 has both the mantras in a context similar to that in VSK as described above. TS. 2. 6. 8. 6 has mantras almost identical with our (a) and (b) [only 'pīkṣe' occurs for 'pratīkṣe' in (a) in a similar (i.e. *Prāśitra*) context].

This shows that these mantras employed in early Vedic texts in connection with the eating of the '*Prāśitra*,' were transferred to the *madhuparka* context in the Sūtra texts. ŚS. IV. 21. 6 actually makes a statement to this effect. ŚS. IV. 21 is a section dealing with the *madhuparka* offering (the *Kandikā* I. 24 in our text is modelled on this section). ŚS. IV. 21. 6 says, '*Madhuparka*' ityukto yathā prāśitram taihā pratīkṣva | i.e. when the *madhuparka* is announced to the guest, he looks at it in the same manner (i.e. repeating the same mantras) as when he looks at the *Prāśitra* |

The next transfer of the mantra from the *madhuparka* to the *hastagrahana* context in the *Initiation* ceremony as in I. 20. 4 was an easy step for the following reasons -- (1) The words 'hastābhyām' and 'bāhubhyām' in the mantra are suggestive of 'hastagrahana' (hand-clasping), (2) God Savitr whose inspiration is referred to in the mantra is the predominant deity of the Upanayana rite and its mantras as seen from the important part played by the Sāvitrī verse (sacred to Savitṛ) in that ceremony.

ĀG I. 20. 5 'Savitā te hastam āgrahīt asau' iti dvitīyam

Trans. With the mantra 'Savitṛ has grasped thy hand, () so and so !' (he grasps the pupil's hand) a second time

Sources AV. XIV. 1. 51b reads 'Savitā te hastam āgrahīt' which is identical with our formula save for the more modern form 'āgrahīt' instead of our 'āgrahīt' above. AV. XIV. 1 is a marriage-hymn and the '*Pāṇyagrahana*' context in the marriage-ceremony is exactly parallel to the '*hastagrahana*' context in the Upanayana ceremony !

ĀG I 20 6 · 'Agnirācāryastavāsāv' iti trīyaṃ |

Trans With the formula 'Agni is thine ācārya O, so and so !' (he grasps the boy's hand) a third time

Sources ŚB 11 5 4 2 reads 'athāśya hastam gṛhṇāti | Indrasya brahmacāryasi | agnir ācāryastava | aham ācāryastavāsau' iti | [He (i.e. the Ācārya) takes his (right) hand with (the formula) 'Indra's disciple art thou, Agni is thy teacher, I am thy teacher so and so']. The context is the same as in our text, namely, 'entry into Brahmacharya' (which is the description of the Upanayana ceremony in the early texts).

ĀG I 20 7 Ādityam īksayet . (a) 'deva Savitar esa te brahmacārī tam gopāya, (b) sa mā mrta' ityācāryah |

Trans He should make him look at the sun while the ācārya says 'God Savitr ! this is thy Brahmachārīn, protect him ; (b) let him not die'

Sources . The formulas cannot be traced to any early vedic text. (a) appears to be an echo of ŚB 11 5 4 3 'Devāya Savitṛe paridādāmi' (I hand thee over to god Savitr) said by the ācārya with reference to the pupil

Clause (b) which looks a bit abrupt, becomes intelligible in the light of ŚB 11 5 4 5 where the ācārya while instructing the pupil in the various vows of brahmacharya says "Mā susupthā itī 'Mā mrthā' ityevanam tadāha" [When he says "Do not sleep (during the day)", 'do not die' is what he virtually says to him]

ĀG I 20 8 : (a) 'Kasya brahmacāryasi (b) prānasya brahmacāryasi (c) Kastvā kamupanayate (d) Kāya tvā paridādāmi' iti |

Trans (The teacher further says) Whose (or of ka—i.e. Prajāpati)¹ brahmachārīn art thou ? Thou art the brahmachārīn of Prāna Who initiates thee to whom² (or 'Ka' initiates thee to 'Ka') To whom do I give thee over ? [or 'I give thee over to Ka')]

Sources This same quibble on the word 'Ka' is found in ŚB 11.5.4.1 (Upanayana context) 'Athamamāha, ko nāmāsi, prajāpatir va kah | prajāpatyamevamam tat krtvopanayate' [He i.e. the Ācārya says 'Ka' (or what) is thy name ? Now 'Ka' is Prajāpati He thus initiates him after making him one belonging to Prajāpati] ŚB. 11 5 4 3 · 'athainam bhūtebhyaḥ paridādāti | prajāpataye tvā paridādāmi |' etc will be a parallel to our (d), if 'Ka' is definitely understood (as I think it should be) in the sense of Prajāpati The part 'Kāya tvā' only of (d) is also traced to VS 20 4 with the same play on the word 'Ka' the formula being addressed to the Āsandī (seat) by the sacrificer before sitting on it in the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice

1 I think that the alternative translation given in brackets is the correct one as the quibble on 'Ka' in the double sense of 'who' and 'Prajāpati', starting as early as or very soon after the days of the RV.X 121 had, by the time of the Sūtras, become definitely established.

2. I understand 'Kam' (accusative) as referring to the person or deity to whom the boy is initiated or introduced and not as referring to the boy who is so introduced as OLDENBERG takes it, because that unnecessarily splits up (c) into two incomplete halves.

ĀG. I. 20 11 : *agnim paṇsamukhya brahmacārī tūṣṇim samudham ādadhya* ; (a) 'tūṣṇim va prajāpatyam, (b) *prajāpatyo brahmacārī bhavati vijñāyate*.'

Trans · The Brahmacārī, after wiping the ground round the fire, should put on fuel *silently*, (because) it is known (from the Sūtra) ' (What is done) *silently*¹ belongs to Prajāpati, the Brahmacārī belongs to Prajāpati '

The argument here is that since the Brahmacārī belongs to Prajāpati and 'Silence' also belongs to Prajāpati, *therefore* the Brahmacārī should observe silence while putting on the fuel.

OLDENBERG's translation (p. 189) 'the student becomes belonging to Prajāpati' represents a different argument viz. since the Brahmacārī observes *silence* (and silence belongs to Prajāpati) therefore, by virtue of his observance of *silence* he becomes one belonging to Prajāpati. Thus, I think, is not correct as the quotation is brought in to show *why silence is observed*

Sources (a) 'Iti vijñāyate' generally introduces a quotation (or the gist of a quotation) from a Brāhmaṇa text but (a) is not traced anywhere. ŚB 7 3 2 2 praises silence in the words · 'anukṛtam va tad, yat tūṣṇim ; sarvaṁ vā anukṛtam' (what is done silently is undefined and Undefined is All)

For (b), may be compared ŚB 11 5 4 1 already quoted under I. 20. 8 above 'Prajāpatyam evainam kṛtvopanayate. (He initiates him after making him one belonging to Prajāpati).

ĀG I 21 1 *Mantrēna haike* (a) '*agnaye samudham ahaṇam*, (b) *brhate jātavedase* | (c) *tayā tvam agne vardhasva* (d) *saṁudha brahmanā vayam ; svāhetu* |

Trans · Some (however) do so (i.e. put fuel on the fire, the reference being to I 20 11 the immediately preceding sūtra) with the mantra 'To Agni have I brought fuel, to the mighty Jātavedas. Through that fuel do thou increase O Agni' and through (this) prayer (Brahman), (may) we (increase)

Sources (a) and (b) AV 19 64. 1st are the same as our first two pādas except for 'agne' instead of our 'agnaye' in the first pāda. All the sūtra-texts that have parallel passages (PG 114 3, HG 1 7 2, APMB 1 6. 32) read as in our text 'agnaye' which seems to be a deliberate modification of the AV 'agne' in order that the word might agree with 'Jātavedase' and Agni may not be distinguished from 'Jātavedas'. Kaus 57 26 employs the AV verse exactly as in our text

Pādas (c) and (d) There is a general resemblance to the words and sense of these two pādas in AV, 19 64 2 'Idhmena tvā jātavedah saṁudhā vardhayāmasi | tathā tvam asmān vardhaya prajāyā ca dhanena ca' || (With wood, O Jātavedas, with fuel, do we increase thee, so do thou increase us, with progeny and riches) The Pādas can also be compared to VS. II. 14^a

1 OLDENBERG's rendering of 'tūṣṇim' (an adverb), as 'silence' (a noun) is inexplicable to me !

“*Esā te agne samit, tayā vardhasva—vardhisimahi ca vayam*” etc. (where also the consecration of a *samidh* is the context) ‘This is fuel for you, O Agni, increase thou with it and may we also increase’

ĀG. I 21 2 and 3 *Samidham ādhāyāgnim upasṛīṣya mukham nimārṣti* ‘*tristejasā mā samanaṣmī*’ti || 2 || ‘*tejasā hyevātmānam samankṛti viñāyate*’ || 3 ||

Trans · (2) After putting the fuel (on the fire) and touching the fire (reverently), he wipes off his face three times (with the hand warmed up at the fire while it was touched) with the formula · I anoint myself with lustre, (3) (for), it is known (from the śruti) ‘With lustre indeed, does he anoint himself.’

Sources · The nearest approach in words and sense to our mantra is SB 11 5 4 5 —‘*Samidham ādhehūti samantivātmanam tejasā brahmavarcasenetyevanarī tadāha* | [When the teacher (while instructing the pupil in the vows of brahmacharya) says ‘put on fuel’, he (in effect) says ‘enkindle thyself with splendour, with holy lustre’]

ĀG I 21. 4 (a) *mayi medhām mayi prajāṃ mayyagnis tejo dhadhātu* |
mayi medhām mayi prajāṃ mayīndra indriyaṃ
dadhātu |

mayi medhām mayi prajāṃ mayi sūryo bhrājo dadhātu |

(b) *yatte agne tejas tenāham tejasvī bhūyāsam* |
yatte agne varcas tenāham varcasvī bhūyāsam |
yatte agne haras tenāham harasvī bhūyāsam |

ityupasthāya · · : . || 4 ||

Trans Having waited upon (i.e. done homage to) the fire with the mantra (a) ‘On me, intelligence, on me progeny, on me, may Agni confer lustre. On me,—(etc. as above),—on me may Indra confer power of the senses On me etc. (as above), may Sūrya confer brilliance (b) What thy lustre is, O Agni, may I, through that, be lustrous What thy radiance is, O Agni, may I through that, be radiant What thy power is, O Agni, may I through that, be powerful

Sources : (a) is found in TS 3 3.1 2 in an identical form, the context being the supplementary cups to Agni, Indra and Sūrya [the *three deities invoked in the three sentences of (a)*] in the Āgrayana sacrifice The three clauses of (a) are also found in TA 4 42 2 in a different context.

(b) The three clauses of (b) are found without variation in TS 3 5. 3 2 where they accompany the offering of the Manthin cup in the ‘Visnva-tikrama’—a supplement to the Soma sacrifice. Parts of (b) are also found (though with considerable variations) in AV II 19 2 and 5 (in a hymn to Agni directed against enemies) in the form (II. 19. 2=) ‘*Agne yatte haras tena tam prati-hara yo’smān dvesti* etc. } (5) ‘*Agne yat te tejas*’ etc. as above [Whatever your (driving) power, O Agni, with that drive him who hates us’ etc.]

AG. I. 21. 5: *Tasya vāsasā pāṇibhyam ca pāṇi saṅghya* "sāvitrīm anvāha paccho' rdharcaśah sarvām"

Trans . The Ācārya grasping the (student's) hands with the (student's) garment and his own hands, recites the sāvitrī, pāda by pāda, hemistich by hemistich (and finally) the whole verse

Sources . The part within inverted commas is not a mantra but is so closely allied to SB. 11 5 4 6 that it is quite clear that the sections in our text dealing with the Upanayana are modelled on these corresponding sections in SB. Our text like other Grhyasūtras in fact is a compilation rather than a composition, which draws not only its mantras from the RV and other earlier texts but also a number of its rules from earlier sources. SB 11 5 4. 6 reads 'Athāsmai sāvitrīm anvāha ||6|| tām vai paccho' nvāha | trayo vai Prānā . | athārdharcaśo, dvau vā imau prānau | atha kṛtsām |' where the same rule regarding the three modes of recitation of the sāvitrī verse is found interwoven with fanciful explanation in the familiar Brāhmana style

AG. I. 21. 7: *Hṛdayadeśe'syordhvāṅgulim paṇim upadadhati* . (a) "Mama vrata hṛdayam te dadhāmi, (b) mama cittam anu cittam te astu | (c) Mama vācam ekavrato jvasva (d) bṛhaspatiḥsvā myunaktu mahyam" *iti*.

Trans . The Ācārya places his hand with the fingers upwards on the region of his (i.e. the student's) heart with the mantra : (a) 'Into my vow (or service) I hold thy heart ; (b) after my mind, let thy mind be ; (c) my words thou shalt welcome single-minded (lit. single-vowed). (d) May Bṛhaspati ordain thee for me.

Context . This follows the teaching of the Sāvitrī verse.

Sources . The mantra¹ is traced to a Khila-hymn of the RV mentioned in the Brhad-devatā and given by SCHEFTELOWITZ¹ but not found in the editions of AUFRECHT or MULLER

BṛhD VIII 117^{bed} read :—

(b) param yattu 'mama vrata' | (c) tadāśīrvādabahuḥam (d) Stauti viśvān divaukasah ||

Prof MACDONELL's note to his translation of the verse (II O S vol 6 p 281) is as follows 'this (i.e. the Khila-sūkta beginning with the words 'Mama vrata') is the first of the two Khilas which, in the Kashmir collection, come between RV X 84 and 85. It consists of thirty-two stanzas chiefly in the Anuṣṭubh metre'. The Anukramanī accompanying the hymn quoted in the same note describes it as made up of marriage-formulas. This context of our mantra in the RV Khila as well as its occurrence in SMB, 1 2 15 among marriage-formulas are further evidence of a *parallelism between marriage and Upanayana* ceremonies in the intimate relationship newly established between husband and wife in the one case and between preceptor and pupil in the other. In SCHEFTELOWITZ, the first verse of the Khila hymn agrees almost entirely with our Mantra, the only variation being 'Ekavratā'

1 *Die Apokryphen des Rg-Veda* (Breslau. 1906) p 100.

for our 'Ekavrato' in Pāda c—a variation explained by the marriage context in the former place—"Ekavratā" being addressed to a bride, our 'Ekavrato' to the pupil.

ĀG. I. 22. 2 (a) Brahmācāryasi, (b) apo'sāna ; (c) Karma kuru ; (d) divā mā svāpsih ; (e) ācāryādhīno vedamadhīṣveti' |

Trans : With the words : (a) 'Thou art a Brahmācārī ; (b) sip (lit eat) water ; (c) do the service ; (d) do not sleep by day , (e) dependent on the teacher, study the Veda

Context . These are the vows inculcated on the pupil as part of his Brahmācārya by the teacher after having tied a girdle round him and given him a staff (I 22 1).

Sources : ŚB 11. 5. 4 (a section dealing with Initiation) has exactly these rules ! ŚB 11. 5. 4 5 reads :—' *Brahmācāryasītyāha* [parallel to our (a)]. A fanciful explanation of why this is said, then follows in the Brāhmaṇa manner and then comes 'apo'sāna' [identical with our (b)] 'Karma kuru' [identical with our (c)] and 'Mā suṣupthā' iti [do not sleep (during the day)—which is similar, if not identical with our (d)]. The rule in our clause (e) is found in different words in ŚB. 11. 3. 3. 6 = "Atha yad ācārya-vacasāṁ karoti | yad ācāryāya karma karoti."

ĀG I 22. 4-8 : *Sāyam prātar bhikṣeta* | 4 | *Sāyam prātah samidham ādadhyāt* | 5 | *Apratyākhyāyām agre bhikṣeta* | 6 | *Apratyākhyāyām vā* | 7 | "*Bhavam bhikṣām datāt*" iti | 8 |

Trans : 4 In the evening and in the morning let him beg (food) 5. In the evening and in the morning, let him put fuel-sticks (on the fire). 6 First, he should beg of a man who will not turn him away 7 Or of a woman who will not turn him away. 8. (Let him beg with the words), "Your honour may (please) give food"

Sources : For these rules regarding 'bhikṣa-carāṇa' or the daily begging of food by the student more as a spiritual discipline in 'plain living and high thinking' than as a material necessity may be compared ŚB. 11. 3. 3. 4 to 7 :—*Sa yadagnaye samidham āharati* | . . . | 4 | *Atha yad ātmānam dandīrīkṛtyeva ahīr bhūtva bhikṣate* . . . | 5 | . . . *yasyā eva bhūyīṣṭhām ślāgheta tāṁ bhikṣeta* . . . *sa yadyanyām bhikṣitavyām na vmdedapi svām eva ācāryajāyām* . . . | 7 |

The purport of the passage is : Let him beg unashamed imagining himself to be poverty-stricken as it were. He should beg food of a woman whom he holds in the highest esteem. If he finds none such, let him beg of the wife of his Ācārya and even of his own mother.

The passage reads like an extract from a Gṛhya text !

A NOTE ON TWO HOARDS OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS FOUND AT TAXILA

By

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Memoir no. 59 of the *Memoirs of The Archaeological Survey of India*, by Mr E. H. C WALSH, C.S.I., MA [Retd I.C.S.], [1939, pp iv + 164, with XLVIII Plates] deals with punch-marked coins found at Taxila. I approached this work with a view to seeing what systems of coinage-weights existed in ancient India, and of determining them by statistical analysis in case no such determination had been given in the memoir cited. In fact, I had made a certain amount of progress in the statistical work when it became evident that the report written by Mr WALSH contained an astounding number of oversights and mis-statements which might completely invalidate the work I had undertaken. I publish this criticism (by no means comprehensive) of the Archaeological Survey Memoir No 59 because others might take all its statements—backed as they are by official sanction and by Mr. WALSH's reputation as a numismatist—as consistent and authoritative.

The frontispiece reads "An Examination of a Hoard of 1171 Silver Punch-marked Coins of the Older Class, Long-Bar Coins and Minute Coins found in the Bhir-Mound at Taxila in 1924 and a Hoard of 167 Debased Silver Punch-marked Coins of the Later Class found in the Bhir-Mound at Taxila in 1912." The description is repeated on p i of the preface, but on p ii, the second and smaller hoard becomes 176. On the first page of the text proper, the first hoard is reduced to 1167, and the second continues as 176. Turning to the tables themselves, we find Appendix XI headed on every page [pp 100-153] as "List of 1,167 Coins." But on p 153, the final number actually tabulated is, after all, 1171. This is the same number that appears in the plates. App. XII, the list of the later coins, has a sub-heading "The Hoard of 176 Silver Punch-Marked Coins.", but the actual number tabulated as well as represented in the plates is 167.

This sovereign contempt for mere arithmetic characterises the entire work. We read on p 15: "Class C, 'Bull-Hill Area contains 101 coins", but the table on p 46 gives a total of 102 in that class. On p 32, we again find 167 coins in the later hoard, of which, omitting five of a separate coinage, weights of 162 are given for various ranges. But the coins so given add up to 163, and on my own tabulation from App XII, the 52-53 grain range contains one coin less, 53-54 two coins less, 54-55 two coins more than given by the memoir.

Either the proof-reading has been faulty, or there is an unexplained notation. P 141, the weight of coin 935 is entered in Clarendon type;

weights of 936, 944-5, 948, 956 are entered in *italics*. Serial number 1098 [p. 146] is itself entered in *italics*; weights of 1110, 1114 [p. 147] have just one of the three figures for the weights in Clarendon. Coin 1167, which seems a Double Obverse coin from the plates and is labelled as such in Table A [p. 39] is boldly labelled Double Reverse in App. XI, [p. 153]. Now for my purpose, the typography of the description of the coins is quite insignificant, if only the weights have been accurately found and entered. But I have grave doubts even about this. Coin 839 weighs 52.2 gr. in Table A [p. 37]. But it has lost a grain to become 51.2 gr. in App. XI, [p. 127]. The weights of most of the coins have been given to 1/10 gr. only, which is not at all objectionable, were it not for the fact that the weights of some have been given to 1/100 gr. Of the 33 Long-bar coins [p. 100], just one, i.e. no. 12, has a weight in the hundredths, it would seem unlikely that all the remaining 32 came out exactly to 1/10 gr. Of the 1059 coins tabulated on pp. 102-153 only 268 have weights given to 1/100 gr. Of these again, as many as 229 have the last figure 6; 32 have weights that end in 3, three have weights ending in 9, one each has a weight ending in 1, 5, 8, 2. No coin that has the hundredth grain given in the column of weights has the figure 4 or 7 there. I obtain these on a quick count, and a coin or two might have been miscounted, but the classification is substantially correct, and the overwhelming preponderance of the figure 6 in the last place inexplicable. One would like to know the system of weights used, the approximate errors of the experiment, and the methods used for checking. At least, this is the procedure demanded from the average science student in the laboratory, and there seems to be no reason why the Archaeological Survey should not adopt that standard.

There are some other discrepancies in the tables that add to the reasonable doubt that—I hope—has been cast upon the reliability of the memoir. I fail to see that Appendix VII, Table G [p. 90] is a table at all in any sense of the word, perhaps, a similar remark might be made, with less force, of Appendix VIII, Table H [p. 91]. App. X, Table J, coin 302 has not been mentioned at all [p. 99]. But it is shown on Plates X, XI, and Table J is supposed to contain only reference to Plates. In Table C [p. 47], we find two classes E, F, with the extraordinary statement, "There is no Class E. or F. The coins at first entered under those classes, were found to belong to other classes, under which they have been entered." To one who does not claim to be a numismatist, it would have seemed obvious, that these classes, having no existence, should have been omitted altogether, and the later classes re-lettered accordingly. Coin 320 [p. 108] is described as having a blank reverse, with 1 indistinct mark, which seems a contradiction in terms. Coin 1149 [p. 150] shows an extra, unmatched entry in the column headed "Number of Marks." The descriptions of reverse marks on coin 831 [p. 126] and 675 [p. 120] seem highly questionable to me. I should, however, again like to remind the reader that I am not a numismatist, and that this is just a cursory examination.

Apart from the fact that one does not expect such discrepancies in a work so sumptuously printed, priced at Rs 24-10 [or 38 s.], it is curious that the amount of time spent on the work should not have sufficed for a thorough checking. The preface, dated 10th February 1938 says [p. 1] that the work was begun in 1928.

I have a few remarks to offer about the theoretical conclusions of the paper. We find [p. 32] about the later coins :

"The coins are an alloy of silver and copper. The metallic composition of two of the coins, taken as example have been determined by the Archaeological Chemist in India, who 'is of the opinion that they are composed of an alloy of silver and copper and contain 40.3 and 75.3 per cent of silver and copper respectively. It is obvious that their composition is very irregular'. It may be due to this fact that the weights of some of these coins vary so much from the usual weight of the Punch-Marked coins". It is difficult to understand how the extreme variability of 162 coins was determined by assaying just two of them, in addition, the quotation about percentages of silver and copper is very difficult to interpret, showing that whatever the composition of the coins, the English composition of the source of the quotation has been even more irregular.

On p. 16, Mr WALSH comes to the conclusion that inasmuch as the heaviest seeds of the *Abrus precatorius* [*rati* or *guñjā*] average 1.86 grains the *kārsāpāna* [he calls it *karshāpāna* p. 15] of 32 *raktikā*'s would have been much heavier than the coins actually found. This statement has an air of verisimilitude, as the weights of coins 113-1171 average about 52.4 grains on my calculation. But the average of the *guñjā* seeds of 1.86 grains comes from CUNNINGHAM'S experimental determination, checked by the current Indian goldsmiths' *guñjā*'s, as well as by picking out the largest seeds of the sample obtained by our author [p. 16]. But we find on the same page that the author obtained an average weight of 1.68 gr for the *rati* "after excluding all small seeds". On the basis of his own experiments, he would have obtained the weight of the coin of 32 *rati*'s as 53.76 grains, and had the small seeds not been excluded, it is a safe guess that 32 times that average *rati* would have tallied very closely with the average weight of the Taxila coins, allowing for loss of weight by circulation; in fact, even now, the two are quite close. Nevertheless, we find at the end of the third paragraph on p. 16 "It is, therefore, clear, that at the present time only the largest seeds are used as weights, and CUNNINGHAM'S 'full weight' is correct, and, on present practice the theoretical and actual weights of these coins cannot be reconciled". The statement is quite true, but hardly to the point. It is well-known [cf Report of the Weights and Measures Committee 1913-14, Simla, 1914] that at present, the weight most commonly used for the *tolā* is the current British-Indian rupee of 180 grains. But inasmuch as the *tolā* is to be 96 *guñjā* in weight, the largest seeds would have to be used by a goldsmith or jeweller to give anything like a 180 [or 183.75] grain *tolā*.

I take it that the weight of the *Abrus precatorius* seeds, as well as the weight of any group of coins struck at any one place under the same system, would tend to vary according to the normal „[Gaussian] law, about a given mean value. The average is the only quantity we ever find in general reports, but what is of the utmost importance is the variance, though no numismatist seems to have heard of the term. It was my intention to test the variance of the *Abrus precatorius* seeds by experiment, calculate the variances for the groups of coins given in this and other memoirs and to see whether any evidence exists for non-homogeneity. This can be done by modern methods developed by statisticians, particularly R. A. FISHER, in connection with the theory of small samples. The *t* test and the *z* test would be immediately applicable, and I hope to publish, in another paper, my results on the system of weights used in our ancient coinage. Inasmuch as the work would be highly technical, I publish as a separate note this criticism of one of my main sources. The errors pointed out here need not affect the statistical work provided the weights as entered are substantially correct. But the classification is sure to cause difficulties, if I have to rely on the authority of such numismatists for the actual classes, without any confidence in their data.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, celebrated its 23rd Foundation day on *6th July 1940*. On this occasion Dewan Bahadur K M JHAVERI M A , LL B ex-Judge, High Court of Judicature, Bombay, presided and addressed the gathering, consisting of distinguished scholars from Poona, on "*The Ethic Discourses of Bhīṣma*". The chief item in the programme of this function was the announcement by the Institute of its publication of the *Udyogaparvan* of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* and its presentation to Shrimant Balasaheb PANI Pratinidhi, B.A., the Raja of Aundh and the patron of the Mahābhārata project, work on which is being carried on by the B O R Institute since 1919. Before the volume of the *Udyogaparvan* was presented to the Rajasaheb, Dr V S SUKTHANKAR, M A , Ph D the General Editor of the Mahābhārata Edition acquainted the audience with the progress of the Edition in a brief but lucid statement which dealt with such points as (1) the special features of the Edition, (2) the history of the project, (3) the methods followed in the preparation of the several volumes, (4) appreciation of the work by competent scholars and learned bodies of status and standing like the British Academy, London and others and (5) the stimulus given by the Edition to the study of Epic linguistics by scholars like by Dr Jose CANEDO, a Spanish professor and by some students at the Dacca University and by professors and students of the Linguistics Department of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. Towards the conclusion of his statement Dr SUKTHANKAR briefly outlined the financial side of the whole project with special reference to the present difficulties but expressed the hope that when the war clouds have passed away better days will dawn for this monumental work of international cultural value. The appeal made by Dr SUKTHANKAR for more financial help to complete this gigantic project had a good augury in view of the announcement made on this occasion by Dr R N DANDEKAR, M A , Ph D the secretary of the Institute to the effect that the Trustees of Sir Dorabji Tata Charities have sanctioned a grant of Rs 5,000 for the Mahābhārata and that the chief Saheb of Ichalkaranji and the Rajasaheb of PHALTAN have been pleased to continue their patronage to the work. We feel confident that the Indian public, the Government of India, the Provincial Governments and the Rulers of Indian States will readily come forward to render liberal help to this important undertaking and thus save it from a financial crisis consequent upon the present international situation.

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND RESEARCH WORK*

By

P C DIVANJI, Bombay

VIII *Immediate Objective Requiring Concentration*

14 A word of caution is also necessary against pitching our aim too high at once. Our starting-point at present is the commencement of the 7th century B.C., when a few years before the births of Buddha and Mahāvīra the adventurer Śiśunāga coming from Kāśī founded a small kingdom at Girivraja in Magadha, which in the times of his successors Bimbisara and Ajātaśatru grew into an empire. The materials for a progress upwards from that stage, which are easily available and afford ample scope for the application of the above comparative method, are those relating to the *Age of the Mahābhārata War* and some years before it. Our immediate objective must, therefore, be to trace the history of Magadha as far back as we can. We can do that easily because the *Mahābhārata* has recorded that 13 to 15 years prior to the Kuru-Pāṇḍu war Yudhiṣṭhira had commenced to perform a Rājāsūya sacrifice, that he desired that all the known contemporary ruling sovereigns should come to his capital Indraprastha and take part in it, that whereas all the others could be persuaded to do that, Jarāsandha of Girivraja, who had commenced to perform a Rudra Yajña, in which he intended to sacrifice 100 crowned human heads and had towards that end already kept in confinement 86 sovereigns, could not be persuaded by the Pāṇḍavas to give up that intention, that Yudhiṣṭhira, therefore sent a message to Śrī Kṛṣṇa at Dwārakā in Saurāṣṭra, where he had settled down with other Yādava families to come to his succour, that the latter thereupon went to Indraprastha, held a consultation with those whose counsel he valued and went to Girivraja with Bhīma and Arjuna in the garb of a mendicant to beg for a duel with Jarāsandha, that a duel took place near that city between Bhīma and that sovereign and the latter was ultimately killed, that thereafter his son Sahadeva surrendered himself to Kṛṣṇa and agreed to take part in that sacrifice and that thereupon Kṛṣṇa took him under his protection and installed him on his father's throne²¹. The Jaina account agrees with this in the main particulars²². The *Mahābhārata* further records

* Continued from p 143 of Vol III

21 *Mahābhārata*, II 17 to 24

22 The Jaina Purāṇas in which both Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha figure as Ardha-cakravartins and as therefore 2 of 63 Śalākāpuruṣas give a different version of the way in which Jarāsandha had met his death. According to them a pitched battle had taken place between his force and those of the Yādavas and the Vidyādhara (mountain chiefs) on a plain in Saurāṣṭra near the village Sinapalli where later on a new city named Anandapura was founded and Kṛṣṇa himself had killed Jarāsandha with the latter's own Cakra. The two sources, however, agree so far that Jarāsandha

that this Sahadeva had joined the Pāṇdavas in fighting against the Kurus on the field of Kuruksetra. Our first step towards the desired goal should, therefore, be to fill up the gaps between the two *teminī*, one the age in which Girivraja was the capital of Jarāsandha and Sahadeva and the other in which Śiśunāga settled and founded a small kingdom there. The works of PAR-GITER and PRADHAN above referred to would be very helpful in doing so, though for filling up the details of the events between those dates patient work has to be undertaken.

IX. *Necessity of Active Co-operation between the Oriental Scholars and the Archæologists*

15 This can be done satisfactorily if the workers in the literary and archæological fields put their heads together and draw out a scheme of mutual co-operation towards the end in view²³ There are enough materials in the orthodox Itihāsas and Purāṇas and even in the Brāhmanas and in the Jain and Buddhist story—literature from which the necessary facts for bridging the gulf between the two outposts can be gathered and they can therefore be chronologically arranged R. B. DIKSHIT, the present Director-General of Archaeology in India had, while lecturing at the annual meeting of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in August 1939, already suggested a more extensive and intensive study of the Paurāṇic literature In order that the results of this kind of study on the part of individual scholars may not be the subject of controversy but may become co-ordinated with a view to yield results acceptable to the majority of scholars and the educational authorities here and abroad, I venture to suggest that the Oriental Conference should appoint a Committee of both research scholars and archæologists, select scholars for such study, allot them definite works for study and after they have

was a contemporary and an inveterate foe of Kṛṣṇa, that the enmity between them was due to Kṛṣṇa having killed Kamsa, son-in-law of Jarāsandha, that the latter had attacked Mathurā 17 times without success but that when he attacked it for the 18th time with the help of Kālayavana and his non-Āryan followers Kṛṣṇa and the other Yādavas consisting of 18 families had migrated to Saurāṣṭra and settled there, that on the expiry of some years after they had done so, the enmity was again revived, that Jarāsandha was killed and his son Sahadeva was placed by Kṛṣṇa on the throne of Magadha but his powers were considerably curtailed (*Trisasthisalākāpuruṣacarita*, by Hemacandra, VIII, 8, Bhavnagar edition, p 126, *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* by Jinasenācārya, Calcutta edition, p 537)

23 I happened to read in the "*Times of India*" of October 9th, that the Allahabad Session of the Indian Historical Congress had already taken a step in that direction and that its session at Calcutta was likely to consider a scheme submitted by Dr S K AYANGAR of Madras and to appoint an editorial board for the re-construction and publication of a History of India on scientific lines That is gratifying news indeed But I am of opinion that the work of the historians as such will begin after useful results have been arrived at by the co-operation of the archæologists and the research scholars The above attempt must therefore be held to be premature The said Congress can get an authoritative history written from the existing materials only but that would not mean any progress

collected valuable historical facts, discuss them and fix upon those which in their view should find a place in the history of our country. These works would also supply definite information for the selection of ancient sites suitable for excavation by the archæologists. If excavations are made at depths more than at least 25 feet below the surface of the adjoining grounds, I feel sure that sufficient evidence tending to confirm most of the facts gathered from the literary records would be forthcoming. The formation of field clubs suggested by R. B. DIKSHIT is no doubt necessary as the Government of India cannot be expected to allot from year to year such large grants as would be required to carry out the necessary programme. But I fear that the efforts to be made by such clubs would not be productive of satisfactory results unless they are backed up by the Archæological Departments of the Government of India and the Indian States in whose territories the sites may have been situated and unless they are made under the guidance of the Director-General of Archæological Survey of the Government of India.

X. *Suggestions for their Lines of Action.*

16 It is not necessary however for either the scholars or the archæologists to wait till concerted action has been decided upon and planned by an authoritative body. The Purāṇas, distinctly so named, have as yet been explored by scholars like PARGITER only with a view to make out the dynasties of kings. No attempt has yet been made to ascertain the principal events in the reigns of any particular line of kings of a particular dynasty and to arrange them chronologically. Nor has any been made systematically to study the different stages in the cultural history of India. This inactivity is due not to the total absence of any evidence of historical value concerning such events and stages but to the dreaded difficulty of separating the secular from the religious elements in the sources of our information. The *Mahābhārata* is again a mine of information as to the political, economic, social and religious conditions of India in the age in which the principal characters of the epic lived and in a few years before and after it. Those who like ALLEN, HAIG and DODWELL see in it nothing of value for a political history must be held to be ignorant of its contents or not to possess that open mind which is required for the evaluation of a past record. There is also evidence in that work of the conditions of things in the age in which the work was expanded and transformed into a fifth Veda, a treatise on Dharma for the benefit of the masses who had no access to the old Vedic literature. It may be that between that event and the recitation of the work by Saunī before Śunaka and others some accretions may have been made therein. We might also concede that even after the work received its present form i.e. its division into 18 Parvas with the Harivamśa as a Khila Parva, which could not have been later than the 4th century A.D.²⁴ some interpolations had been made therein. Still

²⁴ *History of Indian Literature* by WINTERNITZ, Vol. I, (Cal. Edition), pp. 321, 462-67.

I believe that with some patient effort it is possible to gather sufficient materials for the purpose of history of the *Age of Kṛṣṇa*. For doing that we need not and cannot afford to wait till the Bhandarkar Research Institute has critically edited all its *Parvas* as suggested by Dr. WINTERNITZ. Moreover we can check the information so collected by references to other works speaking of the personages and events of the same period such as the *Brāhmanas*, *Sūtras*, &c. The Jain *Purāṇas* too might prove to be of considerable assistance in this attempt because many of their Tirthankaras, Cakravartins, Aṭṭhacakravartins, Pratyardhacakravartins and Baladevas were men whom the orthodox sects also held in reverence and who were contemporaneous with the principal characters in the *Mahābhārata*. It would therefore be a right application of energy for the research scholars to study those *Purāṇas* from a historian's point of view and gather materials for comparison with those found in the orthodox Paurāṇic works in which I include the *Mahābhārata*. Such spade-work done by individual scholars would much facilitate the work of the authoritative committee above suggested. The archæologist too need not wait till such a committee is set up. From the investigations made by the previous generations of scholars and archæologists they can very easily select several sites for making similar spade-work by digging trial-pits at the necessary depths. Such for instance are those of *Rājagṛha*,²⁵ where an old fort-wall has already been partly opened out, *Jarāsandha's akhādā*, where a duel between him and Bhīma is believed to have taken place, *Taxila*²⁶ which was a flourishing city at the time of Alexander's invasion and which had a big university where even men like Pāṇini and Cāṇākya are believed to have been educated, *Mathurā of the Yādava period*, which must be very near the northern bank of Yamunā on the road from modern Mathurā to Gokul, *Old Gokul* on the opposite bank of the said river, *old Vṛndāvan* which must be very near the old ghats and temples to the south or to the west where there are several mounds and growths of wild plants, *Sauryaṇpur*, which according to the Jain traditions was within a short distance of Mathurā and was the capital of Samudravijaya, uncle of Kṛṣṇa and father of Aristanemi, the 22nd Tirthankara and a feudatory of Jarāsandha, *Prāgyotiṣa*, most probably in Assam²⁷ where Bhauma or Narakāsura, whom Kṛṣṇa is believed to have killed some years before the Mahābhārata war and after whom Bhagadatta, a powerful warrior who had fought in that war on the side of the Kurus, had been ruling, *Somtapur* in the Gadhwal district, where Bānāsura, father of Uṣā, whom Anuruddha had secretly married and whose superfluous hands (i.e. I believe, powers in excess of those of a feudatory) were curtailed by Kṛṣṇa after

25. It is gratifying to note that the site of *Mamgar Math* has been excavated at Rājgṛ (Poona *Orientalist*, IV, 1 & 2, p. 91), but what I suggest is the digging of pits below the Buddhistic level.

26. This site though excavated extensively has not been excavated at sufficient depths to yield results useful for a re-construction of the history of the pre-Buddhistic age.

27. Vide, "The Kalitas of Assam" by B. KAKATI, in *NIA* II, 5 (Aug. 1939), pp. 332-39.

defeating him in a pitched battle, *Dwārāvati*²⁸ the pleasure-resort (Vihāra-bhūmi) of King Revata, who subsequently became the father-in-law of Balarāma, elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, a place in the littoral along the sea-coast at a short distance from Mount Raivataka (modern Gīrnar) where Kṛṣṇa with 18 Yādava families had, according to the *Harivamśa* encamped before Dwārakā was built on an island, *Kundmapur*, the capital of Bhīsmaka, father of Rukmīṇī, the pet queen of Kṛṣṇa, that of *Bhojakata* in the Berars which Rukmī had built after he was defeated and dishonoured by Kṛṣṇa when he was pursued while eloping with his sister Rukmīṇī,²⁹ the capital of the *Cedi* province where Śiśupāla, an ally of Jarā-sandha, who was killed by Kṛṣṇa at the Rājasūya sacrifice of the Pāṇḍavas, *Karavīrapur* in the Southern Mahārāstra country where Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva had, according to the *Harivamśa*, an encounter with Śṛgāla Vāsudeva and *Krauñcapur*, which must be at a short distance from the last town and somewhere near Bādami in the Bijapur district. If trial-pits at the necessary depths, determined in each case according to scientific calculations are made, I feel confident that relics leading to a definite conclusion as to a particular outstanding event of the *Age of Kṛṣṇa* will be found at some of those places. And once that *terminus ad quem* is fixed it would not be difficult to fill up the gap between it and the *terminus a quo*, the probable date of the foundation of the Śaśunāga dynasty in Magadha, for the *Mahābhārata* itself, some of the old Purāṇas such as the *Bhaviṣya*, *Matsya* and *Vāyu* and the Jain Purāṇas contain ample materials for that purpose. It is true that in the matter of chronology we cannot rely much on the Purāṇas but the *Mahābhārata* is quite free from the fault of making such hyperbolical statements with regard thereto as the Purāṇas.³⁰ After these details are collected it will be the task of the proposed committee of the Oriental Conference to examine them critically and sanction such of them as satisfy an agreed test for incorporation in the political history of the period between the above two termini. It would be then only that the necessity to revise the whole history of our country would arise. The cry for doing so raised on the discovery of the Mohenjodaro relics was premature.

28. *Harivamśa Parva*, 1 56

29. *Op cit*, I 60

30. For instance it is not open to suspicion that 12 years had elapsed during the peregrinations of the Pāṇḍavas after the second dice-game at Hastināpur, that one year had elapsed between the termination of that period and that of the reclamation of the herds of cows of Virāṭnagar by Arjuna on defeating the Kauravas, that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had lived with the Pāṇḍavas peacefully for 15 years after the war and the performance of the obsequial ceremonies of the dead relatives (*Mbh* XV I 6), that the cataclysm at Dwārakā and the fratricidal conflict at Prabhāsa between the young Yādavas and the death of Kṛṣṇa had taken place after the lapse of 36 years from the date of accession by Yudhiṣṭhira on the throne of Hastināpur (*Mbh* XVI 2 20-21). Even some of the Purāṇas are likely to furnish some reliable clues such as that according to the *Bhāgawata* XI. 25 Kṛṣṇa was 125 years old at the time of the fratricidal conflict,

XI. *Their Effect on the History of Indian Culture.*

17 This kind of re-construction work, if assiduously carried out, can also be hoped to provide a satisfactory solution of the riddle of the Indus and Gangetic Valley civilizations for various reasons. Thus some of the relics found at Mohenjo-dāro point to the buried cities there having been inhabited by a non-Āryan race most probably of the Dravidian stock whose principal tribal deity was Rudra. During the Mahābhārata period, Jayadratha, a Kṣatriya son-in-law of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, was ruling over some portion of Sindh.³¹ One of the notable feats of Kṛṣṇa for which he was identified with Viṣṇu was the freeing of Bhāratavarṣa from the pest of several impious and tyrannical kings like Kamsa, Jarāsandha, Śiśupāla, Bhauma, Bānāsura, Kālayavana, Śālva and Śṛgāla-Vāsudeva, some of whom were Kṣatriyas and others non-Aryans and most of whom were the worshippers of Rudra. This does not however mean that there was no social intercourse between the Āryans and the Anāryans. On the contrary there are numerous instances of inter-marriages between them, in each of which the male was an Āryan and the female Anāryan. Thus Arjuna, Bhīma and Kṛṣṇa himself had married the daughters of several Anāryan chiefs, called Nāgas, Rākṣasas, &c. Some of the well-known sages like Dvāpāyana owed their birth to a sexual intercourse between Brahmans and low-caste girls, Śantanu, grand-father of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas had married the very girl Satyawatī or Matsyagandhā, who had given birth to Dvāpāyana during her maidenhood. The Drona Parva of the *Mbh* contains a very detailed account of a fierce battle that had taken place after mid-night between the Rākṣasas headed by Ghatotkaca, son of Bhīma and Hoderibā, and Alambūṣa and Alāyudha, other Rākṣasas, who had come to assist the Kauravas with contingents of several Anāryan tribes such as the Kāmbojas, Kirātas, Daradas, Barbaras, Yavanas, Śabaras, Bhīlas and others. This account also makes it crystal clear that whereas Āryan warriors depended upon weapons made of iron, and bows and arrows, the use whereof presupposed a knowledge of some science, some of the Anāryan warriors fought with stone-weapons (Śilāyuddha) while others made use of their knowledge of some sciences stigmatised by the Āryans as Rākṣasī and Āsurī Māyās, which enabled them to rise up in the air, become invisible and fight unseen by the adversary, to put the latter on a wrong track and weakening the morale of his army by spreading false rumours and creating false evidence in support of them &c.³² The Āryans had their own code of honour to be observed even in war-times just as the European nations now have their international law relating to war-times. Thus for instance, we find it discussed in the *Mahābhārata* at several places whether a particular act of the one party or other was or was not in accordance

31 It has been discovered that the descendants of this Jayadratha had migrated to Kāthiawād at the time of the invasion of Sindh by Mahomed Kasim and were ruling over parts of it in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries (*Rājasthana* for July 1939, pp 2-9)

32 *Mbh* VII 108 to 192

with Dharma, which both being Āryans were bound to observe. The Rākṣasas and Asuras did not feel themselves bound by any such code and "everything is fair in love and war" was their motto. All this goes to establish that the Āryans, who had made considerable progress on the spiritual side of life and the Anāryans, who had made such on its material side, had been living side by side in the age in which Śrī Kṛṣṇa, his relatives like Vasudeva, Balarāma, Aristanemi, Akrūra, and Ugrasena, and adversaries like Jarāsandha of Magadha, Śiśupāla of Cedi, Kamsa of Śūrasena and Bhauma of Prāgjyotiṣa and the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇdu and others lived and had been mixing socially with each other and influencing each other's thoughts and actions to a considerable extent.

18 It further seems to me highly probable that if we get a success in solving the above tangle we shall also be able to ascertain the exact relations between the Vedic and the Bhāgawata or Pāñcalātra religions, the Vedic and the Pāśupata religions, the Vedic and the Śākta religions, the Vedic and the Buddhist and Jaina religions and also those between the non-Vedic religions *inter se* because all those religions whether orthodox or heterodox, have some beliefs and mythologies in common and some of them e.g. the Bhāgavatas and the Jains share some common traditions also³³

XII *The Line of Further Progress and Appeal to the Research Scholars.*

19 The above are only the immediate results of the proposed line of research. It has its remote results as well. Once we are on stable ground as to the history of about a century before the Mahābhārata war we can make further progress also along this purely Indian line because our literatures also have the potentiality of affording clues to the re-construction of our history, in the age next prior to the above namely, the age in which Rāmacandra, son of Daśaratha was the predominant personality and the most notable event wherein was a war between Rāmacandra and Laxmana sons of Daśaratha on the one hand and Rāvana and Kumbhakarna, grandsons of the sage Pulastya on the other at Lankā, a city on an island in the midst of the southern ocean whose northern shore appears to have been situated far to the north of Dhanuṣkōṭi and Kanyā Kumārī. The sons of Daśaratha were assisted in their invasion of Lankā by the chiefs of Anāryan tribes, which though described as Vānaras (apes) and Rksas (bears) and though living in subterranean or mountain caves and fighting with stones and trees had some sort of social and political organizations of their own, which by the time of Kṛṣṇa had become almost extinct. The grandsons of Pulastya had also their own army of mighty warriors who were experts in the science of archery and had amassed immense wealth collected from all the quarters and particularly from the region north of the Himālayas. Since however they were epicureans in their outlook on life and as such knew no Dharma and were cannibalistic in habit they were stigmatised as Rākṣasas. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, the

33 WINTERNITZ, *HIL*, I pp. 320, 407 et III, seq pp 113-14, 484 et seq.

Rāmopākhyāna in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Pañmacarīya* of Vimala Suri and some of the Buddhist tales now obtainable only in Chinese and Tibetan translations,³⁴ can serve as the sources from which the history of this age can be re-constructed. Vālmiki's *Rāmāyana* also contains in the subsequently added 1st and 7th Kāṇḍas a description of the dynasties of the kings of the Solar race prior to Daśaratha and some important events in the lives of some of them and references to the foundation of several cities, whose sites can, after some research, be located with some amount of certainty. If excavations are made at those sites at appropriate depths, archæology can be helpful to purely literary research with regard to this period also.

20 The *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* contain evidence of an age earlier even than that of *Rāmacandra*, in which the predominant personality was Paraśurāma, son of Jamadagni and the most outstanding event wherein was a long-continued bitter struggle for supremacy between the Brahmans headed by him and the Kṣatriyas headed by Sahasrārjuna of Māhiṣmati. The Purāṇas too, if critically examined, might be helpful in ascertaining the dates of some of the important events of that age.

21 The age of the Vedic Rṣis was still earlier than that. The most outstanding event in that age was the struggle for supremacy between the Brahmans headed by Vasiṣṭha and the Kṣatriyas headed by Viśvāmitra, which is described in details in both the said Epics. Although in this respect this age resembles the previous one it differs from it also in that Vasiṣṭha did not fight with weapons but with his spiritual powers and Viśvāmitra was the Rṣi to whom is ascribed the origin of the first-known work on Dhanurveda.³⁵ We read also of his having taken the assistance of several Anāryan tribes while trying to suppress the power of Vasiṣṭha.

22 The history of the human races in India having two different kinds of ideals of life and therefore two different kinds of civilization, one spiritual, and the other material, struggling for supremacy over each other, thus seems to go back to very remote times. The early beginning of that struggle is found recorded in the Indra-Virocana story in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣat*³⁶ wherein Indra is the king of the gods and Virocana that of the demons and according to which whereas the latter was satisfied with the knowledge that the self was identical with the physical body and spread the materialistic doctrine amongst his followers that happiness in this world and the next could be attained by adoring that body with clothes, ornaments, food, etc., which was very similar to that of the ancient Egyptians, Indra persisted in his inquiry assiduously and learnt the doctrine, that the real self was neither identical with the body nor with the mind, was not affected by pleasures and pains and was not subject to changes of states but was identical with the one immutable essence which pervaded the whole universe and became re-joined to it and merged in it.

34 *Op cit* I. 513

35 Vide Madhusūdana's remarks on 'Dhanurveda' in the *Prasthānabheda*.

36 *Chā Upa.* VIII. 1 *et seq.*

when divested of the body.³⁷ If thus the Indian records are approached and studied in the right spirit they will lead to the solution of many other riddles which the European anthropologists have been striving to solve without their assistance. Their potentiality lies deeper still and extends to the solution of even the riddle of the evolution of the universe in different cycles, *i e to say*, the gradual formation of the planets, the constellations, the signs of the zodiac, etc. In fact they would acquaint man with everything which he wants to know and strives to know.

23 That is, however, a far far distant cry. It would not be a small achievement even if the history of the Indian races, their civilizations and their action and re-action on each other are investigated and placed on a stable footing. The first step towards that objective, as I have said, is to trace the history of India upto the *Age of Kṛṣṇa*, for doing which there are, as stated above, very ample materials on the surface of this land and very probably below it also. If it is to be taken seriously, we can no longer afford to wait till some western institution leads the way to it. It is high time we learnt to stand on our own legs and go our own way. It cannot be denied that there is the danger of our faltering and even losing our way at times. That danger should *not, however, deter us from taking courage in both hands and making a beginning*. It is well-known that those only succeed in all walks of life who are enterprising, self-reliant, frank-hearted enough to acknowledge mistakes, sincere enough to correct them whenever pointed out by others and resolute enough to overcome all the difficulties as they arise during the pursuit of their high ideals and to rest only after the settled objective is reached. This land which has produced a poet like Dr. Rabindranath TAGORE, a plant-physiologist like the late Sir J. C. BOSE, Chemists like Dr. P. C. RAY and Sir C. V. RAMAN, a philosopher like Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN and a historian of the Moghul and Maratha periods like Sir Jadunath SARKAR, is not wanting in research scholars with the above qualifications. Already some individual scholars have put forth their best efforts in the field of ancient history. But in that subject there is too much room for differences of opinion. What is, therefore, wanted is a joint action commenced under the auspices of an authoritative body like the All-India Oriental Conference in collaboration with the authorities of the archaeological department of the Government of India. R. B. DIKSHIT, who at present leads them, is not only highly sympathetic towards the movement for a substantial progress in the ancient Indian history of our country and has not only been doing all that he can do from his high position to push on that movement but has also as above-stated taken several opportunities to throw out suggestions for the line of future work on the part of societies of research scholars and archaeological investigators, which in his view is likely to lead to the attainment of the desired goal. The Indian Historical Congress too has been taking steps towards the same end. But historians as such are in the position of judges whose proper function is to weigh the evidence placed before them and

37 *Op cit* VIII 12-14,

pass a judgment as to whether that evidence does or does not satisfy a recognized test. Those whose views cannot be ignored have already weighed the evidence till now collected and passed their judgment which points out several lacuna in the evidence. It therefore now behoves the advocates first to bestir themselves to search for materials which would enable them to fill in those lacuna and if any satisfactory ones are found out to apply for a review of that judgment on the ground of the discovery of new and important matter or evidence. Out of the advocates the archæologists have already been doing their bit. Will the group of research scholars, organised as the All-India Oriental Conference realize their responsibility in the matter, settle their differences, take concerted action for doing their part and place before the judges such fresh evidence as they would consider satisfactory for justifying them in reviewing their previous judgment and passing a re-considered one allowing their claim on behalf of the Indian civilization? Let us hope and pray that they will³⁸

38 The Council of the Oriental Conference at its meeting held at the same place after the sectional meeting was over, passed, at the instance of the President of the Archæology section, a resolution drawing the attention of the Executive Committee to the scheme set forth in this paper and recommending the consideration thereof with a view to determine whether it was possible to give effect to the said or any other modified scheme for the attainment of the object the writer of the paper had in view and if so, what steps should be taken towards that end. It also brought to the notice of the said Committee that Mr DIVANJI had offered to subscribe Rs. 1,000 to any fund that may be started in order to meet the expenses that may be incurred in taking such steps.

NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA : THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION*

By

V. M. APTE, Poona.

ĀG. I. 22 21, *Aninditāyām diśyekamūlam palāśam kuśastambhaṁ vā palāśāpacāre pradakṣiṇam udakumbhena triḥ pariṣṭācantam vācayati*. (a) *Suśravah suśravā asi*, (b) *Yathā tvam suśravah suśravā asyevam mām suśravah sauśravasam kuru*, (c) *Yathā tvam devānām yaṇāsya nidhipo'sy*, (d) *evamaham manusyāṇām vedasya nidhipo bhūyāsam' iti* |

Trans : While the student is sprinkling¹ a Palāśa tree with a single root (or a Kuśa bunch in the absence of a Palāśa) in an unobjectionable direction (i.e. neither south nor south-east nor south-west) from the left to the right, with a water-pot, the ācārya makes him repeat the following mantra : (a) Suśravas (good listener)² thou art famous (a play on the word 'suśravas' meaning 'hearing well' as well as 'well heard of' is intended). (b) As thou, O Suśravas, art famous, so do thou, O Suśravas, make me endowed with fame (c) As thou art the guardian of the treasures of sacrifices for the gods, (d) so may I become the guardian of Vedic learning for men.

Context : This is the medhājanana ceremony (for the production of 'Intelligence') which is performed for the student when he has completed his vows.

Sources. The mantra is an address to the Palāśa tree and though it cannot be traced as a whole, the story alluded to in it (which explains the epithet 'Suśravas' as applied to the Palāśa) is found in TS. 3. 5. 7. 2—*'Devā vai brahmann avadanta | tat parṇa upāśrṇot | suśravā vai nāma, yasya parṇamayī juhur bhavati, na sa pāpaṁ ślokaṁ śrṇoti |* [The gods discussed regarding holy power (brahman) and the Parṇa (a name of the Palāśa tree) overheard it; he whose ladle is made of Parṇa (wood) is called Suśravas (famous); he hears no scandal] TBR 1. 2. 1. 6 is even more explicit—*"Brahmavādāṁ vadatām yad upāśrṇoh suśravā vai śruto'si, [Since thou didst overhear the (gods) discussing Brahma, thou art known as Suśravas] tato māmāviśatu brahma-varcasam"* (May holy lustre therefore enter into me) This last clause is very suggestive of our Medhājanana rite.

* Continued from p 155 of Vol III.

1. Prof. OLDENBERG's translation suggests (p. 192) that water is being sprinkled round the tree It is, however the tree that is being sprinkled.

2. This address to the Palāśa tree implies an allusion to the story of the part played by the Palāśa tree in over-hearing the conversation of the gods, mentioned in the next paragraph The epithet 'Suśravas' which I have translated above in the light of this allusion, is translated by OLDENBERG as "O glorious one."

Among Sūtra texts only ĀPMB 2. 5. 1 has all the clauses (a) to (d) with unimportant variations MG. 1. 22. 17 has (a) and (b) without variations ; PG 2. 4. 2 has the same two with some variations.

ĀG. I. 23. 5 ‘*Sadasyam sapṭadaśam kauṣītakinah samāmananti, sa karmanām upadraṣṭā bhavātī*’

Trans · The Kauṣītakins prescribe the ‘sadasya’ as the seventeenth so that he may play the part of the overseer of (all) rites.

Context · This view is mentioned in connection with the rule that either the four chief priests or all the sixteen (who officiate at Ahīna and Ekāha sacrifices) may be chosen to officiate at a sacrifice.

Sources · Our sūtra occurs word for word in ĀPŚ. X I 10. 10-11 and this whole Kaṇḍikā (I 23) has been modelled on ĀPŚ. X 1. 10 where are found many of its sūtras and quotations Our text correctly represents this view as the *peculiar* view of the Kauṣītakins, because ŚB X 4. 1. 19 denounces the employment of the ‘Sadasya’ priest whereas KB 177 and 264 and 5 mention along with other priests the ‘Sadasya’ priest, whose duty it was to supervise the whole offering and call attention to any lapse, never leaving his post (the ‘Sadas’ enclosure)—which explains ‘Sa karmanām upadraṣṭā bhavātī’ in our Sūtra

ĀG. I 23 8-14 *Agnir me hotā, sa me hotā, hotāraṇi tvāmum vṛṇa iti, hotāram* | 8 | *Candramā me brahmā, sa me brahmā, brahmānam tvāmum vṛṇa iti brahmānam* | 9 | *Ādityo me’dhvaryu ityadhvaryum* | 10 | *parjanya ma udgātetyudgātāram* | 11 | *Āpo me hotrā-śaṁsinya iti hotrakān* | 12 | *raśmayo me camasādhvaryava iti camasādhvaryūn* | 13 | *Ākāśo me sadasya iti sadasyam* | 14 |

Trans (8) “Agni is my Hotr, he is my Hotr, I choose thee So and So ! as my Hotr ;” (with this formula he chooses) the Hotr (9) ‘Candramas is my Brahman’ etc as above (With this formula he chooses) the Brahman (10) ‘Āditya is my adhvaryu’ etc ; (thus) the adhvaryu (11) ‘Parjanya is my Udgātr etc’, thus the Udgātr (12) ‘The waters are my reciters of what belongs to the Hotrakas etc’—(thus) the Hotrakas (13) ‘The rays are my Camasādhvaryus etc’—(thus) the Camasādhvaryus (14). “The ākāśa is my Sadasya etc” (thus) the Sadasya

Sources : Each Mantra consists of two parts --in the first deity Agni (Candramas etc. is) declared to be the *Divine* ‘hotā’ (‘Brahmā’ etc respectively) and then in the second part, the priest is declared to have been chosen as the *Human* hotā etc This double address is explained by ŚB II. 10 (a section dealing with the same topic) where we find mantras identical with or similar to those in our sūtras above

ŚB II 10 1-3 *Davā anye ṛtvijo, mānuṣā anye | sa etān davān ṛtvijo vṛṇta* “*agnir me hotā*” etc. | *sa etān davān ṛtvijo vṛtvā athatān mānuṣān vṛṇta* | (Here the commentator gives the required formulas “*etannādakena yaṁnāham yaksye tatra me tvam hotā* etc”) “The divine priests are different and the human priests are different He chooses the divine priests with the

formulas 'Agnir me hotā' etc. (these formulas are identical with the first parts of our mantras in order) Having chosen the divine priests, he should then proceed to choose (the corresponding) human priests" [with formulas given by the commentator (meaning I propose to offer such and such sacrifice, be thou my 'hotā' there etc.) the last parts of which are similar to the second parts of our mantras] ĀPŚ X 1. 14 also, has similar mantras with the same double address

ĀG I. 23 15. *Sa vrto japen "mahan me'voco, bhargo me'voco, bhago me'voco, yaśo me'vocah, stomam me'vocah kṛtām me'voco, bhuktīm me'vocas, trptīm me'vocah, sarvaṃ me'voca" iti* |

Trans The priest chosen (as above) should mutter "A great thing hast thou told me; lustre hast thou told me, 'fortune', 'fame', 'praise', 'success', 'enjoyment', 'satisfaction', hast thou told me (this last clause being repeated with each of these words); 'all' hast thou told me."

Sources PB I 1 1 gives a formula similar to ours as the formula to be muttered by the Udgātri when chosen ('Vrtasya udgātri japa-mantrāḥ') because as a Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda, it was only concerned with the functions of the Udgātri PB I 1 1. omits some words like 'bhagah, kṛtīm' etc. but is substantially the same mantra as ours ĀPŚ. X 1 4. gives a formula identical with ours except for the omission of 'bhagah' Somewhat similar formulas are also found in MŚ 5. 2 15 2, LŚ 1 1 10-14 and ŚŚ. 5. 1 10.

ĀG I. 23. 16-18. *Japitvā "agniste Hotā, sa te hotā hotāham te mānusa" iti hotā pratijānate* | 16 | *Candramāste brahmā sa te brahmā brahmā* | 17 | *Evam utare yathādeśam* | 18 |

Trans. (16) Having muttered (the formula given above) the hotr (loudly) declares his acceptance with the formula "Agni is thy Hotr, he is the Hotr, thy human Hotr am I"

(17) "Candramas is thy Brahman, he is thy Brahman"—(with this formula) the Brahman (18) In the same way, the other priests according to the (individual) specifications (given above such as 'Āditya' for the 'adhvaryu' etc).

Sources These mantras are of the nature of responses by the priests to the mantras cited in sūtras 8 to 14, with just the necessary modifications e.g., 'te' for 'me' and 'hotāham te' for 'hotāram tvā' They are hardly independent mantras therefore and are not traced to any other text in this particular form

ĀG I 23 19: '*Tan māmavatu, tanmāviśatu, tena bhuksīyati*' *ca yājaysyan* |

Trans When he (the invitee) intends to perform the sacrifice (for the inviter), he should repeat the following formula (in addition to the one given in the preceding sūtras :) "May that protect me, may it enter into me, may I thereby enjoy (bliss)!"

The alternative (to 'yājaysyan', even after accepting the invitation) implied in this sūtra according to Nārāyaṇa is that *the priests may simply be*

performing the Agnyādheya for him, in which case they do not recite this formula.

Sources : PB. I. 1. 1. gives an identical formula in the same context, with only 'mām' for 'mā'. ĀPŚ X. 1. 4 also gives an identical formula in an identical context.

ĀG. I. 23. 21. *Somapravākam pari-prcchet* (a) "Ko yajñah, (b) *Kaṭvījah*, (c) *Kā daksinā*" *iti*

Trans : (The Rtvij chosen) should ask the Somapravāka (the representative of the Soma-sacrificer who gives the invitations on his behalf) "What sacrifice is it? Who are the (other) officiating priests? What is the fee?"

Sources : ĀPŚ X 1 3 in exactly the same context, has "Tam (the commentator supplies 'Soma-pravākam' as in our text) prcchanti rtvijah "Ke yājayanti, kaccinnāhinaḥ, kaccit kalyāṇyo dakṣiṇāh—"—*iti chāndogabrāhmaṇam bhavati* | Trans : The priests ask him 'Who are going to perform the sacrifice? [This is parallel to our (b)]. Is it an Ahina sacrifice? [This is parallel to our (a)] Are the fees decent?' [This is parallel to our (c)]—So runs a Brāhmaṇa of the Chandogas

I do not understand why Prof. OLDENBERG refers us to the commentary on the Pañca-vimśa Brāhmaṇa for this passage when it is found in the ĀPŚ. itself, as shown above

ĀG. I 24 8. (a) 'Ahaṁ varṣma sajātānām (b) *vidyutām va sūryah*, (c) *idam tam adhitisthām* (d) *yo mā kaścābhīdāsati 'ityudagagre viṣṭara upaviṣet* |

Trans He (the guest) should sit down on the seat (of darbha grass) so that the (grass-)ends point to the north (the superstition that the fringes or loose ends of a carpet or mat should not point to the south prevails even to-day in India) with the mantra "I am the summit (varṣman) of my kinsmen, as the Sun is of Lightning (flashes) Here I sit on him who harasses me."

Context . The guest does so when the seat, madhuparka etc. have each been announced to him thrice, by the host.

Sources . This same verse is found in ŚŚ IV 21 2 in an identical context (our kandikā in fact is indebted to the section ŚŚ IV 21 dealing with the guest-reception with the madhuparka for some of the mantras quoted as well as the wording of some of its Sūtras such as ĀG I 24 1 to 7)

The variations are 'sādrśānām' a synonym of our 'sajātānām' in (a), and 'asmāñ abhīdāsati' for our 'mā kaścābhīdāsati' in (d) The mantra occurs with slight variations in PG 1 3 8 and MG 1 9 8

ĀG. I 24 13. *Praksūlitapādo'rghyam añjalīmā pratigrhyāthācamānīyenācāmatī* : (a) 'Amṛtopastaranam asī' *iti*

Trans His feet having been washed, he takes the Arghya water in the hollow of his joined hands (and after thus signifying its acceptance, pours it

out¹) and then sips the ācamanīya water (intended for sipping) with the mantra. "Thou art the 'underspread' (or foundation-layer) of Amṛta"

It would be convenient to consider another formula of the same type in sūtra 28, along with this.

AG. I. 24 28 : (b) *Athācamanīyenāvācāmatī 'Amṛtāpīdhānam asī' iti* |

Trans . He then (i.e. after eating the Madhuparka) follows it (i.e. the eating) up by sipping the ācamanīya water with the formula "Thou art the 'covering-lid' of Amṛta.

Sources of (a) i.e. the formula in I 24 13 and (b) the one in I. 24 28 The two formulas are traced to TA. 10. 32. 1 and 10 35 1 respectively where the commentator explains that they are to be employed before and after a meal respectively.

The practice of sipping water before and after a meal, with exactly these two formulas which stand, as it were, for the prologue and epilogue of the ritual drama of a dinner is in force even to this day in India !

AG. I. 24. 14-15. The mantras 'mitṛasya tvā etc.' in I. 24 14 and 'Devasya tvā etc.' the first mantra quoted in I. 24 15 have already been discussed under I. 20 4.

AG. I 24. 15-18 : (a) '*Vasavastvā gāyātreṇa chandasā bhakṣayantu*' *iti purastān nīmārṣti* | 15 | (b) '*Rudrāstvā trīṣṭubhena chandasā bhakṣayantu*' *iti dakṣiṇataḥ* | 16 |. (c) '*Ādityāstvā jāgataṇa chandasā bhakṣayantu*' *iti paścāt* | 17 | (d) '*Viśve tvā devā anuṣṭubhena chandasā bhakṣayantu*' *ityuttarataḥ* | 18 |

Trans : [(Sūtra 14): After having looked at the Madhuparka, (sūtra 15) . accepted it with his joined hands, transferred it to his left hand, looked at it again with appropriate mantras for every stage, he stirs the madhuparka thrice from left to right and then] wipes (what sticks to his fingers of the madhuparka) on the eastern (side)² with the mantra (a) 'May the Vasus eat thee with the Gāyatrī metre', Sūtra 16 . (b) 'May the Rudras eat thee with the Trīṣṭubh metre'—with this formula, on the south, Sūtra 17 : (c) 'May the Ādityas eat thee with the Jagatī metre'—with this formula on the west ; sūtra 18 . (d) 'May the Viśvedevas eat thee with the Anuṣṭubh metre'—with this formula on the north.

Sources : The first three mantras (a), (b) and (c) cited in sūtras 15 to 17 are found in a number of texts with various verbs (other than our 'bhakṣayantu') ending the sentences . e.g. (1) the three mantras with the variation 'parigrhṇantu' for 'bhakṣayantu' are found in TS 1 1 9 3, the context being the tracing of the 'Vedī' by means of the 'sphyā' (=the wooden sword). (2) They are found with the variation 'pravṛhantu' for 'bhakṣa-

1 This must be done before he takes up the water for sipping in his hands—a small detail not noticed either by STENZLER or by OLDENBERG and ignored in the two commentaries of Nārāyaṇa and Haradatta, as too well-known probably !

2 ŚŚ IV 21 8 makes it clear that this wiping is done on the eastern, southern, western and northern sides of the Madhuparka vessel.

yantu' in TS 3.3.3.1, the context being the offerings of 'Amśu' and 'Adābhya' cups in a Soma sacrifice. (3) They are found with the change 'Kṛṇvantu āṅgirasvat' for 'Bhakṣyantu' in TS. 4.1.5.3 VS 11.58 and ŚB 6.5.2.3 the context being the making of the fire-pan while the adhvarīyu or the sacrificer repeats the mantras. (4) They are found with 'dhūpayantu' for our 'bhakṣayantu' in TS. 4.1.6.1 and VS. 11.60 the context being the fumigating of the fire-pan. (5) 'Samañjantu' appears instead of 'bhakṣayantu' in TS. 4.1.6.3 and VS 11.60, the context being the filling of the fire-pan with goat's milk and (6) Añjantu is the variant for 'bhakṣayantu' in TS 7.4.20.1, the context being the anointing of the aśvamedha horse.

Our text, then, has derived (1) the ending 'bhakṣayantu' (2) a suggestion of the context and (3) the addition of the fourth category in (d) of the 'Viśvedevas' from ŚŚ. IV. 21.8-12 where the Vasus, Pitr̥s, Ādityas, Rudras and Viśvedevas are associated with the wipings on the eastern, southern, western, northern and central sides (respectively) of the vessel. LŚ 1.10.17 also has four similar mantras for wiping the four sides of the 'dronakalaśa'. *There is a certain propriety in the association of the metres with the deities* e.g. the Gāyatrī metre with 8 syllables in a pāda goes with the eight Vasus, the Trīṣṭubh metre with eleven syllables in a pāda goes with eleven Rudras and the jagatī metre with 12 syllables, with the 12 Ādityas. Perhaps the Anuṣṭubh metre as the common Śloka metre was associated with Viśvedevas.

ĀG. I 24.19 : 'Bhūtebhyastvā' itī madhyāt trrudgrhya |

Trans With the formula 'To the beings (I offer) thee', he three times takes some (of the madhuparka) out of the middle of it.

Sources In TS 1.2.12.3, the Sruc (ladle) is picked up with this formula in the marking out of the high altar (Uttara-vedi) and in VS 5.12 the centre of the altar is anointed with butter with this formula after the four corners have been anointed with suitable mantras. In both these (TS and VS) passages, *the guest offering to Soma (the early model for the 'Madhuparka offering')* precedes the formulas. The idea of 'taking up a little of the madhuparka from the middle' may have been suggested by ŚŚ IV. 21.12—where we read, 'Viśe tvā devā bhakṣayantu itī madhyādūrdhvam.'

ĀG. I 24.20-22 (a) 'Virājo doho'si' itī prathamam prāśnīyāt | 20 | (b) 'Virājo doham aśīya' itī dvītiyam | 2 | (c) 'Mayi doham padyāyā virājah' itī trītiyam | 22 |

Trans. (20) = (a) . 'Thou art the milking of the Shining One (Virājo)'—with this formula, he eats of it, for the first time (21) = (b) 'The milking of the Shining One, may I attain' with this formula (he eats)' a second time (22) = (c) . 'In me, may the milking of the Shining One (the Earth-Cow) endowed with feet¹, dwell'—with this formula a third time.

Sources : The formulas are found without variation in ŚŚ IV. 21.3, the context being that the guest accepts the water for washing the feet, with these

1 Reasons for this translation of 'padyā Virāj' which according to OLDENBERG (p. 97 on ŚG III.75) is the Virāj metre, are given below.

formulas—a context which brings out more clearly the play on ‘padyāyai’ (endowed with feet) But an explanation of the puzzling phrase ‘Virājo dohah’ is found in ŚB 1. 5. 2. 20 “Iyam vai virād | asyai vā esa doha, evam ha vā asmā iyam virāt sarvān kāmān duhe | ya evam etām virājo doham veda” (Trans) .—This (i.e. the earth represented by the altar) is verily the ‘Shining One’ and of her, is this milking, in this way does this Shining one (the Earth-Cow) milk forth all his desires *for him* who knows this milking of the Shining One’ My translation of ‘Virājo dohah’ as ‘the Milking of the Shining One’ (the earth-cow) is based on this ŚB.-passage and the appropriateness of this phrase as applied to the madhuparka of which dadhi (curds)—a product of cow’s milk—was an important ingredient is evident The epithet ‘padyāyai’ also becomes significant as referring to the feet of the earth-cow. Prof OLDENBERG’S *view* (p 97) that ‘padyā virāj’ is the virāj metre in so far as it consists of feet does not explain the association of ‘doha’ (or milking) with ‘virāj’ in the formulas, besides, that meaning also may be just *suggested* here as part of a play on the various meanings of the words ‘padyā virāj’ (which is not uncommon) but it cannot be the principal or primary meaning of the phrase

ĀG. I 24 29 (a) ‘*Satyam yaśah śrīh*, (b) *mayi śrīh śrayatām*’ *iti dvitīyam* |

Trans With the formula “Truth! Fame! Fortune! May Fortune rest on me!” (he sips water) a second time (It has been sipped first with the formula in the preceding sūtra discussed already under ĀG. I. 24 13, after the eating of the Madhupaika is finished).

Sources RVKh V 87 10 reads “Manasah kāmam ākūtim vācaḥ satyam aśimah | paśūnām rūpam annasya, *mayi śrīh śrayatām yaśah* ||

The last pāda along with the word ‘satyam’ in the second pāda, seems to have suggested our formulas VS 39 4 is just this (RVKh) verse with the last pāda reading as ‘Yaśah śrīh śrayatām mayi’ and employed as a formula to atone for defects in the Pravargya ceremony. *Our text seems to have rearranged some of the words in these verses, to make up the prose formula that we have above!*

ĀG I 24 31-32 (a) ‘*Hato me pāpmā, pāpmā me hata*’ *iti japitvā* (b) ‘*Om kuruta*’ *iti kārāṣṣyan* | 31 | ‘*Mātā*’ *etc* (= RV VIII, 101 15) *iti japitvā*, (c) ‘*Om utsrjata*’ *ityutsrakṣyan* | 32 |

Trans : (31) (a) ‘Destroyed is my sin; my sin is destroyed’—having muttered (this formula), he adds (b) = ‘Om, make (her i.e. kill her and dress her flesh as food for me)’, if he desires (the host) to make her for himself (32) If he desires to set her free, he should add (c) ‘Om! release her!’ after muttering the (RV) verse ‘Mātā’ etc

Context : The guest gives these instructions when the cow has been announced to him after he has sipped water.

Sources : (a) The formula identical in part with (a), is VS. 6 35 ‘*Pāpmā hato, na somah*’, where the formula is supposed to exculpate the sin of beating (and pressing) the soma (into juice) just as our formula exculpates the sin of killing the cow.

Formulas (b) and (c). ŚŚ. IV. 21. 23 24 contains both these formulas along with the same RV verse (VIII 101 15) that is quoted in our sūtra I. 24 32 in exactly the same context with only the addition 'trnānyattu iti vā' (Let her eat grass) which is recommended as an optional formula for 'Om Utsṛjata'.

Similar formulas, in exactly the same context, are found in LŚ 1 2.12 seqq TA. 6. 12 1 uses (c), along with the same RV verse, for letting loose the cow that accompanies a funeral procession, if it is decided not to kill her for being laid limb by limb on the corpse.

ĀG. II. 1. 9 : *Kalaśāt saktūnām, darvīm pūrayitvā prāgupaṃskramya śucau deśe'povanīniya* : " (a) *sarpadevajanebhyah svāhā*" *iti hutvā namas-karoti*, (b) '*ye sarpāḥ pṛthivā, ye antarikṣyā, ye divyā, ye diśyās, tebhya imam balim āhārṣam, tebhya imam balim upākaromti*' *iti* |

Trans · He fills a ladle with (barley-)flour out of the jug (set apart at the beginning of the ceremony) ; goes out (of the house) eastward, pours water on a clean spot and sacrifices (i.e. *deposits the barely-flour on it as a balī offering*) with the formula . (a) 'To the divine host of Serpents ! Svāhā' and makes a (reverential) bow with the formula . "The serpents who are terrestrial, who belong to the antarikṣa, who belong to heaven and who dwell in the quarters—to them, do I bring this Balī'.

Context : This takes place in the Śravanākarma (a rite to the serpents) after the sacrifice of the sthālīpāka, puroḍāśa and besmeared fried grains

Sources. (a) This same formula is employed again in our text in II. 1.14 at the daily (morning and evening) offerings of Balis till the ceremony of 'pratyavarohana' (or 'redescent'). VS 30 : 8 has 'Sarpadeva-janebhyo' pratipadam | [To the divine hosts of serpents, an untrustworthy man (is offered as a victim at the Puruṣamedha sacrifice)]. The same expression (as in VS) is found in TB 3.4.1 5 (b) The formulas nearest to (though not identical with) those in (b), are TS. 4.2.8 3 and VS 13.6 'Namostu sarpebhyo, ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu | ye'ntarikṣe, ye divi, tebhyah sarpebhyo namah |'

The context is as follows —In the Aśvamedha, the ground for the fire is being prepared The horse advances to the Darbha-bunch spread on the ground, then a lotus-leaf is put on the horse's foot-print, and the golden image of a man put on top of the lotus-leaf, is addressed with this mantra In the VS, the employment is similar ; only it is in connection with the construction of the Āhavanīya fire-altar These VS-Mantras are commented on in the ŚB 7.4.1 28 and are quoted by pratikas, in PG II 14 18, in exactly the same context as in our text, as both these works belong to the VS A comparison of our formulas with those in TS VS etc shows that our '*Pṛthivā*' etc. is a mere paraphrase of 'ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu' etc Our version is also found in ĀPMB 2 178^b

ĀG II 1 10 *Pradaksinam paritya paścād baler upaviśya* (a) '*Sarpo'si*, (b) *sarpatām sarpānām adhipatir asi*, (c) *annena manusyāms trāyase*' *pūpena*

sarpān, yajñena devāns, (d) tvayi mā santam, tvayi santah sarpā mā himsisur, (e) dhruvām¹ te paridadāmi' iti.

Trans Having gone round (the Bali), keeping his right side towards it, he sits down to the west of the Bali (and recites the mantra) . (a) 'Thou art the Sarpa, (b) the lord of creeping serpents art thou; (c) thou nourishest *men* with food, *serpents* with cake and the *gods* by sacrifice. (d) May not the serpents living in thee, harm me who am also living in thee. (e) I give thee the ladle (dhruvā —the same as the 'Darvī' mentioned in sūtra 9).

The meaning of (a) to (d) :—The passage in the ŚB. 7.4.1.25 in which Agni is invoked by 'sarpa'-names and *in which the epithet 'sarpa' is applied to the fire-god as well as to all the worlds of which he is the lord* (with an implied reference to the etymology of the word 'Sarpa' from √Srp = to creep) throws considerable light on the meaning of this mantra *I think that there is a play here on the word 'Sarpa' meaning 'serpent' as well as 'fire' (the Grhya-fire was always near at hand in all Grhya rites) and only then can (c) be properly understood as it is the fire that supports the gods by carrying oblations and human beings and serpents by means of food and cake which it helps to cook (as is mentioned in the Mantra)*

The meaning of (e) Prof. STENZLER's emendation is unnecessary as 'Dhruvām te' yields excellent sense. The 'Darvī' (ladle) of sūtras 2 and 9 is deliberately referred to here by the synonym 'Dhruvā' because of its nearness in sound to 'Dhruva' the lord of serpents, referred to in the following sūtras; besides it is a pointed reference to the ladleful of barley-flour offered as Bali on the clean spot (sūtra 9th) to the west of which the performer who repeats this mantra is sitting.

Sources The formulas—(a) to (d), are only found in sūtra-texts and are not traced to earlier literature MG. 2. 126. 3 has them with the following variations, it omits 'Sarpātām' in (b), 'yajñena devān' in (c), and for (d) has 'tvayi santam mayi santam māksīsur, mā rīrīsur, mā himsisur, mā dānksuh sarpāh' which is an expansion of our (d), ĀPMB II. 17. 3 has (c) with the addition 'īnaih paśūn svadhayā pītñ, svāhā' and to our (d) corresponds ĀPMB II 17 4^a "tvayi nah santah, tvayi sadbhyo varṣābhyo nah paridehi" which *as a prayer for protection from the rains*, indicates the danger of snakes in the rainy season

ĀG II 1 11-12 —'Dhruvāmum te dhruvāmum te' ityamātyān anupūrvam | 11 | "dhruva mām te paridadāmīty" ātmānam antatah | 12 |

Trans "Dhruva! I give so and so, over to thee! Dhruva! I give so and so over to thee!" With these words (repeated for each member) he gives over his family members in charge to the Serpent-god, one by one and finally himself (saying) "Dhruva! Me I give over to thee!"

Meaning of 'Dhruva' TA 10 67. 1 mentions a deity called 'Dhruva'

1 I adopt the reading of Prof STENZLER's MSS (see his note on p 66), his emendation 'dhruvāmum' for 'dhruvām' is quite unnecessary as shown hereafter.

along with Agni "Agnaye svāhā !—dhruvāya bhūmāya svāhā !" The character of this deity is made clear by the comment of Haradatta on the above Sūtras in our text : 'Dhruvo nāma sarpañām adhipatiḥ'—Dhruva is the Lord of the Serpents.

Sources. These formulas are mere improvisations dictated by the particular context and are not traced to any other text.

ĀG. II. 2. 3. *Prṣātakam añjalīnā juhuyād* : (a) 'Ūnam me pūryatām, (b) *pūrṇam me mopasadat*, (c) *prṣātakāya svāhā* ' *iti*.

Trans. With his joined hands, he should sacrifice the 'Prṣātaka', (repeating the mantra) : 'May whatever is deficient in me be made good ; may what is full, not fall off from me. To Prṣātaka svāhā !' [There is a difference of opinion as to the exact ingredients of this Prṣātaka which is admitted to be a mixture. Prof STENZLER quotes the Grhya-samgraha (p. 70) according to which it is a mixture of 'dadhi' (curds) and 'sarpiḥ' (butter), but Nārāyaṇa says that it is a mixture of milk and Ājya and Haradatta in support of the same view, quotes the Chandogās as saying "payasyavanayedājyam tat prṣātakam *iti* Chandogāḥ"].

Context : This follows the sacrifice of a Sthālīpāka to Paśupati in the 'Āsvayujī' ceremony (in celebration of the Āśvina full-moon).

Sources. Only in one Sūtra-text viz. PG 2 16 3 are formulas (a) and (b) traced : (a) without variation and (b) with 'mā vigāt' (which means the same thing) for our 'mopasadat' (c) is not traced anywhere ; in fact 'Prṣātaka' as a deity appears only here and in II. 2. 2. above !

ĀG. II. 2. 4. (a) "*Sajūr ṛtubhiḥ, sajūr vidhābhiḥ, sajūr mdrāgnibhyām svāhā* | (b) *sajūrṛtubhiḥ, sajūr vidhābhiḥ, sajūr viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ svāhā* | (c) *sajūr ṛtubhiḥ, sajūr vidhābhiḥ, sajūr dyāvā-prthuvibhyām svāhā*" *ityāhitāgner āgrayanasthālīpākāḥ* |

Trans : The Āhitāgni (one who has set up the three Śrauta fires) offers a sthālīpāka (a mess of cooked food) at the Āgrayana sacrifice [in the Āhavanīya fire—this follows from the next Sūtra which prescribes that the 'anāhitāgni' offers it in the domestic fire] with the mantra (a) 'Harmonious with the seasons, harmonious with the Modes, harmonious with Indra and Agni ! Svāhā ! (b) Harmonious. . . (etc. as above up to 'modes', and then) harmonious with the Viśvedevas ! svāhā ! (c) Harmonious etc (as above, and then) harmonious with Heaven and Earth ! svāhā !

Context : This is the ceremony of Āgrayana in which the first fruits of the harvest are consecrated before being partaken of *This is a Śrauta, rite also and is described as such in the ĀS. II 9.* I agree with Nārāyaṇa's view (p 203, OLDENBERG) that it is described here i.e. in a Grhya Sūtra for an Āhitāgni who is unable to perform it in its fuller form in the ĀS., where it is prescribed at the time of the new harvest of every season.

Sources The formulas are found in TS. 4 3 4.3 where they accompany the depositing of the '*ṛtavyā*' bricks (a name derived from the formulas themselves beginning as they do with 'Sajūr ṛtubhiḥ) in the Agnicayana cere-

mony. VS. 14. 7 seqq has the same formulas in the same context ; only the bricks here are called the 'Vaiśvadevī' bricks [a name derived from 'Viśvebhyo devebhyah' the words of the mantra part (b)]. ŚB 8.2.28 comments on this VS -passage. They are also found in ĀPŚ. 17.1.3 and KŚ. 17.8.18 etc.

ĀG II. 3.3 : *Niveśanam punar navikṛtya lepaṇā-sīranopastaranar, astamīte pāyasasya juhuyur :* (a) " *Apa śveta padā jahi* (b) *pūrvēna cāpareṇa ca* | (c) *saṇṭa ca vāruṇir imāh*, (d) *sarvāśca rājabāndhavīh svāhā* || (e) *na vai śvetaścābhyācāre'sir jaghāna kñicāna* | (f) *śvetāya vaidārvāya namah svāhā*" *iti* |

Trans : (In the ceremony of Pratyavarohana) having again renovated the house by coating (the walls), spreading (the roof) and levelling (the floor), they should after sunset, sacrifice oblations of milk-rice with the mantras :— (a) "Strike off, O White One! (b) with thy fore-foot and hind-foot, (c) these seven (prajāḥ i.e. sevenfold progeny) of Varuṇa and (d) the entire kingly fraternity. (e) In the vicinity of the White One (I read 'śvetasyābhyācāre'—an emendation discussed below), the Serpent has killed none. (f) To the White One, the Vaidārva, adoration! Svāhā!"

Sources · Prof STENZLER (p. 69) draws attention to AV. 10.4.3. which has (a) and (b) with 'ava' for our 'apa'. He and Prof. OLDENBERG (p. 204) compare PG. II 14.5 and ŚG IV. 18.1. Similar verses, it may be added, occur in MG 2.7.1; ĀPMB 2.17.26 and HG. 2.16.18.

Meaning of the Mantras :

'Śveta'? As regards the meaning of 'Śveta', Prof. STENZLER on PG. II 14.4 and 5 (p. 70) says that Dr. HILLEBRANDT drew his attention to the 'White Horse' in the RV, dealing death to the serpents, which the Aśvins gave to Pedu and that this meaning suits the second pāda well. *This may be accepted but why the metaphor of the 'White Horse'?* The explanation, in my opinion, is found in RV V. 1.4^a : 'Śveto vāji jāyate agre ahnām' | = The white Horse (*evidently the sun*) is born at the beginning of the days. The Aśvamedha-context of 'Śvetāya Svāhā' in TS 7.3.18 and TB 3.8.17.4 makes it certain that 'śveta' is 'the White Horse' and the Dictionary (MONIER WILLIAMS) explains 'śveta vaidārva' occurring in our clause (f) as 'a deity connected with the sun'. This double implication of 'Śveta' meaning 'White Horse' and also 'a solar deity' gives excellent sense to our clause (b) as the fore-foot and hind-foot of the 'White Horse' would then represent the eastern and western strides of the Sun.

The corrupt reading in (e) · The reading 'Śvetaścābhyācāre' in (e) does not make good sense, so Prof OLDENBERG proposes (p. 204) that it should be 'śvetasyābhyācāre' in conformity with PG II. 4.5^a but this is too great a change to admit of the possibility of the emendation being the original of which the existing reading may have been a corruption. *I propose that it should be read as 'Śvetasyābhyācāre' which is the reading of MG 2.7.1^a. Besides it is not improbable that the letter 'syā' should have been corrupted into the present 'scā'. HG 2.16.8^a also has 'Śvetasyābhyācāreṇa'.*

Sapta Vārunīh ? I cannot understand why Prof. OLDENBERG translates this phrase as "the Seven daughters of Varuṇa" ! The parallel passages in HG.PG and ĀPMB make it *almost certain that 'Prajāh' is to be understood* after the phrase giving the meaning : 'the seven-fold progeny of Varuṇa' The serpents are so-called because, in my opinion, Varuṇa is the lord of the waters and the waters of the rainy season bring out the serpents. That 'Rāja-bān-dhavīh' denotes the fraternity of King Varuṇa is clear from ĀG. II 9.5 'aitu Rājā varuṇo revatībhih'.

ĀG. II 3 5 . " *Abhayaṁ naḥ prajāpatyebhyo bhūyat* " *ityagnimīkṣamāṇo japatī* |

Trans. While looking at the fire, he mutters "May there be safety to us from the progeny of Prajāpati"

Sources A sūtra text, MG 2 7 1 alone has this mantra with 'svāhā' at the end.

ĀG II 3 6 : ' *Śivo naḥ sumanā bhava* ' *iti hemantam manasā dhyāyāt* |

Trans. He should meditate in his mind on the Hemanta (the winter-season beginning with the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, in which this ceremony is performed) repeating the mantra "Gracious to us, well-disposed be thou".

Sources . The formula is found in TS 4 5. 1. 4^a and VS. 16 51^b as one of the prayers addressed to Rudra in the Satarudhīya hymn. In our text . IV. 8 27-28, the serpents are associated with 'Rudra' and naturally therefore a prayer to Rudra has been employed in a ceremony which signifies the end of the period of danger from snakes.

(To be continued)

THE LATE MR. JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE

By

N. C. GHOSE, Calcutta

BABU JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE, second son of late Babu Ananda Chandra GHOSE, was born at Baisari, a village in Bakhangunge in the year 1872. His education began at his own house in vernacular and having completed it he joined Brojamohan Institution at Barisal, where his youthful mind came to be licked into shape by the benign influence of renowned educationists like Babu Aswini Kumar DUTT and Jagadish Ch. MUKERJEE who always took care to lay the real foundation of true character amongst the pupils by their own example of saintliness, love of duty and orderly habits. From this institution later he came to Calcutta and joined the B.A. class of the St. Xavier's College; he had however to give up studies and seek employment. During his college days he displayed an extraordinary bent for mathematics and without graduating himself, he successfully coached many students appearing for B.A. and M.A. in higher mathematics.

After leaving the college he married, and secured a clerkship in the office of I G P. in Bengal. The death of his father and his elder brother who were both in the Government employ, at this stage, threw the burden of maintaining a joint family upon him. With his small pay, he found it very hard, but took courage and improved his income by taking up insurance agencies and such other sundry works. His fellow clerks liked him very much for his honesty, integrity and independence of character.

His married life was very short. Two years after his marriage a son was born to him and when the child was only two years old, his wife died. He never married again though repeatedly requested to do so by relations, friends and well-wishers.

After some years of intense struggle he got some relief when his youngest brother joined the Bar and ultimately got employed in the Bengal judicial service.

His spirit of justice and independence was very high, and it may be mentioned that he twice tendered his resignation when his just claims to higher grades were overlooked, although he knew full well what this resignation meant for himself and for those whom he dearly loved.

* His many valuable contributions towards historical research were published from time to time in many important journals of history both in India and abroad, such as The Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Indian Culture, The Indian Historical Quarterly, The Indian Antiquary, The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, etc.

In connection with his service he had to go to many places of Bengal and Bihar and wherever he went he utilised his off-time by gathering useful historical information about those places. His bent for antiquarian researches thus peeped through his days of bondage.

When he was transferred to Barisal, his intense desire for doing something for public utility showed itself in the establishment of a Co-operative Bank for the good of the ministerial officers in the district who often found themselves handicapped in securing loans when they were most needed. He devised the scheme, started the Bank and was himself its founder-Secretary. He had to put forth a tremendous amount of labour for securing deposits, to constitute the capital of the Bank, and be it said to his credit that the Bank is now established on a sound financial basis and can be said to be the premier Bank of the district. When this venture came to a success, he turned his attention to the welfare of the general public and laid the foundation of another Bank to accommodate the public with loans to be repaid by easy instalments. He even sunk some of his slender private resources for its capital and begged from door to door for deposits and raised the working capital to Rs 40,000/- in three months. This was a labour of love but the success it attained was its reward.

During his stay at Barisal he also directed his energy to find out the genealogical tree of his family and picked up the genealogical trees of almost all the well-known Kayastha families of the district from the Ghataks and other sources.

He ransacked Government records and procured all possible information for the compilation of a complete history of the pargona of Selimabad (not yet published) of which, he had the satisfaction to discover, one of his renowned ancestors was the one time overlord.

The idea of writing out a general genealogical table of all the renowned Kayastha families of Bengal was finally given up as he found his friend Babu Bishweswar Roy CHOWDHURY of Idilpur engaged in the same work.

After his premature retirement—due mainly to his sense of injustice done to him, he became master of his own time and was able to devote his whole time, energy and devotion towards his favourite pastime, viz the historical researches. His first excursion into this realm was at the controversial point of the origin and places of the Kayasthas of Bengal and he traced the original source to the Nagar Brahmins of Gujarat. In this connection he came in contact with Dr D R BHANDARKAR, the renowned scholar and like the great connoisseur that he is, the doctor found out the genius that lay hidden in an ex-clerk of the Bengal Secretariat. The two worked together in collaboration as friends in various researches the result of which has filled the pages of the historical records. They remained friends to the last and Dr. BHANDARKAR still sincerely mourns the loss of his friend's extraordinary capacity for research. During this period of useful work he came to be intimately known to many other workers in this line such as Prachyavidya-

maharaja Nagendra Nath BOSE, Dr. N. L. LAW, Pandit Amulya BIDYA-BHUSAN, Khan Bahadur Abdul Ali KHAN and other learned professors of Calcutta and other Universities throughout India in the department of history. This intimacy ripened in many instances into mutual regard and genuine friendship.

Besides the origin of the Bengal Kayasthas the spirit of research led him to other discoveries which not only found appreciable recognition from learned circles but also secured for him the title of *Purātattva Vicakṣaṇa*.

Some of his famous articles of later days are —

(i) His learned discourse on the theory of (Devi Ekan gashi) recognized and rewarded by the Government of Bengal, (ii) He ably controverted the theory of Aśvamedha Yajña (iii) Antiquity of Gaya (Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society Vol. XXIV Part iii, Sept 1938) (iv) His last article written in Bengali created a sensation amongst the learned scholars of Bengal. He brought into his researches an analytical mind, a deeply critical and persevering brain and a complete mastery of details and strange to say an infirm body and sickly health were no hindrance to the spirit that always roved about for things anew. These qualities and above all his affable personality illuminated by lustrous erudition made him loved and respected by those whom he came across.

He left behind him two brothers Babus Dinesh Ch. GHOSE and Woopendra Chandra GHOSE (Rai Bahadur) and one son—(Dr. Narendra GHOSE) to mourn his loss and a host of admiring friends and relatives to revere his memory.

MISCELLANEA

DR. SALETORE AND THE AUTHENTICITY OF MUDHOL FARMANS

In a previous issue of the *New Indian Antiquary* (vol. II, No. I, pp. 6-24), Dr. B. A. SALETORE has published an article concerning the Mudhol *farmans*, in which, after criticizing those *farmans* published by Dr. BALKRISHNA in his *Shivaji the Great* (vol. I, part I) and Mr. D. V. APTE in his *मुघोल संस्थानच्या घोरपडे वराज्याचा इतिहास* (Appendix A), and after quoting the remarks passed by Sir Jadunath SARKAR on the spurious nature of Marāṭhī documents and *farmans*, found in *Mahārāstra*, he has questioned the authenticity of the *farmans*, nay, he has even tried to impress upon the minds of readers that the *farmans* are mere forgeries.

The other side of the issues raised by Dr. SALETORE ought to be put forth by Dr. BALKRISHNA and Mr. D. V. APTE. It is better if they do so and I hope they will do it in the near future. But as the editing of the *farmans* in question, published in Mr. APTE's book, has been done by me, I think I am entitled to examine Dr. SALETORE's criticism. Without waiting, therefore, for the reply by the two distinguished scholars, I place before the readers the result of my examination of Dr. SALETORE's views concerning the Mudhol *farmans*.

Before considering, however, the *farmans* individually, I wish to bring to the notice of readers some facts of a general nature regarding the *farmans* and the material for the history of the Bahmanī and 'Adilshāhī dynasties to which the *farmans* pertain. (1) Only photographic copies of the *farmans* were handed over to me from which I edited them. I did not get the advantage of examining the originals. Both the internal and external examinations of a document are equally necessary for the determination of its authenticity. (2) I am not responsible for the English translations printed in the book as they were handed over to me with the instruction that the same might be inserted in the book without any material changes. (3) I found some discrepancies in the *farmans* which I have noticed in the notes. (4) Dr. SALETORE in his article has dealt with the *farmans* No. 1-9, from Mr. APTE's book; all, but the last, of which pertain to the Bahmanī period. Dr. SALETORE after comparing the contents of these *farmans* with the narrative of Firishṭa (F) and after finding that they cannot be reconciled to F's account, arrives at the conclusion that the *farmans* are not reliable. But here, I think, Dr. SALETORE is mistaken. Firstly, he has relied, for the meaning of the *farmans*, on the summaries or versions given by Dr. BALKRISHNA and Mr. APTE. But it is possible that both may have been in the wrong. A research scholar ought not to rely on translations and versions of a document, especially when he has to raise grave objections against it. He must study the document in the original. Then alone there is the possibility of his arriving at the truth. I am very sorry to note that Dr. SALETORE has not followed this method and consequently has committed very palpable mistakes. Secondly, Firishṭa is not the only Persian source for the period of the *farmans* as Dr. SALETORE seems to assume. There are the *Burhān-i-ma'athir* (BM) of Tabātabā *Tajkiratu'l-mulūk* of Shīrāzī, *Savān-i-kulūb* etc. The narrative given in BM is found in many places to be superior to and more faithful than that of F. That F could not even give a faithful pedigree of the Bahmanī sultans has been proved by the contemporary coins and the narrative in BM. Is Dr. SALETORE ready and willing to rely, as the only source for the Bahmanī dynasty, on F's narrative and denounce all others? That he is not, as far as contemporary

inscriptions are concerned, can be easily gathered from this very article of his. Then is it logical to suppose that the Mudhol *farmans* which bear seals and Tughras i.e. *farmans*, the contemporaneity and authenticity of which cannot be questioned as far as the external evidence is concerned, are forgeries, because they are not consistent with the account of F? Especially when we know that F is full of inaccuracies and inconsistencies? Moreover as the critical examination of individual *farmans*, which follows, will show, the information supplied by the *farmans* is not so much inconsistent with the narrative of F. as the Dr supposes. If the contemporary documents are to be condemned as unauthentic they ought to be compared with contemporary documents, the genuineness of which is beyond doubt. Is it logical to compare them with a narrative composed some two hundred years after the events had actually happened? (5) Dr SALETORÉ seems to think that the event serving as the cause of some *inam*, when referred to in a *farman*, ought to take place in the same year in which the *farman* is issued. But this is quite an untenable supposition. Even under the well-organised British regime, *inams* for bravery shown in the last great war were granted years after the treaty was signed. Why should we then be astonished if the issue of *farmans* of grants was delayed for a year or two in old Muhammadan courts? The above statement can be easily substantiated from Bijapur *farmans* and Marāṭhī *sanads*. Why should we expect a different situation under the Bahmanī rule?

With these general remarks on some of the very queer assumptions of Dr. SALETORÉ, I now propose to examine his criticism of the *farmans* individually

(I) FARMAN DATED 1352 A.D.

Both Dr. BALKRISHNA and Mr. APTE have given their versions of this *farman*. But as the information in the *farman*, presumes Dr SALETORÉ, is in contradiction with F and Vijayanagar inscriptions, it cannot be reliable. But Dr SALETORÉ seems not to have studied the *farman* in the original. It clearly states that [Dilipasimha] was given an *inam* in consideration of his self-sacrifice. The details of the sacrifice, however, have unfortunately disappeared owing to the lacunæ in the document. Mr APTE has assumed on the evidence of the Bakhar which he has incorporated in his volume, that Dilipasimha was sent to Karnāṭaka about 752 H¹ and was rewarded for some act of his bravery there. Dr BALKRISHNA further took Karnāṭaka to mean Vijayanagara and conjectured that Dilipasimha showed his bravery in a battle with a Vijayanagara king². But as remarked above, the text of the *farman* mentions neither Karnāṭaka nor Vijayanagara. All the same be it noted here that both F and BM refer to the Karnāṭaka expedition of Alau'd-dīn Hasan Gangū Bahmanī and Dr SALETORÉ does not seem to question the date of this expedition which F. puts in either 752/1351 or 753/1352. Then where lies the propriety of Dr SALETORÉ'S criticism, especially when we know that the *farman* is dated in 753 H?

(2) FARMAN DATED 1398 A.D.

Before examining Dr SALETORÉ'S views on this document it is convenient to give the gist of the *farman* here. It is dated in 800 H Rabi' II 25/15-1-1398 A.D. and was issued by Firūzshāh Bahmanī. Firūz finding that there was misgovernment due to the short-sightedness of some *Amirs* and the tender age of the reigning sultan [conceived of getting the throne for himself and with that object in mind] went to Sāgar. Siddhaji, the *thanadar* of that place received him warmly. Firūz, with the help of Siddhaji and other adherents, fought a battle with the army of the reigning sultan at some place in which the latter with his son showed much bravery,

1. Intro p 84; Bakhar p 19.

2. p. 39.

but was unfortunately killed. Some time after this battle Firūz succeeded to the throne.

F gives nearly the same account but with a slight variation. For instance, according to BRIGGS, F. calls the *thanadar* of Sāgar Suddoo, a slave of the royal family and does not mention of his death in the battle of Merkole fought before Firūz gained the throne.

Now Dr SALETORÉ raises the following points in connection with this *farman*

(1) If Siddhajī died, according to Dr BALKRISHNA, in 798/1388, how could he have helped Firūz in 1397 in his struggle for the throne?

(2) Siddhajī cannot be identified with Suddoo who may have been one of the many Abyssinian slaves at the court of the Bahmanī ruler.

(3) Had he helped Firūz, F would have certainly mentioned him along with Mir Faizullah Anjū, Mullā Issac Surhūdī, Mir Shumsu'd-dīn Muhammad Anjū and Ahmadkhān Amīru'l-umarā who helped Firūz on his accession to the throne.

(4) In 1397, the date of the *farman* there was no misgovernment due to the short-sightedness of the *Amirs* but only the rebellion of Firūzkhān.

I regret to note, in connection with these points, that Dr SALETORÉ has committed blunders and had there been any layman in Dr SALETORÉ's place, I would not have cared to answer these points. But in the present case I feel I must show the mistakes and I do it here very reluctantly.

(1) Had Dr S instead of believing in Dr. BALKRISHNA's conversion of the Hijra year, referred to some ephemerides, he would have found that 798 H. corresponds to 1395/1396 A.D. Moreover neither the *farman* nor the bakhar nor F mentions this date of Siddhajī's death. On the other hand both the *farman* and F explicitly narrate that Siddhajī or Suddoo was alive till at least the battle of Merkole. Siddhajī or Suddoo must have, therefore, died only a short time before Firūz's accession to the throne which took place by the end of 1397 A.D.

(2) I do not understand how Dr S. calls Suddoo an Abyssinian slave. In Persian mass diacritical marks are generally omitted and the name Suddoo (Saddū) can easily be read as Siddū. The Nawal Kishore edition of F. gives the reading Sidhū instead of Siddū and Sidhū is quite a common corruption of names beginning with Siddha among Marāṭhī speaking people. Thus there is no difficulty in identifying Suddoo of BRIGGS' F with Siddhajī of the *farman*. The Nawal Kishore edition of F describes Sidhū as 'Az ghulāmān-i-ān khāndān' which has been, it seems, translated by BRIGGS by the phrase 'a slave of the royal family'. But "slave" is not the only meaning of 'ghulām'. Any Persian dictionary will give the word 'servant' as a synonym of 'ghulām' and there are a number of Persian and Marāṭhī documents and seals in which the word is actually used in that sense. It is not, therefore, so easy to make Suddoo of BRIGGS' F. an Abyssinian slave as Dr S. has done.

(3) The *farman* clearly states that Siddhajī died before Firūz could succeed in his object of getting the throne. F's statements are not inconsistent with those of the *farman*. How can we, then, expect F to mention the services rendered by Siddhajī to Firūz after the latter's accession to the throne, and to refer to him along with others.

(4) Had Dr. SALETORÉ borne well in mind the date of the *farman*, he would not have dared to make the bold statement in 4. The *farman* was issued on 15/1/1398 A.D. i.e. some two months after Firūz ascended the throne. Could Firūz have named his own doings a rebellion and his antagonist's rule good govern-

ment in a *farman* issued by himself? I must plainly assert that what has been said by Dr SALETORÉ about this *farman* is all illogical

(3) FARMAN DATED 1424 A.D.

The *farman* bears the Tughra of Ahmadshāh bin Ahmad Bahmanī and after referring to the service rendered by Siddhājī and Bhairavasīng and bravery shown by Ugrasena in the war with Vijayanagar, reaffirms the hereditary grant of *inam* to Ugrasena. Dr. BALKRISHNA attributes the issue of this *farman* to Ugrasena's saving the life of Alā-ud-dīn Ahmadshāh Bahmanī when the latter was surprised by a detachment of the Vijayanagar king in a hunting expedition.

Now Dr S quotes the contents of this very *farman* in his article and states that there is no mention of a hunting expedition in the *farman*. But ignoring this as well as the fact that the *farman* bears the tughra of Ahmadshāh bin Ahmad Bahmanī and its date falls in Ahmadshāh's reign, goes on criticizing Dr. BALKRISHNA's attribution of the issue of this *farman*. He brings in the evidence of F. to prove that the date of the *farman* falls in the reign of Ahmadshāh Wali Bahmanī and not in that of Alā-ud-dīnshāh Bahmanī, that no hunting expedition worthy of special note was undertaken by Alā-ud-dīnshāh Bahmanī, and that there was a war between this sultan and the Vijayanagar king Devarāya II in 1443 A.D.; and finally questions as to how the Mudhol *farman* can be relied upon for the details relating to the war with Vijayanagar in 1424 A.D. But where is the room for all these baseless and contradictory speculations? As the *farman* is dated in 1424 A.D. and as it, instead of mentioning a hunting expedition, refers to a war with Vijayanagar you are only to see whether there was a war going on between the two powers in 1424 A.D. or a short time before 1424 A.D. By referring to F. one can easily assure oneself that there was such a war which ought to be assigned the date 1423 A.D.

(4) FARMAN DATED 1454 A.D.

Here again Dr. S. has confounded the interpretation with the contents of the *farman*. The *farman* makes no mention of either the Sirke chief or the chief of Khelna. It only refers to a battle fought in the Konkan in which Ugrasena, an ancestor of the Ghorpade chief of Mudhol was taken a captive. Dr S admits that the version given by Mr. APTE is different from that given by Dr. BALKRISHNA, but then asks 'which of these scholars shall we believe?' Why should he ask such a question? If he had found the versions given by the two scholars in contradiction to each other, it was his duty to verify the statements in both the versions from the original and find out the truth. But instead of doing that, he has unnecessarily believed in the version of some one and brought in the evidence of F and Grant DUFF to prove that Sirke chief was different from the chief Khelna as against Dr B.'s identity of the two chiefs. But where was the necessity of either identifying or differentiating between the two chiefs? As they are not mentioned in the *farman*, neither their identity, nor their differentiation would affect the genuineness of the *farman*. He ought to have proved that there was no battle fought in the Konkan about the date of the *farman*. But that is an impossible task. By the by let me tell the readers that Dr. S. seems to be quite ignorant of the fact that Sirke is a Maratha family name and not a place name. Otherwise he would not have used the phrases 'the chief of Sirka (Sirke)', 'the Raja of Sirke', and 'the ruler of Sirke' which betray his perfect ignorance about the above fact.

(5) FARMAN DATED 1471 A.D.

Dr S's main contention about this *farman* seems to be that as F does not record the information supplied by the *farman*, one fails to see how the statements

in the *farman* can ever be accepted as historically valid. But let me bring to the notice of readers that BM. records about the campaign, referred to in the *farman*, such details as are not to be found in F and letters of Mahmūd Gāwān, the gists of which have been published recently¹, supply still more details which are to be traced neither in F. nor in BM. Does Dr S. know this? Whom will he then discard as untrue, either F. or BM. or the letters of Mahmūd Gāwā? If he cannot reject any of the three sources why should he reject this *farman* which supplies still some more information?

(6) FARMAN DATED 1522 A.D.

This *farman* which is dated in 1522 A.D. refers along with others to an episode in the life of Ismā'īl Ādilshāh in which he, while leading an expedition against Tim-rāj, the ruler of Vijayanagar had to fight a pitched battle on the bank of the Krishna. In it Ismā'īl was hemmed in and could not cross the river. At this juncture Māloji Ghorpade, the son of Kheloji, came forward and at the risk of his own life, brought him out of the danger safely. In recognition of this service Māloji was exempted from *Kurmsat*.

Now Dr. S's main objections against this *farman* are (1) that the other events mentioned in the *farman* do not fit in with the accounts already known, (2) that Kheloji and Māloji of this *farman* should be identified with their name-sakes from the Bhosale family who lived only a century later (3) and that Māloji Ghorpade does not figure in the account given by Firsihta about the calamity which befell Ismā'īl Ādilshāh.

About the first point let me note that the other events mentioned in the *farman* are indeed referred to by F. and in the same order as the *farman* does. The only difference between the two is of some details and personal names. But unless we prove the *farman* to be spurious by some independent evidence, how can we accept the one source and discard the other?

On the second point I may be permitted to state that Dr. S's arguments are simply misleading. The *farman* clearly surnames Kheloji, and his son Māloji as Ghorpade and gives their title as Bahādur. As the *farman* is dated in 1522 A.D. and its seal as well as language clearly show that it belongs to the Ādilshāhi sultans, Ismā'īl Ādilshāh who was then reigning must be reckoned as their protege. Now those Kheloji and Māloji with whom Dr. S. identifies these Kheloji and his son Māloji Ghorpade are surnamed Bhosale; they were not father and son but perhaps cousins; moreover they served, as a rule, the Nizāmshāhi sultans and occasionally sided with the Mughal emperor Shāhjahān, besides they lived in about 1650 and not in 1522, the date of the *farman*. It is, therefore simply misleading to identify the Ghorpade pair of Kheloji and Māloji with the Bhosale pair and question the contemporaneity and the authenticity of the *farman*.

About the third point suffice it to say that it is not proper to discard the *farman* only because it cannot be reconciled to F. I need not go into the details of this point as it has been already dealt with.

Thus it will be seen that Dr. SALETORÉ has not studied the *farmans* in the original, has unnecessarily believed in the versions given by others, has discarded better versions, has not cared to study and digest the existing material bearing on the subject, has given undue importance to Firsihta and neglected other better sources and finally has drawn hasty conclusions based on the imperfect knowledge of the material.

Poona.

G. H. KHARE

REFERENCE TO NASIR SHAH KHALJI IN A CONTEMPORARY MS.

The Oriental Manuscripts Library (Prācya-Grantha-Samgraha) of Ujjain (Gwalior) has recently procured a 431 year old MS (Accession No 5768) of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. The MS is complete and covers 136 folios of country paper of the size 11×5 inches written in dark-black ink in Devanāgarī characters. The scribe's concluding colophon bears some historical interest and reads as follows. —

Folio 136* “दिशतु भगवानशेषपुंसां

हरिरपजन्मजरदिकां स सिद्धि ॥ छ ॥

इति श्रीविष्णुपुराणे षष्ठोऽष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥ छ ॥ समाप्तश्चाय षष्ठोऽंशः ॥ एवं समाप्तं विष्णुपुराणं ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

शिवमस्तु सर्वजगतः प (र) हितनिरता भवतु भूतगणाः ।

दोषाः प्रयांतु नाशं सर्वत्र जनः सुखी भवतु ॥ छ ॥

देशे मालवके नसीरनृपते राज्ये जगीसाभिधो

ग्रामस्तस्य समीपवर्तिनि वरे श्रीराजपौरे नृपः ।

श्रीमानुः किल चाहमानकुलजः श्रीजोगदेवात्मजो

राज्ये तस्य मनोरमे द्विजकुलाकीर्णे प्रजापूजिते ॥

शाके चंद्रगुणाब्धिभू १४३१ परिमिते संवत्सरे त्वीश्वरे

याम्ये वर्त्मनि वारिवाहसमये मासे नभस्येऽसिते ।

पक्षे छद्रमिते तिथौ रविदिने भे शीतगौ

कर्कस्ये लिखति स्म पुस्तकमिदं रामेश्वरः पंडितः ॥

श्रीमद्दशपुराणातिः परोपकृतिलोलुपः ।

श्रीमत्पंडितरेडाख्यपुत्रः परम (धा) मिकः ॥

अज्ञानभावादथ वा प्रमादा—

यत्किंचिदूनं लिखितं मयात्र ।

तत्सर्वमायैः परिशोधनीयं

प्रायेण मुह्यति हि ये लिखन्ति ॥ श्रीः ॥ छ ॥ ”

Thus the MS was copied at a village called Jagisā by a Daśapura¹ Brāhmaṇa named Rāmeśvara-Paṇḍita who was son of one Reḍa-Paṇḍita and describes himself as extremely pious and benevolent. The village Jagisā is described as lying in the province of Malwa of which a king named Nasira was then the paramount sovereign and as belonging to the territories, charming, thickly-populated and thronging with the families of the twice-born, of a (feudatory) Cāhamāna (i.e. Chauhan) chief who was named Śrī-Bhānu, was son of one Śrī-Jogadeva and had his headquarters in a town or major village called Śrī-Rājapaura (i.e. Śrī-Rājapura) in the vicinity of the village Jagisā. The date on which the scribe completed the MS was Sunday the 11th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada in the year 1431 of the Śālvāhana era, i.e. about the close of September 1509 A.C. Other minor details, too, of the date are noted

1 These Gujarati Nāgara Brāhmaṇas derive their clan-name from the town of Daśapura or Mandasaur in Malwa and are commonly known as *Dasore* Brāhmaṇas. They are found scattered all over Malwa and belong mostly to White Yajurveda and in some cases to R̥gveda.

The contemporary paramount sovereign Nasira mentioned in the colophon is undoubtedly identical with king Nasiruddin or Nasir Shah, the 3rd Khalji Sultan of Malwa, who ruled from his capital Mandu between 1500 and 1510 A.C.² and is said to have erected³ a number of fine buildings in Malwa, among them being also the Kaliadeh Water Palace⁴ on the banks of Sipra near Ujjain.

This reference to king Nasir Shah is important as coming from the pen of a contemporary Hindu Pandit. Although it does not convey any fresh substantial detail regarding the Sultan, it possibly does not fail to warrant the conclusion that he was held in high esteem by contemporary Sanskrit scholars. We are accustomed to read in the accounts of Mahomedan historians that Nasir Shah was a miserable sensualist, a brutal tyrant and a drunkard to the extreme. Still, all the same, his relations with contemporary Sanskrit scholars appear to be quite cordial and friendly. Had it not been the case, our scribe would possibly have avoided any reference to the Sultan.

By the way, here it may be pointed out that there has already been discovered⁵ at least one Sanskrit work that is specifically attributed to this Nasir Shah. This fact not only substantially seconds the above-stated hypothesis but takes us still further to learn that the Sultan actually extended his liberal patronage to Sanskrit authors who, on their turn, were ready to attribute their own compositions to the Sultan.

I have not yet been able to identify the Chauhan chief Śrī-Bhānu and the two places Jagisā and Śrī-Rājapura mentioned in the colophon. As a matter of fact, at present it often becomes very difficult to identify small places of Malwa in old references, as the old province has since been split up into numerous patches, big or small, now scattered over the intermingled territories of the Maharajas of Gwalior, Indore, Dhar, Dewas and several other states. Further, it is also not very clear whether the scribe designates Śrī-Rājapura as a town or only as a flourishing village. Even if the place were a town, it cannot be identified with Rājpur, a prominent *pargana* town of Barwan State in Malwa, as the same has been under the rule of a branch of the Sesodia Rajputs at least from the fourteenth century A.C.⁶ Again, it cannot be identical with Rājpur, the capital town of Alirajpur State in Malwa, as the same has been held since 1437 A.C. by the line of the present rulers who claim to be Rathors and not Chauhans⁷. In case, however, the place under reference is meant to be designated only as a major village, we can with fair justification identify it with the headquarters of Kheri-Rājapur, a small estate in Malwa, which has been recorded as held to this day by Chauhan Rajputs⁸.

Ujjain

SADASHIVA L. KĀTRE

² *Imperial Gazetteer of India—Central India* (1908), p. 126; G. YAZDANI, *Mandu The City of Joy* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 23-25, etc.

³ G. YAZDANI, *Mandu The City of Joy*, pp. 25, 93, etc.

⁴ M. B. GARDE, *Archaeology in Gwalior* (Gwalior, 1934), p. 146.

⁵ P. K. CODE, *Date of Kankālī Grantha attributed to Nāsirasāha—Annals of*

⁶ *Imperial Gazetteer of India—Central India*, pp. 334 and 336.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 337 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD *

By

D. B. DISKALKAR

UNĀ

No. 91]

v.s. 1582.

[18-7-1526.

Unā is the chief town of a Mahāl of the same name in Junagadh State. The subjoined inscription is fixed in the eastern dam of the big tank there. It measures, 2'-5" by 1'-4". It is in a good state of preservation. Being carefully engraved there are few grammatical mistakes in it.

At the beginning of the inscription the following deities are praised Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇapati, Indra and other Dīkṣpālas, Sūrya and other Grahas and Pārvatī. Then it mentions that in old times the sage Vālmikī founded, in VALABHĪPUR, a Kāyastha family. In that family which was famous for learning, statesmanship, charity, specially in penmanship and was respected by the kings, was born a minister named Narasimhavara, who was devoted to Viṣṇu. His son was the minister Sevā, and the latter's son was the minister Maṭā.

The inscription then gives an account of another Kāyastha family of equal fame. In it there was a minister named Vījā. His son was Vaśya-rāja. The latter had a daughter named Kīkī. She was married to the minister Maṭā named above. The couple had a son named Patā.

Patā was made Kārbhārī by AYĀZ, the Subā over SAURĀṢṬRA, of the SULTAN MAHAMMAD of Ahmedabad. Patā was also given a title 'Māfar-Malik' (Muzfar Malek) and a *pālkhī* by the Sultan.

This Patā caused a big tank to be made in UNNATADURG (i.e. Unā) on Wednesday, the 8th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1582.

In the concluding portion of the inscription the names of the three wives of Patā, named Lalimā, Dāi, and Haribāi, are given as also the name of the Nāgar Somanātha, son of Kṛṣṇadās, who composed the *praśasti* and of the engraver Ratnā son of Māhāva.

The easy flow of the language full of alliterations shows that the author of the *Praśasti* viz. Nāgar Somanātha, son of Kṛiṣṇadāsa, was a learned and gifted poet.

Text

- 1 ॥ ॐ नमः श्रीगणेशाय ॥ कल्याणं कमलासनः सज्जतु वः ह्रे
- 2 शन्ययं केशवो । गौरीशः खलु गौरवं गणपतिर्निःशेषविघ्नक्षयं । सर्वा
- 3 रातिविनाशमाशु ककुभामीशाः सुरेशादयः । कुर्वतु भुवमाधिपत्य
- 4 मधिकं सूर्यादयः खेचराः ॥ १ ॥ पतिः सतीत्वादियुगैरतीव । प्रीतः स्वदेहा

- 5 द्वैमदत्त यस्यै । सात्यंतसौभाग्यनिधिर्ददातु । मनोरथान् पर्वतराजपु-
 6 त्री ॥ २ ॥ कायस्थवंशो वलमीपुरे पुरा । वाम्लीकिनाम्ना मुनिना प्रतिष्ठि
 7 तः । योऽप्याहृतं सर्वकलासु कौशलं । विशेषतो लेख्यकलाविधौ दधौ ॥
 8 ३ ॥ विख्यातः क्षितिमडले क्षितिभृतां संसत्सु सर्वैर्गुणै^१ । मान्यो मंत्रि
 9 गणाप्रणीर्गुणवतामग्रेसरः सोऽन्वयः । संतः शास्त्रविदः कलासु
 10 कुशलाः शूरा महामंत्रिणो ॥ दातारथ्य दयालवश्च बहवो यस्मिन्
 11 भूवन्नराः ॥ ४ ॥ यस्मिन्नशेषविदुषामपि माननीयो वंशे विशुद्धचरितः सु
 12 तरासुदारः । मंत्री बभूव नरसिंहवराभिधानः श्रीपद्मनाभचरणार्चन
 13 सावधानः ॥ ५ ॥ पुत्रस्तस्मात्सज्जनः सज्जनानां सेवाकारी मंत्रिसेवा
 14 मिधानः । आसीदाशीर्वादमंत्रैरुदारैः । भूदेवानां भूतले भूतिमाप ॥ ६ ॥
 15 तस्याभवज्जगति मंत्रिमटाभिधानः । ख्यातः सुतः सुचरितः परितः पवि
 16 त्रैः । यः कर्मभिः कुलमशेषमलंचकार । यद्वत्तस्मैलयजो मलयं महार्द्रि
 17 ॥ ७ ॥ अथ मातृवंशः । श्रीकायस्थकुलोद्भवः समभवन्मंत्रीशर्वाभाभिध
 18 स्तपुत्रः पृथिवीशंसंसदि मतः श्रीवश्यराजाभिधः । कन्यारत्नमसू
 19 त तस्य सुतरां सौभाग्यभाग्यास्पदं । प्रेम्णा यस्य पिताभिधानमकरो
 20 त् कीकीति संलालयन् ॥ ८ ॥ भवं भवानीसहितं समर्च्य । पतिव्रता
 21 सा पतिमाससाद । मटाभिधानं सचिवं यथा हि प्रभूतपुण्यं पुरुषं समृद्धिः
 22 ॥ ९ ॥ तां वश्यराजस्य सुतामुपेत्य । पत्नी स सेवात्मज आत्मयोग्या [।*] विचारयु[क्तो]
 23 [वि]चचार चारु । गार्हस्थिकं धर्ममधर्मभीतः ॥ १० ॥ तस्मादभूदङ्कृतभाग्यभा
 24 सुरः । सतामतीवाभिमतः पताभिधः । सुतः सुचेता दुरनेहसिद्धसौ सी
 25 दंतमंत्रैः समर्जीवयज्जनं ॥ ११ ॥ अयाजनामा यवनाधिराजः । कलासु
 26 सर्वासु विशारदोऽभूत् । प्राप्तप्रसादः स तु पातसाहात् । सौराष्ट्रदेशा
 27 धिपतामवाप ॥ १२ ॥ तेन प्रजापालनतत्परेण, विनिर्जिताजेयजनाधि
 28 पेन । दक्षेण दक्षोयमिति प्रहृष्य । यस्मै पुरा मंत्रिपदं प्रदत्तं ॥ १३ ॥ श्री
 29 पातसाहो महमूद्साहस्तस्मै ददौ मंत्रिषु चाभिधाय । श्रीमाफरोयं
 30 मल्लिकः प्रमिद्धं । नामेति तस्मै च नृवाहयानं ॥ १४ ॥ स सर्वतापक्षय
 31 कारि वारे सरो मनोहारि परोपकारी । अकारयत्तारयितुं स्वकीया
 32 न् वलक्षपक्षद्वयपूर्वजानान् ॥ १५ ॥ संवत् १५८२ वर्षे श्रावण शुदि
 33 ८ बुधे श्रीउन्नतदुर्गे श्रीबाह्मकायस्थ ज्ञातीय महं मटासु
 34 त पता पत्नी ३ ललीमदाई हरिवाईतडागंड्वारित । इयं प्रशस्ति [:]
 35 आभ्यंतरनगरज्ञातीय । मन्त्रि श्रीकृष्णदास सुत मन्त्रि श्रीसोमना [ये]
 36 [न कृता] । सूत्रधार माहाव सुत रत्नाकेनोत्कीर्णा ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्री ॥

DHRĀSANAVEL

No. 92]

v.s. 1582.

[12-8-1526

This inscription is copied from a *Palio* standing near the old temple of Siva, called *Magaderu*, to the east of the village Dhrāsānvel near Dwarkā in the Okhāmāndal prānt, in the possession of the Maharaja Gaikwad of Baroda.

¹ Drop the line Such unnecessary strokes are many times given in the record,

It records the death in Dhrāsanavel of Śrī Dharaṇasena in a fight while protecting the cows on Sunday, the fifth of the bright half of Bhādrapada in v.s. 1582 or (Ś. 1448).

The epithet Śrī preceding the name Dharaṇasena, shows that the deceased was not an ordinary man but was probably a Vāḍhela or a Vāghera chieftain.

Text.

- 1 संवत् १५८२ वषे शा
- 2 के १४४८ वर्तमाने द
- 3 क्षणायने भाद्रपद
- 4 मासे शुक्ले पक्षे पंच
- 5 म्यां तिथौ रवौ श्रीधर
- 6 णसेन संग्रामे...
- 7 वि ? गायत्री...
- 8 मरणं द्रासणवल्लि

HALVAD

No. 93.]

v.s. 1583.

[28-2-1527.

This inscription is found in a well near the temple of Saraneśvara Mahādeva adjoining the tank in the town Halvad in Dhrangdhra State.

The inscription is important for the genealogy of the family of the Zālā rulers of Dhrangdhra State. It mentions that Zālā is one of the 36 royal (Kṣatriya) families and gives the following genealogy.

Rana Raṇamal	= Laliāde
Rana Śatruśālya	= Mīnalade
Rana Jitā	= Jitāde
Rana Raṇavīra	= Līlade
Rana Bhīma	= Prīmalade
Rana Vāgha	= Nināde
Rana Rājadhara	= Ahīkarade
Rana Rāṇiga	= Kalyāṇade
Maharana Mānasimha	

The queen KALYĀNADE, mother of Mahārāṇā MĀNASIMHA, was, it is further told, the daughter of MAHĀRĀṆĀ SĀRANGDE of the VĀGHELĀ family by his wife Virāde. For the benefit of all creatures Kalyānade caused a well to be dug up during the time of her son Mahārāṇā Mānasimha on Thursday, the 13th of the dark half of Phālguna in v.s. or Ś. 1448.

Text.

- 1 ॥ ॐ नमु श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीसारस्वई नमः श्रीअंबिकाईनम गुरभ्यो नमः
- 2 ॥ स्वस्तश्रीजयो मंगलाभ्युदयश्च । श्रीमन्नृपविक्रमाऽर्कसमयातीत संवत् १५८३ वै
- 3 ॥ १४ साके १४४८ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायने शिशिकृतौ फाल्गुनमासे कृष्णपक्षे १३ त्रयोद
- 4 ॥ स्यां तिथौ गुरुवारे धेनिष्ठानक्षत्रे सिधियोगे बब करणे मीनलभ बहमाने

- 5 ॥ पट्टिशद्राजकुलवतंस झळवंशप्रदीपकराय श्रीरणम्यल भार्या बाई श्रीलीलादेत
- 6 ॥ त्तुत रायश्री शशुशल्य भार्या बाई श्रीमीणलदे तत्तुत रायश्रीजिता भार्या बाई श्री जितादेत
- 7 ॥ त्तुत रांणश्रीरणवीरभार्या बाई श्रीलीलादे तत्तुत रांणश्रीभीमभार्या बाईश्रीप्री
- 8 ॥ मलदे तत्तुत राणश्रीवाघभार्या बाई श्रीनीणादे तत्तुत राणश्री राजधरभार्या बाई
- 9 ॥ श्रीअहिकारदे तत्तुन रांणश्री राणिगदे भार्या बाई श्रीकल्याणदे तत्तुत मा
- 10 ॥ हाराण श्रीमानसिंहविजिराज्ये वाघेलावंशोद्भव महारांण श्रीसारंगदे भा
- 11 ॥ र्या बाई श्रीवीरादे तत्तुता बाई श्रीकल्याणदे मानसिंहमाता बाई श्रीकल्याणदे श्रीविष्णु
- 12 ॥ प्रीतये सर्वजंतूनामुपकाराय वापी कारापतं सुभं भवतु कल्याणमस्तु ॥
- 13 ॥ एक गौपदमात्रं वा उदकं धारिति मही षष्ठी वरिषसहस्राणि शिवलोके च महीयंते ॥
- 14 ॥ स्नाने दाने तथा पुण्ये देवे पितरे च कर्मणि । सामान्य सर्वभूतेभ्यो मया दत्तमिदं जलं[॥]
- 15 ॥ वाणारक्षी चायशं पुण्यं तत्पुण्यं नितुदर्शनात् अथवा स्नानपूजायां गंगास्नाना
- 16 ॥ दिक्कं फलं ॥

VELĀVDAR

No. 94]

v.s. 1584.

[23-4-1528.

The following inscription is found in a well at the entrance of the village Velāvdar in Wadhwan State, at a distance of 20 miles from Wadhwan in the north-east direction. It measures 5'8" in length and only 10" in breadth. The letters which are of a big size are very incorrectly engraved. The last line of the record is unintelligible.

It opens with the date, Thursday, the fifth of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1584 (Śaka 1450) and refers to the reign of the Gujarat Sultan BAHĀ-DURSHAH, and of his feudatory chief Rāṇā Mānasīnhaji, evidently of Halvad, the old capital of Dhrangdhra State. It then seems to record that a woman of Solanki family and resident of Valva caused to be made a well on the abovementioned date.

Text.

- 1 संवत् १५८४ वरषे साके १४५० प्रवर्तमाने वैशाकमासे सुकलपषे पंचम्यां गुरुवासरे पातसा श्रीवह्मदर वो
- 2 जयराज्ये तथा राणश्रीमानसंग वजिराये अदेह वल्लववास्तव सोलंकी राण सत रसल सत-दल
- 3 सत रा० हाजा सत रा० पत्नी भाब्बा बाई ससरी सत रा० धना भाब्बा बाई धाई सत रा० वामा भाब्बा बाई राजी
- 4 व्यापी रा० वावितवाण अधरा रा० वामाना भाळ रा० जाहालरा मूलरा० वाघा बाई पामी भाळ रूप रा० वामा
- 5 नि सत बैटा पवटी १ रा० वसा रा० विरा रा० वना रा० रणवीर बाइ रंगी गजधर-नाम जसा पाता करावि देसाई² सोलंकी मेगलभार्या मगल.

1. The names are quite unintelligible.

2. Curiously enough the इ is expressed here by three zeroes as in ancient inscriptions.

ŚATRUNJAYA HILL, PALITANA

No 95]

v.s. 1587.

[7-5-1531.

This inscription is engraved on a black stone slab fixed in the wall of the Ādiśvara temple on the famous Śatrunjaya hill near Palitana. It is carefully engraved and is in a good condition. The inscribed portion measures 2' 5" by 1' 5¼".

This important inscription was formerly published by Dr. BÜHLER in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol II, pp 42 ff

The record mentions that Bahadur Shah, successor of Muzfar Shah, the successor of Mahamud Shah, was ruling over Gujarat in v.s. 1587. Then is mentioned the name of Majhād Khan i.e. Mujāhid Khān Bhikan who, we know, was the Sultan's viceroy over Sorath. Then the description of the Citrakūta hill is given, which was situated in Medapāta i.e. Mewād, where Ratnasimha, son of Sangrāmasimha, son of Rājamalla, son of Kumbharāja was ruling. Ratnasimha's prime minister was Karmarāja, a detailed account of whose family is next given. He went to the Śatrunjaya hill on pilgrimage and there made the seventh restoration and re-built the temple of Pundarika on the sixth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1587 or Śaka 1453. For this he had obtained permission of Sultan *Bahadur* through the good offices of Rava Narasimhaka, the Sultan's prime minister. The praśasti was composed by Pandit Lāvanyasamaya.

It is to be noted that in this record the names of Sikandar and Mahmud II, who ruled for a short time between Muzfar and Bahadur are omitted. The mention of the Mewād kings has added much to the importance of the inscription.

Text.

- 1 ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीगूर्जरधारिण्यां पातसाहश्रीमहिमूदपट्टप्रभाकरपातसाहश्रीमदाफरसाह-
पट्टोद्योतकारक
- 2 पातसाहश्रीश्रीश्रीवाहदरसाहविजयराज्ये ॥ संवत् १५८७ वर्षे राज्यव्यापारधुरंधर
षानश्रीमद्वापानव्या
- 3 पारे श्रीशत्रुंजयगिरौ श्रीचित्रकूटवास्तव्य । दी० करमाकृत सप्तमोद्धारसक्ता प्रशस्तिर्लि-
ख्यते ॥ स्वस्तिश्रीसौख्य
- 4 दो जीयात् युगादिजिननायकः । केवलज्ञानविमलो विमलाचलमडनः ॥ १ श्रीमेदपाटे
प्रगट-प्रभावे । भावेन भ
- 5 व्ये भुवनप्रसिद्धे । श्रीचित्रकूटो मुकुटोपमानो । विराजमानोस्ति समस्तलक्ष्म्याः ॥ २
सन्नदनो दातृसुरदुमश्च तुं
- 6 गः सुवर्णोपि विहारसारः । जिनेश्वरस्नानपवित्रभूमिः । श्रीचित्रकूटः सुरशैलतुल्यः ॥ ३
विशालसालक्षिति
- 7 लोचनानो रम्यो नृणां लोचनचित्रकारी । विचित्रकूटो गिरि चित्रकूटो । लोकस्तु यत्राखिल-
कूटमुक्तः ॥ ४ तत्र श्रीकु-
- 8 भराजोऽभूत् कुभोद्भवनिभो नृपः । वैरिवर्गः समुद्रो हि येन पीतः क्षणात् क्षितौ ॥ ५
तत्पुत्रो राजमल्लोभूद्वाज्ञो म

- 9 ल इवोक्तः । सुतः संप्रामसिंहोऽस्य संप्रामविजयी नृपः ॥ ६ तत्पट्टभूषणमणिः सिंहद्रव्य-
राकमी । रत्नसिंहाऽ
- 10 धुना राजा राजलक्ष्म्या विराजते ॥ ७ इतश्च गोपाह्नगिरौ गरिष्ठः श्रीबप्पभट्टिप्रतिबोधितश्च ।
श्रीधामराजोऽजनि तस्य
- 11 पत्नी काचिद्धभूव व्यवहारिपुत्री ॥ ८ तत्कुक्षिजाता [ः] किल राजकोष्ठागाराह्नगोत्रे सुकृतै-
कपात्रे । श्रीजशवंशे विशदे
- 12 विशाले तस्यान्वयेऽमी पुरुषाः प्रसिद्धाः ॥ ९ श्रीसरणदेवनामा तत्पुत्रो रामदेवनामाभूत् ।
लक्ष्मीसिंहः पुत्रो...तत्पु
- 13 त्रो भुवनपालाख्यः ॥ १० श्रीभोजराजपुत्रो [वच्छ?] रसिंहाख्य एव तत्पुत्रः । धेताक-
स्तत्पुत्रो नरसिंहस्तत्पु
- 14 [तो जातः] ॥ ११ तत्पुत्रस्तोलख्यः पत्नी तस्याः (स्य) प्रभूतकुलजाता । तारादेपर
नाम्नी लीलपुण्यप्रभापूर्ण ॥ १२ तत्कुक्षिसमुद्भूताः ष [८]
- 15 पुत्राः कल्पपादपाकारा [धर्मा]नुष्ठानपराः श्रीवंतः श्रीकृतोऽन्येषां ॥ १३ प्रथमो रत्नाख्य-
सुतः सम्यक्त्वोद्योतकारकः कामं ।
- 16 श्रीचित्रकूटनगरे प्रासादः [कारितो] येन ॥ १४ तस्याऽस्ति कोमलपाल्यवल्लीव विशदा
सदा । भार्या रजमलदेवी पुत्रः श्रीरंगना
- 17 मासौ ॥ १५ भ्राताऽन्यः पोमाह्नः पतिभक्ता दानशीलगुणयुक्ता पद्मापाटमदेव्यौ पुत्रौ माणि-
क्यहीराह्नौ ॥ १६ बंधुर्गणस्तु-
- 18 तीयो भार्या गुणरत्नराशि विख्याता । गडरागारतदेव्यौ पुत्रो देवाभिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १७
तुयौ दशरथनामा भार्या तस्यास्ति देवगु
- 19 रुभक्ता । देवल [६]रमदेव्यौ पुत्रः केल्लाभिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १८ भ्राताऽन्यो भोजाख्यः भार्या
तस्यास्ति सकलगुणयुक्ता
- 20 भावलहर्षमदेव्यौ पुत्रः श्रीमण्डणे जीयात् ॥ १९ सदा सदाचारविचारचास्चातुर्यधैर्यादिगुणैः
प्रयुक्तः श्रीकर्मराजो
- 21 भगिनी च तेषां जीयात्सदा सूहृदिनामधेया ॥ २० कर्माख्यभार्या प्रथमा कपूरदेवी पुनः
कामलदे द्वितीया । श्रीभीषजी
- 22 कस्वकुलोदयाद्रिसूर्यप्रभः कामलदेविपुत्रः ॥ २१ श्रीतीर्थयात्राजिनर्बिबपूजापदप्रतिष्ठादिक-
वर्मेधुर्याः । सुपात्रदानेन प
- 23 वित्रमात्राः सर्वेदशाः सत्पुरुषाः प्रसिद्धाः ॥ २२ श्रीरत्नसिंहराज्ये राज्यव्यापारभारधौरेयः ।
श्रीकर्मसिंहदक्षो मुख्यो
- 24 व्यवहारिणां मध्ये ॥ २३ श्रीशत्रुंजयमाहात्म्यं श्रुत्वा सद्गुरुसंनिधौ । तस्योद्धारकृते भावः
कर्मराजस्य-यभूत् ॥ २४ आग
- 25 त्य गौर्जरे देशे विवेकेन नरायणे । वसंति विबुधा लोकाः पुण्यश्लोका इवाऽद्भुताः ॥ २५
तत्रास्ति श्रीधरार्धाशः श्रीमत्
- 26 बाहादरो नृपः । तस्य प्राप्य स्फुरन्मानं पुंडरीके समाययौ ॥ २६ राज्यव्यापारधौरेयः
पानः श्रीमान् मझादकः । तस्य गेहे म
- 27 हामंत्रो रवाख्यो नरसिंहकः ॥ २७ तस्य सन्मानमुत्प्राप्य बहुवित्तव्ययेन च । उद्धारः सप्त-
मस्तेन चके शत्रुंजये गिरौ ॥ २८

- 28 श्रीपादलिप्तललनासरशुद्धदेशे सद्वाद्यमंगलमनोहरगीतना[दैः] श्रीकर्मराजसुधिया जलयात्रि-
कायां चक्रे महोत्स
29 ववरः सुगुरुपदेशात् ॥ २९ चंचच्चंगमृदंगरंगरचनाभेरीनफेरीरवा वीणा[वंश]विशुद्धनालवि-
भवासाधर्मिवात्सल्य
30 कं । वल्लालंकृतिहेमदुंगतुरगादीनां च सद्धर्षणमेवं विस्तरपूर्वकं गिरिवरे विंभप्रतिष्ठापनं ॥
३० विक्रमसमयातीते ति
31 थिमितसंवत्सरेऽश्ववसुवर्षे । १५८७ शाके जगन्निबाणे ५३ वैषाषे कृष्णषष्ठ्यां च ॥ ३१

HĀMAPAR

No. 96]

v s. 1588

[20-1-1532.

Hāmapar is a small but old village in the Rājasitāpur Mahāl of the Dhrāngdhra State at a distance of six miles to the north of the Rājasitāpur Railway Station on the Wadhwan-Dhrangdhra line. To the east of a very large well there is a Śiva temple where the following two inscriptions are found engraved on the lintel of the door. Both of them together measure 22'-10" in length and 6" in breadth

Both the inscriptions are of the same date and also record the same object viz. the Śiva temple was built by one Jitamāla of the Sōlanki family, on Saturday the 13th of the bright half of Māgha in v. s. 1588 or Śaka 1453 when Mahāmālik Ayajavalli was the viceroy at Hāmpur, evidently of the Gujarat Sultan and Mahārānā Mānsūhji was ruling, evidently at Halvad.

Text

(१)

- 1 संवत् १५८८ वर्षे शाके १४५३ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायणे श्रीसूर्ये
- 2 ...महामांगल्यप्रदमाघमासे शुक्लपक्षे १३ त्रयोदश्यां
- 3 तिथौ शनिवासरे हामपरवास्तव्य महामलेक श्रीअयाज
- 4 वल्लीविजयराज्ये महाराणा श्रीमानसिंहजीविजयराज्ये
- 5व्यापारे क्षत्रियज्ञातिना परोपकाराय सोलं
- 6 की रात महोजल सुत रात डुंगर भार्या बाई मती सुत रात
- 7 जितमालेन ईश्वरप्रासाद उद्धरितः ।

(२)

- 1 संवत् १५८८ वर्षे शाके १४५३ प्रवर्तमाने
- 2 महामांगल्यप्रदमाघमासे शु
- 3 कलपषे १३ त्रयोदश्यां तिथौ शनिवासरे
- 4 हामपरवास्तव्य माहामलेक श्री
- 5 असजावल वजयराजे माहाराणा
- 6 श्रीमानसंगवजयराजे व्यव० राजश्री

The rest of the portion is illegible.

NAGICHAṆA

No. 97]

v. s. 1590

[14-9-1534

This inscription is engraved on a pillar of a *Deri* called Gosarā in the village Nagicāṇā in Mangrol State. It measures 10" by 12".

It records the death, in a fight, of Pithūā Anaṣā, son of Vāsanga, at Nagicāṇā on Sunday, the 11th of the dark half of Bhādaravā in v s 1590, during the victorious reign of Bahādurshaha, evidently the Gujarat Sultan.

Text

- 1 संवत् १५९० वरषे भादर
- 2 वा वदि ११ रवौ नगचाणाग्रा
- 3 मे पातसाहा श्रीवाहादर
- 4 साहा बिजिराजे पोठीआ
- 5 वासंगसुत अणसा सं
- 6 ग्रामे मरण सूतार अमर
- 7 सी सूतार वरदेनी पाऊ

PAḌA

No 98]

v. s. 1594.

[1538.

This inscription is inscribed on a stone slab lying in the small village Padā near Dhokadvā, in the Junagadh State. It measures 18" × 13½".

It opens with the date, Sunday the fourth of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v. s. 1594 and mentions the names, possibly of the officers, of *Sherkhan* and *Malik Ajjalāuddin*. The middle portion of the record is unintelligible. A land consisting of 31 bighas seems to have been granted to some body, whose name is not known. In the concluding portion both the Muhammedans and the Hindus are asked not to violate the grant.

Text

- 1 संवत् १५९४ वषे
- 2 वईसाप सुदि ४ रवौ^१ पि
- 3 रपानसाही मलिक श्रीअजी
- 4 जलाहोदि सहाकल (?) मांडण मौ
- 5 ज प[ड] बजरप (?)...अहव
- 6
- 7 आ सेढालु वीगत आथमणि भू
- 8 मि वीधा ३१ सेडाबंध पाव जे
- 9 साने आपू अहेनो जे को वस
- 10 होअ ते अेवा भराविषे (?) पात
- 11 साहि पलित तरकाणे सूर हीद
- 12 वाणि गाय लोपि तेहनि...

1. The date does not agree.

*
BAGASRĀ

No. 99]

v.s. 1604.

[18-3-1548.

The following two inscriptions are engraved side by side on a yellowish stone lying at the north-west corner of the village Bagasrā (Dhed) under Junagadh State. The right hand inscription measures 6" by 9½" and the left hand one, 7½" by 9¼"

Both the inscriptions are of the same date i.e. Sunday, the ninth of the bright half of Caitra of v.s. 1604 or Śaka 1470 and refer to the rule of the Sultan MUHAMMAD Shaha. The right hand inscription records the death at Bagasrā of Vāghelā Vāktā, son of Hibā Mālā, in a fight while protecting the cows. The left hand inscription records that the wife, named Amenā of that man became a sati. She was the daughter of Kācā Parvata of Bagasrā and his wife Ravibai.

Text

(१)

- 1 ॥ ७० ॥ उ नमः श्रीशवाय ॥ स्वस्ति श्री
- 2 नृपतिविक्रमा अर्क समयातीतः संव
- 3 त १६०४ वर्षे शाके १४७० प्रवर्तमा
- 4 ने पातशा[ह] श्रीमहिमूंदशाहविजै
- 5 राये अयेह श्री बगसरग्रामस्य
- 6 बाघेला हीबामाला सुत बाक्ता गो
- 7 प्रहे मृतः चैत्र सुदि ९ रिवौ श्रीः

(२)

- 1 ॥ ७० ॥ उ नमः श्रीशिवायः ॥ स्व
- 2 स्ति श्रीनृपतिविक्रमा अर्कसमया
- 3 तीतः संवत् १६०४ वर्षे शाके १४
- 4 ७० प्रवर्तमाने पातशाह श्री महि
- 5 मूंदशाह व्यजै राये अयेह श्री
- 6 श्रीश्री. बगसरग्रामस्य का
- 7 चा पर्वतः तस्य भार्या बाई रवी
- 8 तस्य पुत्री बाई अमणा साहा गम
- 9 न कृत्वा चैत्र सुदि ९ रिवौः ॥

KODĪDARĀ

No. 100]

v.s. 1609.

[30-1-1553.

This inscription is engraved on a *pālio* found in a small village named Kodīdarā, situated near Somanātha Pātana. The inscribed portion measures 1'-6" in length and 1' in breadth.

It records that the *pālio* of Hadiāni Suraja was raised in the village Kodīdarā in the reign of Fātasāhā MAHAMŪD at Devapātana on Monday the second of the dark half of Māgha in v.s. 1609.

Mahamūd was the Gujarat Sultan, who ruled from 1536 to 1554 A.D. at Ahmedabad.

Text

- 1 संवत् १६०९ वर्षे माहा व
- 2 दि २ सोमे आदे श्रीदेवप-
- 3 तने पातसाहा श्रीमिमू
- 4 दसाहा...कोडीदरा
- 5 ग्रामे हडीआनी सुरज
- 6 पालीआ

WADHWAN

No. 101]

v.s. 1613.

[26-7-1557.

This inscription is copied from a white stone slab discovered at Wadhwan during excavations of the old palace foundations. The stone is now lying near the State stables in the Darbargaḥ at Wādhwān. The inscribed portion, which is in a good condition, measures $2\frac{1}{2}'$ by $2\frac{5}{8}'$. Below it are carved a pig and an ass. Being inscribed in very incorrect Gujarati and also in an awkward manner the meaning of the inscription has to be made out with much difficulty.

The record opens with the date, Monday, the first of the bright half of Śrāvana of v.s. 1613 and refers to the reign of PĀTSHAH AHMAD. Names of several officers are then given. They are : Hazrat Suleman Khan, Itimad Khan Ahodī, Mir Hazbar, Malik Ain Havāli, Malik Nusrat Phal, Malik Agadh, Meheta (?) Rangvala, Arisinhā Sāngana, chief (?) of Wadhwan, Mir Abdul Halim, Bakshi of Wadhwan, Desai Āsā, Patel and Talāti. Then it is stated thus—whatever *Vaje* is due from the *pasāitas* of the abovementioned town, both Koṭias and Talāvias, this shall be spent by the Talāvias on the Talav (i.e. tank) and the Koṭias on the Koṭ (i.e. fort). Whoever shall infringe these stipulations will be subject to the curse of the cow if he is a Hindu and that of the boar if he is a Musalman.

The Patshah Ahmed mentioned in the record is the Gujrat Sultan Ahmed II, whose Diwan, was the powerful noble Itimat Khan Zalavad, in which Wadhwan is situated was directly under him. (See Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 260.) The other names are of officers connected with the government of Wadhwan.

This inscription shows the origin of the Kotia and Talavia Kolis. They were *pasāitas* or landholders and were bound to work for the forts and tanks of the places, near which their holdings were situated

Text

- 1 संवत् १६१३ वरषे सावण सु[दि १ सो]
- 2 मे श्रीदीवान शक झालावाडि पातसाह
- 3 श्री अहिमद् बजिराजि ताअेन^१ (?) ह
- 4 जरत सेलेमान बां. श्रीअतमेतवान
- 5 अहोदि मर श्रीइजेवर, मलेक अेन
- 6 हवाल्लि, म० नुसत्र फल, मलेक अग
- 7 ध म० श्रीरंगवलारुणगणैः ? वढवाण
- 8 णि रा० श्रीअरिसिंहजी सांगण सुपवे
- 9 मी. अबदल हलीन अषजगहसा जव (?)
- 10 बक्षी वढवाण देसई असव पटिल

1. A large number of words in this inscription are unintelligible.

- 11 तलाटी जोग्य जत कसवे मजकुरना पसा
- 12 धिता कोटीआ वा तलावीमां नो वजे आ
- 13 पि तलावीआं तलावि कोटीआं कोटि
- 14 घरचि वे वात लोपिते दापे हींदुआ
- 15 गे गाई तरकाणे सुअर ओपर ग
- 16 जूर देसही जूला वू. वधजा व. जसाप ?
- 17 भातरी ऐकोजिव लोपे तेनी गधडगालि

DAHISARĀ

No. 102]

v.s. 1622.

[30-7-1556.

This inscription is engraved on the lintel of the temple popularly known as Dhungadmalla's temple in the village Dahisarā, at a distance of three miles from Vavānā in Morvi State. The lower portion of the inscription, which measures about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length and only 10 inches in breadth is illegible.

It seems to record the building of the temple by the wife of Jām Śrī Karanaji of Dahisarā on Tuesday, the fourteenth of the dark half of Śrāvana in v.s. 1622 or Śaka 1488

Karanaji was merely a *Bhāyāt* of the ruling family of Navānagar, though he is given the epithets Jāma Śrī out of respect only.

Text

- 1 संवत् १६२२ वर्षे शाके १४८८ संवत्सर प्रवर्तमाने श्रावण वदि १४ भौमे अद्येह
- 2 श्रीदहीसरावास्तव्यजामश्रीकरणजी तस्य गृहे भार्या
- 3रणछोडजीना चरणसेवाने आसाद....

GHOGHA

No. 103]

v.s. 1634.

[13-10-1577.

This inscription was discovered in the Khāri vāv at the Ghoghā port. It was published by Col. Watson in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 283, from which the following text is copied

The inscription states that on Sunday, the 2nd of the bright half of Kārtika in v.s. 1634, in the glorious reign of Padishah Śrī AKBAR, when Raja-śrī Kalyānarai was in charge of the port and in the reign of the king Visājithe vāv of Ghāyanti in the Puti garden was built. The inscription ends with an ass-curse.

The king Visāji mentioned in the record was an ancestor of the Maharaja of Bhavnagar.

Text

॥ संवत् १६३४ वर्षे कार्तिकशुदि २ रवौ पातशा श्री ५ अकबर विजयराज्ये हवाली राज्यश्री कल्याणराय श्रीलाल राजाविसाजीआर आखं ? घायंतीती बाव्य पूतीवाडी छे त्यांहा हांडु तथा जशाल कोमर मझामति थइ तेहनी गधीडगालि ॥

MANKHETRA

No. 104]

v.s. 1639.

[24-1-1583.

This inscription is found in a well called Khetsarā in the village Mān-khetra, 3 miles to the east of Mangrol. It is engraved on a yellow stone and measures 1' by 11".

The record opens with an invocation to Gaṇeśa. Then it is stated that the digging of a well, etc. is more meritorious than performing a hundred sacrifices. Then a long genealogy of a family belonging to the Prāgvat community is given in which the sons of Parikṣa(?) Phakā named Parikṣa Ramji, Devadās, Ravidās, Amidās, Acala and Sāring caused a well to be made on Thursday, the 12th of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1639 or Śaka 1505. In the concluding portion blessings are given to the builders of the well.

Text

- 1 ॥ ॐ । नमो भगवते श्रीमंगलेश्वराय [१*] श्रीमत् दिव्यलक्ष्मीनृ
- 2 सिंहाय नमः [१*] श्रीश्रीमदनगोपालाय ॥ नौमीव्यतेभुवपु
- 3 षे तडिदं वराय गुंजावर्तसपरिपिच्छलसन्मुखाय [१*] वन्यसू
- 4 जेकवलवेत्रविषाणवेणुलक्ष्मत्रिये मृदुपदे पशुपां [गजा]
- 5 य ॥ १ ॥ तीर्थाधिक यज्ञशताब्ध पावनं । जलं सदा केशवद
- 6 छिसंस्थितं । छिनति पापं तुलसीविमिश्रितं विशेषतश्चक्रशि
- 7 लाविनिर्गतं ॥ २ ॥ श्रीवशविशुद्धप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठकर सो
- 8 मसुत ठकर धारसी सुत ठकर मंडलिक सुत ठकर काहां
- 9 न भगवती सुत ठकर वरशंगसुत परिक्ष जितमाल सु
- 10 त परिक्ष बूटा सुत परिक्ष गांगा सुत परिक्ष फका सुत परि
- 11 क्ष रामजी देवदास रविदास अमीदास अचल सारिग
- 12 एभिर्वाप्योद्धारः कृतः ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ संवत् १६३९
- 13 वर्षे शाके १५०५ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायन (ण) गते श्रीसूर्ये शिशिर
- 14 रितौ महामांगल्यप्रदमाषशुदि १२ गुरौ । यावद्वीचीतरंगा बहति सुर
- 15 नदी जाह्नवी पुंण (पुष्य) तोया । यावच्चा (च्या) काशमार्गे तपति दिनकरो भास्करो लो
- 16 कपालः यावद्ब्रज्रेदनीलस्फटिकमणिमयं वर्तते मेरुशृंगं तावत्त्वं पु
- 17 त्रपौत्रैः स्वजनपरिगतो जीव विष्णोः प्रसादात् ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

DHROL

No. 105]

v.s. 1647

[1-8-1591.

This inscription is engraved on one of the *pāthās* standing to the north of the temple of Bhūtanātha Mahādeva in the place called 'Bhūchara Mori' at a distance of a mile and a half to the south-west of Dhrol. The inscribed portion measures 2½' in height but only 10" in breadth.

It records the death of a warrior named Bārada Gōlā (?) while fighting

1. Elsewhere the word used in this connection is वैदूर्य.

together with *Ajāji* against *Ājama Khān* on Sunday, the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1647.

This record refers to the well-known battle that took place at Bhūchar Mori between the armies of Khān Azam, the Gujarat Viceroy of the Emperor of Delhi, and the armies of the Jāmsaheb of Navānagar under Jam Satrasāla's son Ajoji and his minister Jasā Ladaka. In the fight Ajoji and Jasā were killed with considerable loss to their army.

Text

- 1 संवत् १६४७
- 2 वरषे सरा
- 3 वण वद ८
- 4 राव बारड
- 5 श्रीगोला:
- 6 नापाणी: गो
- 7 हेडीअ कुं
- 8 अर श्री अज
- 9 सये मराण
- 10 षान श्री आज
- 11 मषननी टो
- 12 दमरणा ग
- 13 जधर: मेपा
- 14 पाली अटाक

ŚATRUNJAYA

No. 106]

v.s. 1650.

This inscription is engraved in the porch of the east entrance of the Ādiśvara temple on the left hand on the famous Śatruñjaya hill. It was once published by Dr. BÜHLER in the *Epi. Ind.* II, p. 50.

Text

- 1 ओं ऊं नमः । श्रेयस्वी प्रथमः प्रभुः प्रथिमभाग् नैपुण्यपुण्यात्मनामस्तु स्वस्तिकरः सुखा-
ब्धिमकरः श्री[आदि]
- 2 देवः स वः पद्मोल्लासकरः करैरिव रविर्व्योम्नि क्रमांभोरुहन्त्यासैर्यस्तिलकीबभूव भगवान्
शत्रुजयेनेक
- 3 शः ॥ १ श्रीसिद्धार्थनरेशवंशसरसीजन्माञ्जिनीवल्लभः पायाद्दः परमप्रभावभवनं श्रीवर्द्धमानः
प्रभुः । उत्पत्तिस्थितिसं
- 4 हतिप्रकृतिवाग् यद् गौजगत्पावनी । स्वर्वापीव महाव्रतिप्रणयभूरासीद् रसोल्लासिनी ॥ २
आसीद्वासवद्वंद्वदितपदद्वंद्वः
- 5 [पदं] संपदां । तत्पट्टांबुधिचंद्रमा गणधरः श्रीमान् सुधर्माभिधः । यस्यौदार्ययुता प्रहृष्ट-
सुमना अद्यापि विद्यावती धत्ते

- 6 संततिरुन्नतिं भगवतो वीरप्रभोगौरिव ॥ ३ श्रीसुस्थितः सुप्रतिबुद्ध एतौ सूरी अभूतां तदनु-
क्रमेण याभ्यां गणोऽभू
- 7 दिद् कोटिकाह्वंशं द्रायमभ्यामिव सुप्रकाशः ॥ ४ तत्राभूद्वणिनां वंशः श्रीवज्रार्थिगणाधिपः मूल
श्रीवज्रशाखायाः गं
- 8 गायः हिमवानिव ॥ ५ तत्पट्टांबरदिनमणिरुदितः श्रीवज्रसेनगुरुरासीत् । नागेंद्रचंद्रनिर्द्वैति ।
विद्याधर संज्ञकाश्च तच्छिष्याः
- 9 ॥ ६ स्वस्वनामसमानानि । येभ्यश्चत्वारि जज्ञिरे । कुलानि काममेतेषु कुलं चांद्रं तु दिद्युते ॥
७ भास्करा इव तिमिरं । हरंतः ख्याति
- 10 भाजनं भूरयः सूरयस्तत्र । जज्ञिरे जगतां मताः ॥ ८ बभूवुः । कमतस्तत्र श्रीजगच्चंद्रसूरयः ।
यैस्तपोविहं लेभे । बाणसिद्धार्क
- 11 १२८५ वत्सरे ॥ ९ क्रमेणास्मिन् गणे हेम । विमलाः सूरयोभवन् । तत्पट्टे सूरयोभूव ।
नानंदविमलाभिधाः ॥ १० साध्वाचारविधिः प
- 12 यः शिथिलः सम्यक् श्रियां धाम यैरुद्रे स्तनसिद्धिसायकधुधारोचिर्निभि १५८२ नेहसि ।
जीमूतैरिव यैर्गन्तुनरिदं तापं
- 13 हरद्विर्दृशं सश्रीकं विदधे गवां शुचितमैः स्तोमैरसोळासिभिः ॥ ११ पद्माश्रयैरलमलंकियते
स्म तेषां । प्रीणन्मनां
- 14 सि जगतां कमलोदयेन । पट्टः प्रवाह इव निर्जरनिकं (ई) रिष्याः । शुद्धात्मभिर्विजयदाना
मुनीशहंसैः ॥ १२ सौभाग्यं हरिसर्वं प
- 15 वैद्वरणं रूपं च रंभापतिः । श्रीजैत्रं शतपत्रमित्रमहसां चौरं प्रतापं पुनः । येषां वीक्ष्य सना-
तनं मधुरिपुस्त्रः स्वामिधम्मीशवो जाताः
- 16 काममपत्रपाभरन्वतो गोपत्वमाप्ताब्जयः ॥ १३ तत्पट्टः प्रकटः प्रकामकलितोद्द्योतस्तथ-
सौधवत् । सस्नेहैर्यतिराज
- 17 हीरविजयस्नेहप्रियैर्निर्ममे । सौभाग्यं महसां भरेण महतामत्यर्थमुल्लासिनां । विप्राणः स
यथाजनिष्ट सदृशां कामप्र
- 18 मोदास्पद ॥ १४ देशाद् गूर्जरतोय सूरिवृषभा आकारिताः सादरं । श्रीमत्साहि अकरब्बरेण
विषय मेवातसंज्ञं शुभम् । शा
- 19 ...जपाणयोवतमसं सर्वं हरंतो गवां । स्तोमैः सूत्रितविश्वविश्वकमलोल्लासनैर्भोर्का इव ॥ १५
चक्रुः फतेपुरम
- 20 ...[नि]मौम । ह्य युग्मकोककुलमाप्तसुखं सृजंतः । अब्देकपावकनृपप्रमिते १६३९
स्वगोभिः । सोल्ला
- 21 ...बुजकाननं ये ॥ १६ दामेवाखिलभूपमूर्द्धु निजामाज्ञां सदा ऋरयथ । श्रीमान् शाहि-
अकब्बरो नरवरो [देशेष्वा]
- 22 शेषेष्वपि । षण्मासाभयदानपुष्टपट्टहोद्वोषानघध्वंसिनः । कामं कारयति स्म हृष्टहृदयो
यद्वाक्कलार(रं) जितः ।
- 23 ॥ १७ यपु(दु)पदेशवशेन मुदं दधन्निखिलमण्डलवासिजने निजे । मृतधनं च करं च
सुजीजिअभिधमकब्बरभूपतिरत्यजत्
- 24 ॥ १८ यद्वाचा कतकाभया विमलितस्वातांबुपूरः कृपा । पूर्णः शाहिरनिधनीतिवनिताकोडी-
कृतात्मात्यजत् । शुल्कं त्यक्तु

- 25 [म] शक्यमन्यधरणीराजां जनप्रीतये । तद्वान्नीडजपुंजपूरुषपशंश्चामूचद्भूरिशः ॥ १९
यद्वाचां निचयैर्मुधाकृतसुधास्वादै
- 26 [र] मदैः कृता । ल्हदः श्रीमदकब्बरः क्षितिपतिः संतुष्टिपुष्टाशयः । त्यक्त्वा तत्करमर्थ-
सार्यमतुलं येषां मनःप्रीतये । जैनेभ्य
- 27 : प्रददौ च तीर्थतिलकं शत्रुंजयोर्वीधरं ॥ २० यद्वाग्निर्मुदितश्चकार करुणास्फूर्जन्मनाः
पौस्तकं । भांडागारमपारवाङ्मय
- 28 मयं वेदमेव वाग्दैवतं । यत्संवेगभरेण भावितमतिः शाहिः पुनः प्रत्यहं । पूतात्मा बहु
मन्यते भगवतां सदृशेनो दर्शनम् ॥ २१
- 29 यद्वाचा तरणित्विवेव कलितोल्लासं मनः पंकजं । बिभ्रच्छाहि अकब्बरौ व्यसनधीपाथोजिनो
चद्रमा । जज्ञे श्राद्धजनोचितैश्च सुकृतै
- 30 : सर्वेषु देशेष्वपि । ख्यतश्चाहृतभक्तिभावितमतिः श्रीश्रेणिकश्मापवत् ॥ २२ लुंपाकाधिप-
मेधजीकृषिमुखा हित्वा कुमत्याग्रह (हं) । भेजुर्यच्च
- 31 रणद्वयीमनुदिनं भृंगा इवांभोजिनीं । उल्लासं गमिता यदीयवचनैर्वैराग्यरंगोन्मुखै । ज्ञाताः
स्वस्वमतं विहाय बहवो लोकास्तपासंज्ञका
- 32 ॥ २३ आसीच्चैत्यविधापनादिसुकृतक्षेत्रेषु वित्तव्ययो । भूयान् यद्वचनेन गूर्जरधरामुख्येषु
देशेष्वलं । यात्रां गूर्जरमालवादिकमहादेशो
- 33 द्भवैर्भूरिभिः । सधैः सार्द्धसृष्टीश्वरा विदधिर शत्रुंजये ये गिरौ ॥ २४ तत्पट्टमब्धिमिव
रम्यतमं सृजतः । स्तोमैर्गवां सकलसंतमसं हरतः
- 34 कामोल्लसत्कुवलयप्रणया जयति स्फूर्जत्कला विजयसेनमुनीन्द्रचंद्राः ॥ २५ यत्प्रतापस्य
माहात्म्यं वर्ण्यते किमतः परं । अस्वप्नाश्चकिरे येन जीवंतो
- 35 पि हि वादिनः । २६ सौभ्याग्यं विषमायुधात्कमलिनीकांताश्च तेजस्विना । मैश्वर्यं गिरिजा-
पतेः कुमुदिनीकांताकलामालिनां । माहात्म्यं ध
- 36 रणीधरान्मखभुजां गांभीर्यमंभोजिने । रादायांबुजभूः प्रभुः प्रविदधे यन्मूर्तिमेतन्मयी ॥ २७
ये च श्रीमदकब्बरेण विनयादाकारिताः
- 37 सादरं । श्रीमल्लभपुरं पुरंदरपुरं व्यक्तं सुपर्वोत्तरैः । भूयोभिर्भ्रमितिर्बुधैः परिवृतो वेगादलं-
चकिरे । सामोदं सरसं सरोरुहवनं लीलामराला
- 38 इव । २८ अहृतं परमेश्वरत्वकलितं संस्थाप्य विश्वोत्तमं । साक्षात्साहिअकब्बरस्य सदसि
स्तोमैर्गवामुद्यतैः । यैः संमिलिव (त) लोचना विदधिर
- 39 इ(प्र)त्यक्षशूरैः श्रिया वादोन्मादभृतो द्विजाःप्रतिपथो भट्टा निशाटा इव ॥ २९ श्रीमत्साहि-
अकब्बरस्य सदसि प्रोत्सर्पिभिर्भूरिभिर्वादैर्वादि
- 40 वरान् विजित्य समदान्सिंहैर्द्विपेन्द्रानिव । सर्वज्ञाशयतुष्टिहेतुरनघो दिव्युत्तरस्यां स्फुरन् । यैः
कैलास इवोज्वलो निजयशः स्तभो
- 41 निचखने महान् ॥ ३० दत्तसाहसधीरहीरविजयश्रीसूरिराजां पुरा । यच्छ्रीशाहिअकब्बरेण
धरणीशक्रेण तत्प्रीतये । तच्चक्रेखिलमप्यवालम
- 42 तिना यात्साज्जगत्साक्षिकं तत्पत्रं फुरमाणसंज्ञमनघ (घं) सर्वा दिशो व्यानशे ॥ ३१ किं
च गोवृषभकासरकांता । कासरा यमगृहं न हि नेयाः । मोच्य
- 43 मेव मृतवित्तमशेषं बदिनोपि हि न च ग्रहणीयाः ॥ ३२ यत्कलासलिलबाहविलासप्रीत-
चित्ततरुणाजनतुष्टयै । स्वीकृतं स्वयमकब्बरधात्रीस्वामि-

- 44 ना सकलमेतदपीह ॥ ३३ चोलीवेगमनंदनेन वसुधाधीशेन सन्मानिता । गुर्वी गूर्जर-
मेदिनीमनुदिनं स्वर्लोकबिम्बोकिनी ।
- 45 सद्गता महसां भरेण सुमगा गाढ गुणोष्ठासिनो । ये हारा इव कंठमंबुजदशां कुर्वति
शोभास्यदं ॥ ३४ इतश्च । आभूरान्वयः [प]
- 46 अषट्सवया ऊकेशवंशेभव । च्छे (च्छृ) छी श्रीशिवराज इत्यभिधया सौवर्णिकः पुण्यधीः ।
तत्पुत्रोजनि सीधरश्च तनयस्तस्याभवत्पर्वतः ।
- 47 कालाह्वोजनि तत्सुतश्च तनुजस्तस्यापि बांघाभिधः ॥ ३५ तस्याभूद्वृद्धिआभिधश्च तनुजः
ख्यातो रजाईभव । स्तस्याभूच्च सुहासिणो [ति]
- 48 गृहिणी पद्मेव पद्मापतेः । इन्द्राणीसुरराजयोरिव जयः पुत्रस्तयोश्चाभव । तेजःपाल इति
प्रहृष्टसुमनाः पित्रोर्मनःप्रीतिकृत् ॥ ३६ [का]
- 49 मत्स्येव रतिर्हेरिव रमा गौरीव गौरीपते । रासीतेजलदे इति प्रियतमा तस्याकृतिः... ।
भोगश्रीसुभगो गुरौ प्रणयिनौ शश्वत्सुपर्वादरौ । पालो
- 50 मीत्रिदशेश्वराविव सुखं तौ दंपती भेजतुः ॥ ३७ वैराग्यवारिनिधिपूर्णनिशाकराणां ।
तेषां च हीरविजयव्रतिसिञ्चुराणां । सौभाग्य [भा]
- 51 ग्यपरभागविभासुराणां । तेषां पुनर्विजयसेनमुनीश्वराणां ॥ ३८ वाग्भिर्मुधाकृतसुधाभिरुद-
न्विचेताः । श्राद्धः स शोभनमना भज
- 52 ति स्म भावं श्रीसंघभक्तिधनदानजिनैद्रचैत्योद्धारादिकर्मसु भृशं सुकृतिप्रियेषु ॥ ३९
विशेषकं । ग्रहैः प्रशस्तेहि सुपार्श्वभर्तु
- 53 रनंतभर्तुश्च शुभां प्रतिष्ठां । सोऽचीकरत्सङ्ख्युगभूप १६४६ वर्षे । हर्षेण सौवर्णिकतेजपालः ।
४० आदावार्धभिरत्र तीर्थतिलके शत्रुंज
- 54 येऽचीकर सैत्यं (चीकरंश्चैत्यं) सैत्यकरं दशोर्मणिगणस्वर्णादिभिर्भासुरं । अत्रान्येपि भुजा-
र्जितां फलवतीमुच्चैः सृजतः श्रियं [प्रा]
- 55 साद (सार्द) नदनुकमेण बहवश्चाकारयन् भूभुजः ॥ ४२ तीर्थेन साधुकरमाभिधो धनी
सिद्धिसिद्धि तिथि १५८८ संख्ये । चैत्यमची
- 56 करदुक्तेरानंदविमलमुनिराज्ञां ॥ ४३ तं वीक्ष्य जीर्णं भगवद्विहारं । स तेजपालः स्वहृदीति
दक्षौ । भावी कदा सोऽवम
- 57 रो वरीयान् । यत्राऽत्र चैत्यं भविता नवीनं ॥ ४४ अन्येद्युः स्वगुरुरूपदेशशरदा कामं
वलक्षीकृत । स्वांतांभाः स वणिग्वरः पु
- 58 रवरे श्रीस्तंभतीर्थे वसन् । तीर्थे श्रीमति तुंगतीर्थतिलके शत्रुंजयेहृद्गहो । द्वारं कर्तुमना
अजायततमां साफल्यमिच्छन् श्रियः ॥ ४५
- 59 अत्र स्यात् सुकृतं कृतं तनुमतां श्रेयः श्रियां कारणं मत्वायं ? निजपूर्वजव्रजमहानंदप्रमो-
दाप्तये । तीर्थे श्रीविमलाचलेतिविमले
- 60 मौलेर्हंतो मंदिरे । जीर्णोद्धारमकारयत्स सुकृती कुंतीतनूजन्मवत् । ४६ शृगेण भिन्नगगनां-
गणमेतदुच्चैः । शैत्य चक्रास्ति शि
- 61 खरस्थितहेमकुंभ । हस्तेषु ५२ हस्तमितसुच्चसुपैति नाक । लक्ष्मीं विजेतुमिव काममखर्व-
गर्वा । ४७ यत्रार्हदोक्तसि जितारकुम्
- 62 भिक्कुंभाः । कुमा विभांति शरवेदकरैर्दु १२४५ संख्याः । किं सेवितुं प्रभुमयुः प्रचुरप्रताप ।
पूरिजिता दिनकराः कृतनैकरूपाः । ४८

- 63 उन्मूलितप्रमदभूमिखहानशेषान् । विश्वेषु विघ्नकरिणो युगपन्निहंतुं । सज्जाः स्म इत्थमभि-
धातुमिवेदुनेत्राः २१ सिंहा विभाल्युप
- 64 गता जिनधाम्नि यत्र । ४९ योगिन्यो यत्र शोभन्ते चतस्रो जिनवेदमनि । निषेवितुमिवाक्रांताः
प्रतपैरागता दिशः । ५० राजन्ते च दि
- 65 शां पाला...यत्राऽहं दालये । मूर्तिर्मतः किमायाता धर्म्मोऽसंयमिनाममी । ५१ द्वासप्ततिः
श्रियमयंति जिनेन्द्रचंद्र । विवानि देवकुलि
- 66 कासु च तावतीषु । द्वासप्ततेः श्रितजनालिकललतानां । किं कुटुमलापरिमलैर्भुवनं भरतः ।
५२ राजन्ते यत्र चत्वारो गवाक्षा जिनवे
- 67 श्मनि । विरंचेरिव वक्त्राणि विश्वाकारणहेतवे ॥ ५३ यत्र चैत्ये विराजते । चत्वारश्च
तपोधनाः । अमी धर्म्माः किमाया
- 68 ताः । भूपालस्यै वपुर्धृतः । ५४ पञ्चालिकाः श्रियमयंति जिनेन्द्रधाम्नि । द्वात्रिंशदिद्रमणी
भरजैत्ररूपाः । ज्ञात्वा पतीनि
- 69 ह जिने किमु लक्षणश्मा । राज्ञा प्रिया निजनिजेशनिभालनोक्ताः ॥ ५५ ॥ द्वात्रिंशदुत्त-
मतमानि च तोरणानि ॥ राजति य
- 70 त्र जिनधाम्नि मनोहराणि । किं तीर्थं कृद्दुरानलक्षिमृगेषुक्षणा । मदोलनानि सरलानि
सुखासनानि ॥ ५६ ॥ गजाश्चतु-
- 71 र्विंशतिरद्रितुंगा विभांति शस्ता जिनधाम्नि यत्र । देवाश्चतुर्विंशतिरीशभक्त्यै । किमागताः
कुञ्जररूपभाजः ॥ ५७ ॥ स्तं
- 72 भाश्चतुस्सप्ततिरद्रिराजोत्तुंगा विभांतीह जिनेन्द्रचैत्ये । दिशामधोशैः सह सर्वे इंद्राः
किमाप्तभक्त्यै समुपेयिवांस ॥ छ
- 73 ॥ ५८ ॥ रम्यं नंदपयोधिभूपति १६४९ मिते वर्षे सुखोत्कर्षकृत । साहाय्याद् जसुठ-
कुरस्य सुकृतारामैकपाथोमुचः ॥ प्रासा
- 74 द वच्छिआसुतेन सुधिया शत्रुंजये कारितं । दृष्ट्वाष्टापदतीर्थचैत्यतुलितं केषां न चित्ते
रतिः ॥ ५९ ॥ चैत्यं चतुर्णांमिव धर्म्मं
- 75 मेदिनी । भुजां गहं प्रोणितविश्वविष्टपम् ॥ शत्रुंजयो विभ्रति नंदिवर्द्धनाभिधं सदा यच्छतु
बांछितानि व ॥ ६० ॥
- 76 यः प्रभाभरविनिर्मितनेत्रशैत्ये । चैत्येन भूरिरभवद् विभवव्ययो यः । ज्ञात्वा वदंति
मनुजा इति तेजपालं । क
- 77 त्पद्ममत्ययमनेन धनव्ययेन ॥ ६१ ॥ शत्रुंजये गगनबाणकला १६५० मितेऽब्दे । यात्रां
चकार सुकृताय स तेजपा—
- 78 लः ॥ चैत्यस्य तस्य सुदिने गुरुभिः प्रतिष्ठां चक्रे च हीरविजयाभिधसूरिसिंहैः ॥ ६२ ॥
मार्तण्डमंडलमिवांगुरुहां
- 79 समूहः । पीयूषरश्मिमिव नीरनिधेः प्रवाहः । केकिव्रजः सलिलवाहमिवातितुंगं । चैत्यं
निरीक्ष्य सुदमेति जनः
- 80 समस्तः ॥ ६३ ॥ छ चैत्यं चारु चतुर्मुखं कृतसुखं श्रीरामजीकारितं । प्रोत्तुंगं जसुठकुरेण
विहितं चैत्यं द्वितीयं शुभं । रम्यं कूंअ
- 81 रजीविनिर्मितमभूचैत्यं तृतीयं पुन । मूलश्रेष्ठिकृतं निकामसुभगं चैत्यं चतुर्थं तथा
॥ ६४ ॥ एभिर्विश्वविसारिभिर्द्युतिभरैर—

- 82 त्वर्थसंसूत्रितोद् । द्योतो दिश्वखिलासु निज्ज्ञरपतिः स्वर्लोकपालैरिव । श्रीशत्रुंजयशैल-
मौलिमुकुटं चैत्यैश्चतुर्भिर्गुं
- 83 तः प्रासादोऽगिमनोविनोदकमलाचैत्यं चिरं नन्दतु ॥ ६५ ॥ वस्ताभिधस्य वरसूत्रधरस्य
शिल्पं ॥ चैत्यं चिरादिदमुदीस्य
- 84 निरीक्षणीयं । शिष्यत्वमिच्छति । कलाकलितोपि विश्वकर्म्मस्य शिल्पिपटले भवितुं
प्रसिद्धः ॥ ६६ ॥ सदाचाराब्धीनां कमलविज
- 85 याह्वानसुधियां । पदद्वंद्वंभोजभ्रमरसदृशो हेमविजयः । अलंकारैराढ्यां स्त्रियमिव शुभां
यां विहितवान् । प्रशस्तिः शस्तै
- 86 षा जगति चिरकालं विजयतां ॥ ६७ ॥ इति सौवर्णिकसाहस्रीतेजःपालोद्भूतविमलाचल
पट्टनश्रीआदीशमूलप्रासादप्रशस्तिः श्रेय
- 87 बुधसहजसागराणां । विनेयजयसागरोऽलिखद्वर्णैः । शिल्पिभ्यामुत्कीर्णां । माधवनांनामि-
धानाभ्यां ॥ ६८ ॥

(To be continued.)

NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA : THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION*

By

V. M. APTE, Poona.

AG. II. 4. 13 :—

. *Vapāmutkhidyā juhuyād*: (a) “*Vaha vapāṁ Jātavedaḥ pitrbhyo*, (b) *yatraiṭān, vettha nihitān parāke* | (c) *medasaḥ kulyā upinānt stravantū*, (d) *satyā etā āśiṣaḥ santu sarvāḥ svāhā*” *iti* |

Trans. . . Scooping out the omentum, he should sacrifice it (with the mantra) : (a) “Bear the omentum, O Jātavedas, to the Fathers, where thou knowest them to be settled, afar May streams of fat flow unto them ; may all these wishes be fulfilled ; svāhā !”

Context . In the Aṣṭakā ceremony (Sūtra 13th), an animal is killed according to the ritual of the animal sacrifice, omitting, however, the sprinkling and touching of the animal and then follows the scooping out of the omentum.

Sources : As Prof. STENZLER (p. 73) points out, the verse is found in VS. 35. 20. The variations are :—In clause (b), ‘enān’ for our ‘etān’ ; in (c), upa tān for our ‘upamān’. The last pāda is different “*satyā eṣām āśiṣaḥ sannamantām*”. [May their wishes, turn out (true) !]. This version of the last pāda is better as more in keeping with the spirit of the whole verse which is concerned more with the needs and wishes of the Pitṛs, than with those of the sacrificer to which our pāda (d) refers.

The mantra occurs with variations in the following Sūtra-texts also ŚG. III. 13.3 ; PG. 3.3.9 ; SMB 2 3.18 ; APMB. 2.20.28 ; Kauś. 45.14 and HG. 2.15.7.

AG. II. 4. 14 : *Athāvadānānām sthāṇipākasya ca ‘agne naya supathā rāye asmān’ iti dve* |

I (a) “*Grīṣmo hemanta ṛtavaḥ śivā no* (b) *varṣāḥ śivā abhaya śaran naḥ* (c) *Samvatsaro’ dhipatiḥ prāṇado no*, (d) *ahorātre kṛnutām dīrghamā-yuḥ svāhā* |

II (a) *Śāntā pṛthivī śvamanantarīkṣam*, (b) *dyaus no devyabhayaṁ no astu* | (c) *śvā dīśaḥ pradīśa uddīśo na* (d) *āpo vidyutaḥ paripāntu sarvataḥ svāhā* |

III (a) *Āpo marīcīḥ pravahantu no dhiyo*, (b) *dhātā samudro’ vahantu pāpam* | (c) *bhūtāṁ bhaviṣyad abhayaṁ viśvam astu me*, (d) *brahmādhiguptaḥ svārākṣarāṇi svāhā* |

IV (a) *Viśva ādityā vasavaśca devā*, (b) *rudrā goptāro marutaḥ*

sadantu | (c) *ūrjam prajāṃ amṛtam pinvamānaḥ* (d) *prajāpatiṃ mayi paramēṣṭhi dadhātu svāhā* | 14 |

Trans : Then (are offered oblations) of 'avadāna's (cut-off portions) and the Sthālīpāka (as follows :—) two oblations with the two RV. verses beginning with) "Agni lead us" etc. (1.e RV. I. 189. 1 and 2); (four oblations with the following four mantras): I (a) : May summer, winter, the seasons be propitious to us, (b) propitious the rains; safe the autumn! (c) May the year be our life-giving master; (d) may days and nights make our life long, Svāhā!

II. (a) Tranquil be the earth; propitious the sky. (b) May goddess Heaven be our (assurance of) safety. (c) Propitious be the quarters, the intermediate quarters and the upper quarters to us; (d) may the waters, the lightnings protect us from all sides, Svāhā!

III. (a) : May the waters, the rays bear our prayers! (b) May the Creator, the ocean, strike down evil! (c) May the past, the future, may all be safe to me; (d) protected by Brahman, may I pour forth the 'Svāras' (1.e songs in general)!

IV (a) May all the Ādityas, Vasus and Gods,¹ (b) the Rudras, the protectors, the Maruts sit down here! (c) Augmenting (pinvamānaḥ) vigour, progeny and immortality, (d) may Prajāpati, the highest-placed, confer (these) on me! Svāhā!

Sources of I : The nearest approach in words and sense is in TS. 5.7.2.4 (a) "Gṛiṣmo hemanta uta no vasantah. (b) Śarad varṣāḥ suvitaṃ no astu | eteṣāṃ ṛtūnāṃ śataśārādānāṃ (d) nivāta eṣāṃ abhaye syāma || This mantra accompanies the depositing of the 'ĀJYĀNĪ' bricks in the structure of the fire-altar. The general sense—a prayer to the seasons—is the same. That this verse is the influence on our citation is shown by the following circumstances : PG 3 2 2 quotes a mantra the first two pādas of which are identical with the first two of our mantra and the last two of which are identical with the last two of the TS mantra! The mantra is quoted in PG. in the Pratyavarohana context and in the same context ŚG IV 18 1 quotes a mantra very similar to the TS mantra quoted above!

Sources of II This verse stands as the 11th in the long passage given by STENZLER in his *Kristische Anmerkungen* (p 46-7) as found in some MSS at the end of *Kandikā* I 2. The nearest approach in words and sense is AV XIX 9 1. (a) Śāntā dyauh, śāntā prthivī, (b) Śāntam idam urvan-tarikṣam | (c) Śāntā udanvatirāpah, (d) Śāntā nah santvosadhīh ||—which is a prayer for appeasement and welfare to various deities. PG. 3 3 6 and MG. 2 8 6 also cite similar verses.

Sources of III This is not traced to any early text; among sūtra-texts Prof. OLDENBERG compares PG III 3 6. In MG 2 8 6 is cited a similar mantra and curiously enough the agreement between the PG and MG versions is very close e.g. PG III 3 6 = (a) Āpo marīciḥ paripāntu sarvataḥ

1 'Devāḥ' is not an adjective (= divine) as Prof. OLDENBERG takes it.

(MG. 'viśvataḥ'). (b) Dhātā samudra apahantu pāpam | (MG. 'abhayaṁ kṛnotu') (c) Bhūtam bhaviṣyadakṛtadvīśvam astu me (MG. has 'uta bha-dram astu me') (d) Brahmābhiguptaḥ surakṣitaḥ syām || [MG. reads this pāda as 'brahmābhigūrtam (approved of by Brahman) svarā kṣāṇah'].]

Svāra is the name of a sāman ending in a svarita (circumflex), having no special nidhāna or finale. The chanting of a svāra sāman is prescribed to expiate for any excess committed, previously, in chanting. Though the word is used in the general sense of 'songs' in our mantra, there may be a hint of this expiatory character, as there is a reference to 'pāpam' in the second pāda.

Sources of IV This is traced only to Sūtra texts. MG. 2.8.6 and PG. III 3 6 have both a mantra almost identical with ours, with the following variations —Both have 'sarve' instead of our 'devāḥ' in (a); have 'marutaśca santu' for our 'marutaḥ sadantu' in (b), and have 'dīrgham āyuh' instead of our 'pinvamānah' (which is rather awkward) in (c). *The striking agreement of PG. and MG. perhaps indicates a more faithful version of the original whatever it was.*

ĀG II. 6 1-4: *Rathamāroksyannānā pāmbyāṁ cakre abhi-mṛśed*: (a) 'Aham te pūrvapādāvārabhe,' (b) 'brhadrathantare te cakre' | 1 | (c) "Vāmadevyam aksaḥ" ityaksādhisthāne | 2 | dakṣiṇa-pūrvābhyām āroked, (d) "Vāyoṣṭvā vīryenārohamīndrasya ujasā dhipatyeneti" | 3 | raśmīntsamṛśed arāśmīkānvā dandena, (e) "brahmano vastejasā saṁgrhṇāmi satyena vaḥ saṁgrhṇāmi" iti | 4 |

Trans (1) When about to mount a chariot, one should touch the two wheels separately (but simultaneously) with his two hands (repeating the formula) (a) "I touch thy two fore-feet; (b) the 'Brhat' and 'Rathantara' are thy two wheels; (2) (one should touch) the two (naves) which hold the axle with the formula "The 'Vāmadevya' is thy axle". (3) One should mount (the chariot) with the right foot first (with the formula) "With the power of Vāyu, I mount thee, with Indra's vigour and mastery, (I mount thee)" (4) One should reach the reins or the horses (themselves) with a staff if they have no reins, with the formula "With the lustre of Brahman I seize you; with Truth I seize you".

Sources: For formulas (b) to (e), may be compared LŚ. 2.8.2 and 6-8. If the yajamāna makes a gift of a horse-chariot to the Udgātṛ (the LŚ. belongs to the Sāmaveda) he accepts the gift in the following manner —2.8.2 = He accepts the leather-work of the chariot (by touching it) with the mantra "Vāyoṣṭvā" 2 8 6-8 = he touches the right wheel of the chariot with the words 'Rathantaramasī', the adhiṣṭhāna (which is the same as our "aksādisthāna or axle-rest in sūtra 2) with the words "Vāmadevyamasi" and the left wheel with the words "Brhad asi". PB. (another Sāma-veda Brāhmaṇa) in 1 7 3-4 employs the same formulas in the same context as in LŚ above; it quotes in full however the mantra of which only the pratika is quoted in LŚ 2.8.2 as follows:—"Vāyoṣṭvā tejasā pratigrhṇāmi, nakṣatrāṇāṁ tvā rūpeṇa pratigrhṇāmi sūryasya tvā varṇasā pratigrhṇāmi |" This

mantra though different is highly suggestive of and parallel in purport to our mantras (d) and (e) which really constitute one mantra (in substance), expanded into two, by the two verbs 'ārohāmi' and 'samgrhāmi' to suit two different acts.

For (a) may be compared AB VIII 172 'Brhacca te Rathantarā ca, pūrvau pādaū bhavatām' (Let the Brhat and Rathantara be thy fore-feet). This is addressed to the Āsandī (or throne) which is set before a king in the Rājasūya sacrifice. Our text appears to have taken over this formula as it is in AB., without making the necessary change viz. the dropping of 'pūrvau' (before pādaū) which as applied to a chariot with two wheels is meaningless, though significant in the original (AB. passage) where it is addressed to the Āsandī which has four feet! AB. V. 30 1-4 develops the idea of 'Brhat' and 'Rathantara' being wheels by identifying the day with Brhat and the night with 'Rathantara' after declaring "Ete vai samvatsarasya cakre, yad ahorātre". (The night and day are the two wheels of the year).

ĀG. II. 8. 16 : *Athānām ucchrīyamānām anu mantrayeta* : I. (a) "ihava tiṣṭha nimitā, (b) tilvilāstāmīrāvātīm | (c) madhye poṣasva tiṣṭhantīm (d) ā tvā prapamaghāyavah || II. (a) Ā tvā kumarastaruṇa, (b) ā vasto jāyatām saha | (c) ā tvā pariśṛtaḥ kumbha (d) ā dadhnaḥ kalaśārayann itī".

Trans. Over this (middle post) while it is being erected, he should recite the mantras, 'ihava' etc. (Both the mantras are translated below)

Context · The Kaṇḍikā deals with house-building

The text and interpretation of I. The verse has puzzled both Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG. The former ignores the accusative ending 'm' of 'tilvilāstāmīrāvātīm' which, in his opinion, must be erased; Prof OLDENBERG separates the pāda as 'tilvilā + stāmīrāvātīm' and then says (p 213) that the correction and translation of the latter word is quite uncertain. I think, however, that the verse admits of a simple and natural explanation as it stands, except that 'Poṣasva' must be corrected into 'Poṣasya' in (c) and 'ā tvā' into 'mā tvā' in (d), as Prof. STENZLER following ŚG III. 3 1, proposes. I may add in support of these two corrections that ĀPMB 2.15 3 reads 'Mā tvā' like ŚG. My construction is as follows · The first pāda constitutes a complete sentence ending with 'nimitā'. "Stand just here, set up ('Nimitā'. cf. RV V. 62 7^c quoted below) as you are". The remaining three pādas make up one sentence. The second pāda is to be separated as 'tilvilāstām + irāvātīm' two accusatives going with 'tvā' in the fourth pāda along with the accusative 'tiṣṭhantīm' in the third pāda. The translation is 'May the sinful not find thee, standing in the midst of plenty (poṣasya madhye), full of welfare (irāvātīm) and fixed (astām) into holy ground (tilvila + astā) as thou art. For this sense of 'tilvila' and 'nimitā' compare RV. V 62 7^c : "Bhadre kṣetre nimitā tilvile vā" = 'set down in an auspicious field or holy ground (tilvila)' describing the 'sthūnā' mentioned in RV. V. 62. 7^a, as in our text.—a striking parallel!

Sources of I. Among sūtra-texts ŚG. III. 3. 1 has a parallel verse (as shown by Profs. STENZLER and OLDENBERG), as also ĀPMB. 2. 15. 3 and MG. 2.11.2. The readings in these parallel passages were helpful, as seen above, in correcting the slightly corrupt readings in (c) and (d). *I think that the passage AV. III. 12. 2. 6 and 7 has influenced the citations in this and the following Kaṇḍikā* e.g. AV. III. 12. 6 and 7 correspond to the 2nd verse quoted in this sūtra (II. 8.16) and the verse quoted in II. 9.2 respectively. Therefore it is quite probable, that AV. III. 12.2 which begins 'ihaiva dhruvā pratīṣṭha Śāle' may have given a hint regarding our 1st verse as AV. III. 12 deals with 'house-building'.

*The text and interpretation of II :—*This verse also is supposed to be far more corrupt than it really is, by Professors STENZLER and OLDENBERG who both propose emendations. The necessity for their emendations may be examined in the light of the parallel verses that we have in AV. III. 12. 7; ŚG. III.2.9 and PG.3.4.4 (as pointed out by the two scholars) and also in HG. 1.27.4, MG. 2.11.12 and ĀPMB. 2.15.4.

The only correction necessary in my opinion is that of 'parīśrutah' in (c), into 'parīśrutah' as proposed also by the two scholars in the light of the AV. ŚG. and PG. readings, because the corruption of the latter word into the former is very likely and because the meaning 'the cup of parisrut', suits the verse better and because ĀPMB. 2.15.4 and MG. 2.11.12 have also the same reading. But Prof. OLDENBERG's view that 'jāyatām saha' in (b) is a corruption and that too of 'jagadaiḥ saha' in PG. III.4.4 (see his note on pp. 93-94) is far-fetched and quite unnecessary! 'Jāyatām' is too far removed from 'jagadaiḥ' to be a corruption of the latter and is moreover the reading in AV. 3.12.7^b. Besides, the verse yields very good sense as it is, with only one emendation 'parīśrutah' as noted above. I now give my translation:—
"May the young boy (Kumāras tarunah), may the calf (vatsaḥ) be together (saha) born to thee [(tvā jāyatām) i.e. be destined for thee, destined to live near thee. For such use of 'jana' (Jāyate, to be born) with the accusative, compare our mantra in I. 5. 4 'yadiyam kumārī abhijātā' = that to which this girl is born]. May the jar of 'Parisrut' (lit. flowing or foaming over = a kind of intoxicating liquor prepared from herbs) come to thee (the verb from the next pāda being supplied after 'ā tvā'); may it come with mugs of curds."

Sources. The Sūtra-texts having parallel passages have already been mentioned but the earliest version of the mantra is AV. III. 12. 7 (Prof. STENZLER compares the whole hymn AV. III. 12), which reads (a) "Emām kumārastaruna, (b) ā vatsō jāyatām saha | (c) emām parisrutaḥ kumbha (d) ādahnah kalaśair aguh" |. The meaning of the word 'Vatsa' and the general sense of our mantra is made clear by AV. III.12.13cd: ā tvā vatsō gamed ā kumārah, ā dhenavaḥ sāyam āsyandamānāḥ | (May the calf, the young boy, may the cows—come to thee in the evening) as addressed to a 'Śālā' or a house newly-built.

ĀG. II. 8. 2 : (a) "*Rtena sthūnām adhiroha Vamśa*, (b) *drāghīya āyuh pratarām dadhānāḥ*" iti |

Trans. " (a) By Rta (Law) mount over the post, O staff ; (b) conferring longer life on us, hereafter".

Context. This mantra is addressed to the 'bamboo-staff' while it is being mounted (on to the middle post) in the course of the 'House-building' ceremony

Sources of (b). The part or pāda (b) is a well-known verse-pāda of the RV often repeated in the Rgveda e.g. in I. 53. 11^d, X 18 2^b, 3^d; X 115 8^d, being of the nature of a general prayer for long life. It also occurs in AV. 12. 2. 30^b. Our text in taking over this pāda has changed the RV. 'dadhānāḥ' plural, Ātmanepada (= choosing for ourselves) into 'dadhānāḥ' (conferring) singular Parasmaipada as it qualifies 'Vamśa'.

Sources of (a) This pāda is found in AV. III. 12. 6^a [III. 12 being the hymn on house-building referred to above] in close proximity to the mantra (III. 12.7) parallel to the one cited in our II.8.16 *So our text has taken over the first pāda from this AV. verse and joined it on to another pāda in the RV. to make up a new mantra*! This is quite in keeping with the general practice of Sūtra-texts which, when not citing a mantra from their particular Vedic Samhitā, took the liberty of adapting, altering or joining verse-parts or pādas from one or many sources to make up a mantra suitable to a particular context! Clause (a) is also found in HG 1 27. 7^a, APMB. 2. 15. 5^a and MG. 2. 11. 14^a, with the change 'Sthūnau' for 'Sthūnām' the verse being addressed to 'a staff mounted on two pillars.'

ĀG. II. 9 3-4 :—*Sadūrvāsu catasrusu śilāsu manikām pratisthāpayet* : I. "*Prthivyā adhi sambhava*" iti |3|

II. (a) "*Aramgaro vāvadīti*, (b) *tredhā baddho varatrayā* | (c) *irām u ha praśamsati* (d) *anvram apabādhatām*" iti vā |4|

Trans. He should instal a water-barrel on four stones overspread with Dūrvā (grass) with the mantra I "Arise with [this is the force of the preposition 'sam' in 'Sambhava'] (and) on the earth", or with the mantra II (a) "The aramgara chatters on, (b) thrice bound with the straps; (c) it, verily praises prosperity; (d) may it drive away adversity"

Context. After the main structure of the house has been erected, a water-barrel is given a place in the house.

Sources of I TS V 6 1. 4 has 'Prthivyā Sambhava' (be united with the earth), the reading of MS 2 13 1 being 'Pthivyāḥ sambhava'. The context is very suggestive. In the piling up of the fire-altar, a *caru* (of wild rice with milk) is deposited in the midst of the 'Kumbha' bricks with this formula Now TS 4 1 1 1^a reads "*Prthivyā adhi ābharat*" a formula accompanying the picking of the spade in the ceremony of placing the fire in the fire-pan Our formula is evidently made up of parts (in italics above) of these two TS formulas

Sources of II. Profs STENZLER and OLDENBERG compare AV XX. 135. 13. The variations are 'irām aḥa' instead of our 'irām u ha' in (c) and

'apasedhati' for our 'apasedhatām' in (d). I think however that the influence here is ŚŚ XII. 16. 1 3, where the verse occurs with only one variation 'apasedhati' in (d), as in the AV., because ŚŚ. *has influenced many chapters in our text* (compare our I. 24. and IV. 8).

The meaning of Araṅgara . Prof. OLDENBERG (p 214) says that the meaning is unknown to him but that it seems to be a musical instrument. Prof. STENZLER translates it as 'schnell-schlinger' The dictionary (MONIER WILLIAMS) meaning is "One who bestows praise or hymns the gods" V. S APTE's dictionary gives the meaning "praising readily (aram)" I think that the key to the meaning of this word is to be found in RV. IV 58 3c: "tridhā baddho vṛsabho roravīti". [=The bull (i.e. the fire-god) bound thrice, crackles loudly]. A grhya fire was always near at hand in all domestic rites, and then the term is figuratively transferred to the *Maṇika* or the metallic water-barrel (bound with straps) from which must be proceeding curious sounds, as it was being installed on the four stones. These sounds are looked upon as auspicious invocations.

ĀG. II. 9. 5 : *Athāsmīnnapa āsecayet* (a) "Atu rājā Varuṇo revatībhṛ" (b) *asmintsthāne tṣṭhatu modamānah* | (c) *irām vahanto ghṛtām ukṣmāṇā*, (d) *Mitreṇa sākaṁ saha sam-vīśantu*" *iti*

Trans : He should then pour water into it with the mantra (a) "May King Varuṇa come here with the plentiful (waters) ; (b) may he abide rejoicing, at this place ; (c) bringing prosperity and dripping with ghee (d) may they rest here with Mitra

Sources . (a) and (b) The first two pādas are found without variation in KS. 25 5 28 which is an expiatory verse recited when the *Pravṛtā waters are split* —a context suggestive of our context.

Clause : (c) is = ĀŚ 2 15 17° which occurs in the 'Gṛha-prapadana'—section which is presupposed in our text II. 10. 1 It also occurs in ĀPŚ 6. 27. 3 in the same context as in ĀŚ Among sūtra-texts, MG 2. 11 17 has all the first three pādas with unimportant variations. The last pāda then is the only improvisation of our text.

ĀG II 10 6. . *Āyatīr, I* : "Yāsām udhaścaturbīlam madhoh pūnam-ghṛtasaya ca | tā nah santu payasvatīr bahvīr gosṭhe ghṛtācyāḥ | II. Upamaitu mayobhuva ūrjām caujaśca bibhratīḥ | duhānā akṣitam payo mayi goṣṭhe niviśadhvam yathā bhavāmyuttamāḥ |

Trans : When they (i.e. the cows) are coming back (from the pasture-lands, after grazing), he recites over them the mantra : I "May they whose udders, each with its four holes, are full of honey and ghee, abound in milk for us, many (i.e. multiplying) in our stable, dripping with ghee II Come hither to me, giving refreshment and bearing power and vitality. Yielding inexhaustible milk, rest with me, in (my) stable, that I may become the highest one.

Sources : These two verses constitute a khila of two stanzas found neither in AUFRECHT nor MULLER but given in the khila collection of the Kashmir manuscript of the RV as reported by Prof. MACDONELL in his note

to the translation of the Bṛhaddevatā (verse) VIII 83 (p. 316 HOS. vol 6.) :—"Between 'yenedam' (i.e. a khila preceding RV. X. 167, mentioned by him on p 312) and thus (i.e. the Nejameṣa khila), the Kashmir collection has one of two stanzas beginning 'yāsām ūdhaś caturbilam' and coming before RV. X. 170".

ĀPŚ 7. 17 1 has a mantra the first three pādas of which are identical with the first three of (I), the fourth being 'asmin goṣthe vayovṛdhaḥ'. The mantra is employed at the Nirūdhapaśu-bandha (an animal-sacrifice) after the killing of the animal

The text of the Rg-veda khila (reported by MACDONELL), has been printed on p. 129 of 'Die Apokryphen des Rg-veda' by SCHEFTELOWITZ with the following variations :—"Mayobhuvam" occurs there for our 'Mayo bhuvah', a 'pipratīh' for our 'bibhratīh' and 'mama gotre' for our 'mayi goṣthe' in II.

AG II. 10. 8 : *Gaṇān āsāmupatiṣṭhotāgurugavīnām*, (a) "bhūtāh stha, praśastāh stha, śobhanāh priyāh; (b) priyo vo bhūyāsam; śam mayi jānīdhvam iti |

Trans : He waits upon their herds not including (i.e. when they do not include) the cows of his preceptor with the formula (a) "You are doing well; excellent are you, beautiful, beloved. (b) May I become dear to you! May you see bliss in me"!

Sources : Only MS 4. 2. 3 has "Praśastāh stha kalyāṇyaḥ" resembling somewhat our (a), but the mantra as it is in our text is not traced to early texts or any parallel sūtra-text. *I think the last sūtra (the 8th) with its mantra is an interpolation* for the following reasons (1) There is nothing corresponding to this rule in any other Gṛhya-Sūtra (2) The reference to the 'Cows of the Guru' is most surprising as from Kandikā I 23 to this Kandikā (II. 10), the duties of a house-holder are described (3) The rule itself that the cow of his Guru should be excluded from the homage which is to be paid *exclusively* to his own cows is amazing! To avoid this absurd suggestion, if we suppose the implication to be that a different mantra was to be employed in the case of his Guru's cows *then that mantra should have followed* (4) The end of a Kandikā, besides, is an easy place for interpolations and additions, generally speaking.

Kandikās 1 to 4, in Adhyāya III

These Kandikās deal with the five daily sacrifices and 'svādhyāya' in particular Prof. OLDENBURG compares the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI 5 6 1 seqq for III 1. 1 seqq, it may be added however that Kandikās 1 and 4 of the IIIrd Adhyāya agree so strikingly, not only in substance but also in the wording of their Sūtras and Mantras with the Amvākās II. 10-14 of TA that the question of borrowing is hardly in doubt! That some of the citations in these kandikās are traced only to TA will be shown later but instances of close parallels and borrowings in the wording and substance of Sūtras are

as follows :—III. 1 1-2 are parallel to TA. II. 10. 1 ; and III. 1. 3 to TA. II. 10 2-6. As regards *Kaṇḍikā* III. 2, it borrows nearly all its rules, its peculiar terms and expressions like 'darbhānām mahadupastīrya' and its quotation in Sūtra 2 from TA. II. 11. In III. 3, sūtras 2 and 3 are almost word for word identical with TA. II. 10. 7-8, except for a few unimportant changes e.g. our text substitutes 'amṛtasya kulyāḥ' and 'amṛtāhutibhiḥ' for 'medasaḥ kulyāḥ' and 'medāhutibhiḥ' respectively in TA., the quotation in sūtra 4 is taken over bodily from TA II 12 4. In the next *Kaṇḍikā* (III. 4) sūtras 6 and 7 are nearly identical, word for word, with the corresponding passages in TA. II 15. 3. 7 and 1 respectively !

ĀG III. 2 2 *Viññāyate* "apāṁ vā eṣa oṣadhīnām raso yaddarbhāḥ, sarasameva tadbrahma karoti".

Trans It is known (from the Śruti) 'This is what darbha grass is : it is the essence of waters and herbs. In this way he makes the Brahman endowed with essence'.

Sources : The whole quotation is traced to TA II. 11. 3 where it is found word for word but to no other text.

ĀG III. 3 4. 'Sa yāvan manyeta tāvadadhīyaitayā paridadhāti : (a) "Namo brahmaṇe namo astvagnaye, (b) namaḥ pṛthivyai, nama oṣadhībhyāḥ | (c) namo vāce namo vācaspataye, (d) namo viṣṇave mahate karomi" iti

Trans : Having recited those texts (i.e. the Ṛcas, Yajus etc. enumerated in Sūtra 1) as far as he thinks (sufficient for the daily lesson), he concludes (by pouring oblations of water) with the mantra "Adoration to Brahman ! Adoration be to Agni ! Adoration to the Earth ! Adoration to the Plants ! Adoration to Speech ! Adoration to the Lord of Speech ! Adoration I bring to the great Viṣṇu !"

Sources : TA II 12 3 and ĀPŚ. 14 34 5 are identical verses except that both the texts have 'bṛhate' for 'mahate' in our (d). That an oblation is meant to be offered (as Nārāyaṇa says) with this mantra, is made clear by what follows this mantra in ĀPŚ "Svāheti āhutam hutvā" etc. TA. II 13. 4 refers to this very verse as the 'Paridhānīyā' or the 'Closing verse' of the Svādhyāya

ĀG. III. 4 6-7 : *Athāpi viññāyate*, (a) "sa yaḍi tiṣṭhan vrajanmāśināḥ śayāno vā, (b) yam yam kratum adhīte, tena tena hāsya kratuneṣṭam bhavaṇīti | 6 | *Viññāyate*, (c) tasya dvāvanadhyāyau yadāt māśucir yad-deśaḥ | 7 |

Trans : Sūtra 6th : And it is known (from the Śruti) "If he, whether standing, walking, sitting or lying, recites any particular 'sacrifice' (i.e. sacrificial text), a sacrifice, indeed, has been offered by him, through (the recitation of) that sacrificial text" *Sūtra* 7 It is known (from the śruti) "There are only two cases for abstention from Vedic Study : when he is impure himself or when the place is impure".

Sources : The formula cited in Sūtra 6 where (a) and (b) make one sentence is evidently made up of two parts taken from TA. II. 15. 4 and 7

and joined together. Clause (a) is also found in TA. II 12 3 which after stating that 'Svādhyāya' should be studied in the village mentally, by day or night, or in a forest, silently or loudly adds "Uta tṣṭhannuta vrajannutāsina uta śayāno'dhīyātaiva svādhyāyam" | and TA. II 15 7 says that 'svādhyāya' must be studied because 'Yam yañ kratumadhīte' etc exactly as in our text. Formula (c) in Sūtra 7 is also taken from TA. II. 15. 1 "Tasya vā etasya yajñasya (the sacrifice in the form of vedic study) dvāvanadhyāyau" etc as in our text

AG. III. 6.7 : *Ksutvā jṛmbhuvāmānoṣṇam drstvā pāpakaṁ gandhamā-ghrāya, akṣispandane karṇadhvanane ca, I* "(a) *sucaksā aham akṣibhyām bhūyāsam*, (b) *suvarcā mukhena suśrut karṇābhyām*, II (c) *mayi dakṣa-kartu*" *iti japeṭ* |

Trans. If one sneezes, yawns, sees an unpleasant sight, smells a foul smell or if there is throbbing of the eyes or noises in the ears, one should mutter the mantra :—

I. (a) 'Well-eyed may I become with my eyes, (b) resplendent with my face and well-hearing with my ears. II (c) May alertness and efficiency be (present) in me'

Sources of I : I (a) and (b) are traced to the Nirukta 7. 3 with the addition of 'bhūyāsam' at the end of (b), in a discussion of the nature of Vedic Stanzas. It is said there that some Vedic stanzas are mere *benedictions* and not praise ('athāpyāśīreva na stutiḥ') and then our mantra is cited as an instance in point. Thus though the mantra is not traced to any existing vedic text, it was known to the Nirukta as a *Vedic stanza*

Among Sūtra-texts the mantra is found in PG 2 6. 19 ; in MG. 1 9. 25 with the addition of bhūyāsam (as in N. 7 3 above) and the later regular form 'akṣibhyām' instead of the 'aksibhyām' of our text, which is an early form found in the RV

Sources of II (c) : This constitutes a separate mantra though our text has joined it on to (a) and (b), to make up one mantra. APŚ 4 3 12 has it in an identical form "Jañjabhyamāno brūyāt 'mayi dakṣakratū'" (If one yawns, one should repeat the mantra etc) This seems to have been the clue for our text where 'yawning' is one of the occasions for the citation. A variation of the formula with no change in meaning is found in VS 38 27^b 'Mayi dakṣo mayi kratuh' where it is a 'pravargya' formula employed when the sacrificer and the priests drink the contents of the 'Caldron'. This same variant is found in ŚB 14 3 1 21, TB 3. 7. 9 4, TA 4 21 1 and ŚŚ 7. 7. 16 8 in exactly the same context as in VS.

AG III 6. 8. *Agamanīyām galvūyājyam yājayitvā abhojyam bhuktvā apratiṅrāhyam pratighya, catyam yūpam copahatya, I* (a) "*punar māmā-tvīndriyam*, (b) *punarāyuh punarbhagah* | (c) *punar dravnamatu mām* (d) *punar brāhmanam atu mām svāhā* |

II (a) *ime ye dhṛisnyāso agnayo*, (d) *yathā-sthānamīha kalpatām* | (c)

Vaiśvānaro vāvṛdhānah (d) antaryacchatu me mano (e) hr̥dyanīaramamṛtasya ketuḥ svāhetyājyāhuti juhuyāt |

Trans : If one approaches one's wife when she ought not to be approached (i.e. when she is in her monthly course), performs a sacrifice for a person for whom it ought not to be performed, eats forbidden food, accepts what ought not to be accepted and knocks against a 'caitya' column (i.e. a column belonging to a sanctuary or temple near a village; compare 'caitya-yajña' in I. 12 1), one should offer two Ājya oblations with the following mantras : I "Again to me, may come back the power of the senses, again life, again come back (good) fortune; may my wealth come back to me, may my spiritual power come back to me ! Svāhā ! II These fires here, that have altars (assigned to them), may they be in their proper places May Vaiśvānara, the increasing one, the emblem of immortality, restrain my mind within my self ! Svāhā !"

Sources of I and II : Profs STENZLER and OLDENBERG compare AV. VII 67 1; but this verse has a general resemblance only to parts of our two verses e.g. its first pāda is nearly the same as our I(a); its second pāda roughly corresponds to I (c) and (d) together; its third pāda to II (a) and its fourth to II (b). The proper source of our I is TA I 30 1—a verse identical with ours except for insignificant variations e.g. it has 'praitu' for our 'artu' in (a), the pādas (c) and (d) are virtually the same as our (d) and (c) with 'mā' instead of our 'mām' at the end of both.

The source of II (a) and (b) may, however, well be the last two pādas of the AV. verse VII 67. 1 which reads (c) "Punaragnayo dhīṣṇyāso, (d) yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva" | Our text seems to have made a complete mantra of II by joining to these two pādas verse-parts derived from other sources These probably are : TB. 3 10 8. 9; the last two pādas of this verse read 'Vaiśvānaro raśmibhir vāvṛdhāno'ntas tiṣṭhantv amṛtasya gopāh || and are remarkably similar to our II (c) and (d); besides the first two pādas of this TB. -verse are reminiscent of our I. ĀPŚ 17 23 11 is a verse identical with this TB verse in its last two pādas that are so similar to our II (c) and (d)

ĀG III 8 9 and 10 :—(a) ' aśmanastejo'si cakṣurme pāhī'ti cakṣuṣi āñjayīta | 9 | (b) 'aśmanas tejo'si śrotram me pāhī'ti kuṇḍale ābadhnīta | 10 |

Trans : Sūtra 9 (Having bathed and put on new garments) he gets his eyes salved (āñjayīta is a causal form) with the formula : 'Thou art the sharpness of the stone, protect my eye' (sūtra 10) : with the formula 'Thou art the sharpness of the stone, protect my ear' he puts on the two earrings

Context This is part of the ceremony of 'samāvartana' (the return of the pupil to his home) in which a bath signifying the end of his period of studentship is taken.

Sources : The first part of (a) and (b) is the same : 'aśmanastejo'si' and

is not traced anywhere *It is probably an improvisation of the text itself.* It could be addressed to the collyrium or eye-salve because it is *rubbed and powdered on a stone and to the ear-rings because they are made of precious stone.* The latter part of both (a) and (b) viz, 'cakṣur me pāhi' and 'śrotram me pāhi' are found in TS. III. 2. 10. 2 in the offering of the Pratinirgrāhya cups and also in TS. 4. 3. 6. 2. and VS. 14. 17, the context in both places being the laying of the 'Prānabhṛt' bricks in the Agni-cayana but the real influence seems to be TS 1. 2. 1. 2 although only the latter part of (a) is found there because the context is so allied to ours. In the Soma sacrifice, the sacrificer shaves his whiskers to the accompaniment of mantras (parallel to mantras cited in our I 17. 7. 8) takes a bath, puts on his garment and then salves his eyes with the formula 'Cakṣuspac cakṣur me pāhi'. *The series of ritual acts here are exactly parallel to those in our text.*

ĀG III. 8. 16. 'Anārto'syanarto'ham bhūyāsam' iti srajamapi badhnāta | :

Trans. With the formula 'Free from distress art thou, free from distress may I become' he puts on the wreath also.

Sources. Only the word 'anārta' is traced to TA. 4. 42. 2 in a slightly similar context. 'Anārtām devatām prapadye'—I approach the deity free from distress (or health-giving according to the commentator). This is a benedictory formula recited after the ceremony of Dikṣā with hot water in hand.

ĀG. III. 8. 19 : (a) 'Devānām pratiṣṭhe sthaḥ sarvato mā pātam' ityupānāhāvāsthāya (b) 'divas' chadmāsiti' chatramādatte |

Trans. He puts on his shoes with the formula : 'You are the support of the gods ; protect me from all sides' ; and takes up the sunshade with the formula 'Thou art the canopy of heaven'

Sources. (a) is found only in ĀPMB. II. 9. 3—'Pratiṣṭhe stho devatānām mā mā samtāptam' | (you are the support of deities, do not torment me)—which mantra is employed by ĀPG. 12. 11 in the same context as ours. The nearest approach to (b), is in LS 1. 7. 15 'divyaṁ chadmāsi viśvajanasya chāyā' (Thou art a divine canopy, the shade for all people), addressed to a branch of the Udumbara tree while it is being raised.

ĀG III 8. 20 —(a) 'Venurasi, (b) Vānaspatyo'si (c) sarvato mā pāhīti vānavam dandam |

Trans. (He takes up) a staff of reed with the formula : (a) 'Reed thou art, (b) Of vanaspati art thou, (c) protect me from all sides'

Sources. (b) is found in PB 1. 2. 4 addressed to a Droṇa (or vessel of wood) and in PB 6. 5. 3 addressed to a Soma vessel. In ĀPŚ 1. 16. 3, the formula is addressed to the cup of Pranīta waters while it is being washed.

A formula with the same general sense as that of (b) and (c) is AV 12. 3. 18 'Vānaspatya udyato mā jhimsiḥ' [made of a tree (and) uplifted as thou art, do not injure me] which accompanies (according to Kauś 61. 22) the pounding of rice-grains with a pestle.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA

WHEN DID BERNIER ARRIVE IN INDIA ?

In the *Chronicle of Life and Times of François Bernier* the following statement is recorded with regard to Bernier's arrival in India .—

“1656--1658—Goes to Egypt . .Is compelled to abandon his intention of visiting Abyssunia and sets sail in an Indian vessel for SURAT, which he reaches in twenty-two days, *most probably towards the end of 1658 or early in 1659.*”

(Vide p. XX of *Bernier's Travels, Constable's Oriental Miscellany*, Vol. I, 1891.)

On pp 2-3 of Constable's Edition, Bernier himself refers to his arrival in India as follows :—

“I embarked, therefore, in an Indian vessel, passed the Straits of *Bab-el-mandeb*, and in two and twenty days arrived at *Sourate*, in Hindustan, the empire of the Great Mogul I found that the reigning prince was named *Chah-Jehan*, or King of the World.”

In the above statement of Bernier no date of Bernier's arrival at Surat is found recorded and perhaps on this account in the extract from the *Chronicle of Bernier's Life and Times* recorded above the Editor uses the words “*most probably towards the end of 1658 or early in 1659*” with reference to Bernier's arrival at Surat in India.

The question now arises : What is the exact year in which Bernier arrived at Surat ? I have not read the French original of Bernier's Travels on which Constable's edition is based but I possess a copy of the English Translation of Bernier's *History of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogol* (with a letter to Lord Colbert) “Englished out of French” and published in London in 1671 (size $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$). In this book which is a contemporary translation of Bernier's Travels we find that Bernier arrived at Surat in A.D. 1655 as will be seen from the following extract :—

Pages 4-5—“These considerations among others, induced me to change my resolution I went aboard of an Indian vessel ; I passed those streights, and in two and twenty days I arrived at *Suratte* in *Indostan*, the Empire of the Great Mogol, IN THE YEAR 1655 There I found, that he who reigned there, was call'd *Chah-Jehan*, that is to say, King of the world, etc.”

The Editor of Constable's Edition of *Bernier's Travels* refers to the London Edition of the *Travels* of A.D. 1671 (vide p. xxvii) but evidently he has not read the above extract which clearly states A.D. 1655 as the date of Bernier's arrival at Surat in India, and consequently he makes a doubtful statement regarding the year of Bernier's arrival in India viz. “*most probably towards the end of 1658 or early in 1659*”. Will any expert in the field of Indian History examine the above contemporary evidence and let me know if the evidence brought forth by me is corroborated by other contemporary evidence ? As Bernier died at Paris in A.D. 1688 (22nd September), I presume that he must have seen this Translation of A.D. 1671.

P. K. GODE.

THE PANIS IN THE RIGVEDA.

(*Their identification with the Nāga Tribe*)

The recent discoveries in the Mohenjo Daro, Chanhu Daro and Harappa have really worked as an eye-opener, and have given a clue in regard to the history of Proto-Indian civilisation. Amongst the many indigenous peoples mentioned in the Picto-phonographic inscriptions (as Rev. H. HERAS, S.J., would term them) obtaining in those times, the Nāgas also acquired a prominent place. The Nāgas evidently acquired their tribal name on account of their being the direct worshippers of the Nāga (cobra). Dr. JAYASWAL and others have, however, dealt with the problem of the activities of the Nāgas in historic times. And it should be a matter of surprise, indeed, if we are not able to trace their history in the Vedic period also.

The Vedic Aryans always speak of the Dasyus, Dāsas and Panis as being inimical towards them. The dialogue between Saramā and the Panis is too well-known to be mentioned again. It has been a matter of great puzzle to all the Indologists who have worked in the field up-till-now as to who were these Panis. It is a fact worth noting that the Panis are referred to only in the Vedic literature. They have been termed as Rākṣasas in the Varāha Purāṇa, Adhyāya 16. In fact in the Varāha Purāṇa the dialogue is said to have taken place between Saramā and the Rākṣasas. Apart from this, we are not in a position to trace their history either in Pre-Vedic or Post-Vedic times.

The actual passage in the Varāha Purāṇa referring to the Panis throws a direct light on their location in those ancient times. The stanza runs as follows.—

आगत्य तौ तदा दैत्यौ महत्सैन्येन पर्वतम् ।
हिमवन्तं समाश्रित्य संस्थितौ तु बभूवुः ॥

Varāha Purāṇa, Bengal Edition, Adhyāya 16, 8.

Thus it is evident that the Panis were located somewhere at the foot of the Himālaya mountains originally. Then, who were these Panis—the best of the trading class population?

In our opinion a proper understanding and study of the Dravidian literature and history would help us in regard to the solution of many of the problems in the history of Vedic India. Dr. KITTEL in his *Kannada-English Dictionary* has given the meaning of the word Panu as follows—

Pani = Tadbhava of Phanī, Cobra—Which is the same as Nāga. But the word *Phani* does not occur in the Vedic literature. Therefore, is it possible that the word *Phani* is itself derived from the word 'Panī', which is in vogue so long in Southern India.

We agree with Rev. H. HERAS, S. J., when he says that the Yadus and Turvasus were the first immigrants in India.¹ It was more or less in the period of the Yādavas that the process of Sanskritisation of many of the Dravidian words and terminologies had begun to take place. The Minas were rendered as Matsyas. Eventually the word 'Nāga' found an equivalent in the word 'Panī' at their hands. But like the word 'Matsya,' the word 'Panī' did not get currency in later literature.

Another fact in support of our argument is that the Panis are said to have been the worshippers of Ahi-Vṛtra, in the R̥gveda. If this be so, will this derivation throw a new light on the history of the Nāgas in the Vedic times also?

A. P. KARMARKAR.

1 Cf. Rev. HERAS, S. J. The Origin of the Round Proto-Indian Seals discovered in Sumer, *B. B. & C. I. Annual*, 1938.

SUR LES INFINITIFS VÉDIQUES EN -ASE

By

LOUIS RENOU, Paris.

§ 1. Seul l'examen toujours plus attentif du formulaire, des conditions de grammaire et de style dans lesquelles se présente une forme, permet de faire progresser l'interprétation littérale du Rgveda : il élimine certaines possibilités qui semblent plausibles lorsqu'on envisage un seul passage, mais qui se révèlent comme insoutenables ou du moins invraisemblables dès qu'on a parcouru la totalité des emplois.

Soit le cas des "infinitifs" en -ase. A examiner l'ensemble de ces formes replongées dans leur contexte, on ne peut manquer de voir quelle est leur configuration, dans quelle ambiance elles se meuvent. L'impression générale ainsi acquise sert de proche en proche à éclairer les cas douteux, à choisir entre des interprétations divergentes, théoriquement possibles

Les formes en -ase sont un groupe de noms d'action exprimant le résultat—but ou conséquence—par rapport auquel est formulé le procès. Mais cette détermination finale ou consécutive, loin d'être nécessaire, ne se relie que d'une manière plus ou moins lâche à la phrase, laquelle est en principe complète et se suffit sans cette détermination. L' "infinitif" en -ase note, comme dit DELBRÜCK Ai. Syntax p 422, un complément (Ergänzung)—on pourrait dire un supplément—à la formulation. Ainsi *vīśvaṃ jīvāṃ carāse bodhāyanī* I 92 9 " (l'Aurore) éveillant tous les êtres vivants, en sorte qu'ils se meuvent", ou *tēna no mṛṣa jīvāse* IX 66 30 "fais-nous la faveur de ce (lait, ô Soma), afin que (grâce à lui) nous vivions".

Il est vrai que dans un groupe d'exemples nous sentons la forme en -ase différemment, plus unie au verbe, de détermination plus nécessaire et plus proche. Ceci se produit lorsque le verbe est ravalé à la fonction d'auxiliaire, type *bhīyāse mṛgāṃ kah* V 29 4 " (Indra) a effrayé la bête (Vṛtra)". Mais il est à présumer que la valeur finale ou consécutive continuait à être présente au sujet, une phrase telle que celle-là signifiant proprement "il a agi sur la bête en sorte qu'elle fût effrayée". Il s'agit là d'un développement plus rapide de la forme en -ase, en situation favorable, non d'un emploi nouveau.

Avec des degrés variables de resserrement entre l'auxiliaire et l'infinitif, on a ainsi *pusyāse dhāh* VI 13 5, *jīvāse dhāh* III 36 10, *jīvāse dhāt* AV. XVIII 3 63 = 4 54, *kṛmuthā jīvāse* VIII 67 17, *kṛdhī* . . . *jīvāse* 12, *karta jīvāse* I 172 3, *cākṣasa étave kṛthāh* I 112 8. La coïncidence de la racine *dhā-* et de la forme en -ase suffit à infirmer la constatation de GELDNER

ná śobhāse "j'ai loué la troupe de ces (Marut) afin que, pour ainsi dire, ils resplendissent" : cf. OLDENBERG ad loc. Max MÜLLER avait déjà noté le caractère "intraduisible" du *ná*

De même dans *ā yāt sedāthur dhruvāse ná yónim* VII 70 1 "lorsque vous vous êtes installés (ô Aśvin) dans votre séjour comme pour vous y affermir" ; et dans *ārsyantam ná bhōjase* (déjà cité § 2).

§ 7 Si l'accusatif fait défaut, le datif est fréquent : juxtaposé à la forme en *-ase* sans que le poète ait la moindre répugnance à accoler ainsi à un "infinitif" une forme de nom d'action purement nominale. *ksáyāya jīvāse* X 58 1-12 "pour que tu possèdes pacifiquement (tes richesses), pour que tu vives", *carāthāya jīvāse* I 36 14 "pour marcher, pour vivre" (il est vrai que les noms en *-athāya* sont eux aussi des semi-infinitifs WACKERNAGEL Mél Saussure p. 130 n), *krātve dáksāya jīvāse* (que suit parfois l'infinitif *drśé*) X 57 4 AV VI 19 2 XVIII 2 23, *dirghāyutvāya cákṣase* AV VI 68 2 TS I 2 la MS IV 10 6 etc Il suit de là que la locution *urugāyāya jīvāse* I 155 4 ne saurait être comme le veut GRASSMANN "pour un bonheur de vivre illimité", mais avec GELDNER "pour marcher au loin, pour vivre", ce qui cadre fort bien avec d'autres emplois d'*urugāyā-*. Nī *rānāya cákṣase* X 9 1 "pour voir la joie" (GRASSMANN, LUDWIG), mais "pour la joie, pour (la faculté de) voir (= de vivre)".

§ 8. Lorsque le datif juxtaposé est un nom d'être animé, il prend valeur de sujet de l' "infinitif", comme le fait se produit sur une plus grande échelle pour d'autres infinitifs védiques. Ainsi, la locution *tokya jīvāse* VIII 67 12 "pour nos enfants, pour qu'ils vivent" aboutira naturellement à "pour que nos enfants vivent", d'autant que ce groupe de mots est sous la dépendance de *krdhí* "fais (en sorte)" GRASSMANN a mal rendu tout le vers, qui repose sur deux phrases infinitives pivotant sur *krdhí*. De même on a X 35 12 *pásve tokāya tánayāya jīvāse*. Dès lors se confirme aisément comme datif le pronom *nah* de la clause fréquente *jīvase nah* "pour que nous vivions" (cf aussi *pusyāse nah* "pour que nous prospérions". *na spārāse* § 9) Cet emploi d'un datif agrégé à la forme en *-ase* est assez vivant pour qu'au v III 53 18 on voie un poète délaissier le cadre locatif des pāda a b (*bālam dhehi tánūsu bālam analūtsu*) pour poursuivre au pāda c, avec le datif, *bālam tokāya tánayāya jīvāse*. Ou encore au v I 146 5 *ilēnyo mahó árbhāya jīvāse* où la notion attendue "il est digne d'être invoqué par le grand (comme) par le petit, en sorte (qu'ils obtiennent le droit) de vivre" glisse vers cella de "invoqué, en sorte que vivent grand et petit" : le terme *árbha-*, contigu à *jīvāse*, se laissant attirer au datif, tandis que *mahá-* demeure étranger à cette attraction (v OLDENBERG ad loc)

§ 9 Y a-t-il place, dans le cadre des formes en *-ase*, pour un datif régime, comme on a pour d'autres infinitifs védiques, type *āhaye hāntavā u* "pour tuer le dragon" ? On a cru pouvoir en identifier quelques-uns. La masse des emplois et des habitudes du type en *-ase* conduit à les écarter. Ainsi d'abord pour le v VIII 20 8 *ise bhujé na spārāse*. La traduction

de GRASSMANN "aidez-nous à boire, à jouir" accumule les invraisemblances philologiques. Il n'y a pas trace ailleurs d'un emploi "impératif" de la forme en *-ase*, la racine *spṛ* ne signifie pas "aider"; *nah* ne saurait avoir à côté de *spārase* une fonction autre que celle qu'il a à côté de *jīvāse* ou de *pūsyāse* (§ 8). On écartera ainsi encore LUDWIG qui traduit bizarrement "zu der speise genusz. zum verlangen (zum hinraffen) sind sie (geschaffen)" et Max MULLER "ils doivent jouir de leur nourriture, ils doivent nous aider". En conformité avec l'emploi général de *-ase*, on obtient aisément la traduction "pour que nous jouissions (*bhujé*) de la force rituelle, pour que nous soyons vainqueurs". De même *īyāsthyāya dhāyase* III 50 3 ne sera pas, comme le veulent les traducteurs, "pour exercer la souveraineté" (traduction d'autant moins pertinente que, comme on l'a vu § 3 *dhāyase* est plutôt un nom d'action pur qu'un infinitif), mais "en vue de la souveraineté, en vue de la satisfaction rituelle", *avṛkāya dhāyase* I 31 13 non "pour créer la sécurité" (GELDNER), mais "en vue de la sécurité, en vue de la satisfaction" ou plus verbalement (PISCHEL VSt I p 217 OLDENBERG SBE. XLVI p 23), "en sorte qu'il ait la sécurité, qu'il jouisse des mets rituels"; *indriyāya dhāyase* IX 70 5, 86 3 est "pour la force d'Indra, pour qu'il trouve satisfaction", la traduction, plus aisée en apparence, de GRASSMANN "pour qu'Indra boive" se heurte à IX 89 6 où figure en même contexte *indriyāya* seul. Le rôle de la juxtaposition est beaucoup plus considérable dans le RV. que les traductions ne le laissent paraître.

§ 10 Il est évident d'après ce qui précède qu'on répugnera à admettre qu'une forme en *-ase* soit le prédicat verbal d'une phrase : le v V 64 4 *yād dha ksāye maghônām stotīnām ca spūrdhāse* ne saurait être avec GRASSMANN "(puissé-je vous attribuer par mon chant, ô Mitra-Varuna) ce qui est à conquérir dans le séjour des patrons et des chantres" (analogue LUDWIG), mais bien "(...) ce qui est dans le séjour. en sorte que je l'obtienne par la lutte". De même au v suivant qui dit parallèlement *své kṣāye maghônām sakhinām ca vrdhāse* "(venez) dans le séjour propre des patrons et de leurs amis, en sorte qu'ils en soient renforcés". On ne voit pas comment LUDWIG peut construire *maghônām* et *sakhinām* comme des génitifs sujets de *vrdhāse*. OLDENBERG inclinerait à entendre respectivement les vv. 4 et 5 "pour la rivalité des chantres", "pour la prospérité des amis", mais vu la forme et le ton de *spūrdhāse vrdhāse*, il y a intérêt à leur laisser l'acception semi-infinitive, autrement dit à ne pas leur adjoindre de génitif régime.

Au v, VI 66 5 (cf OLDENBERG ad loc, BRADKE Fest Roth p 121) la forme en *-ase* n'est pas prédicat mais déterminant d'un prédicat invisible. La traduction postulée par le contexte est "ceux chez qui l'active (*Prśni*) n'a pas (la possibilité) de fournir son lait" *nā yēṣu dohāse cid ayāḥ*, proprement ("en sorte de se laisser traire"). Sur *yāt ... āyase*, v. § 12.

§ 11 Un génitif régime paraît moins évitable au v. I 141 2 qu'aux v. précités V 64 4 et 5. si du moins l'on groupe avec les traducteurs *vṛṣabhāsya dohāse* "pour traire le taureau". Néanmoins il est loisible de construire le

génitif avec l'élément qui précède, *trīṣyam asya vrsabhāsya dohāse* "la troisième (forme, celle) du taureau, (les jeunes femmes l'ont engendrée) en sorte qu'on puisse (le) traire"

Le génitif qui dépend de *rājase* IX 86 36 est un génitif "verbal", conforme à la syntaxe de cette racine. Quant au génitif régime de *hārase* IX 10 6, il est à sa place, *hārase* étant un datif nominal, non l'infinitif que pose MACDONELL, Ved. Gr § 585 n° 1 en l'accentuant *harāse* (aussi Ved. Gr for Students p. 434), WHITNEY Skt Gr § 973a avec l'accentuation correcte

§ 12. L'infinitif en *-ase* est sans préverbe. Cette particularité lui est commune en gros avec l'ensemble des noms en *-as-*. OLDENBERG, qui l'a notée, indique justement que cette constatation aide à dénier à *vivakṣase* X 21 1 la valeur d'un infinitif. Il reste, il est vrai, deux exemples embarrassants auxquels OLDENBERG n'a pas pensé. D'une part VII 61 6 *prā vāṃ mánmāny ṛcāse nāvām*. Les traducteurs (aussi MACDONELL Ved. Reader p 123) rendent "que vous louent ces prières nouvelles" ou analogue. On retombe ainsi sur l'inconvénient d'un infinitif en *-ase* qui serait prédicat et avec nuance impérative ou optative. Cet inconvénient sera évité en comprenant *prā* comme portant sur un verbe non exprimé, duquel *ṛcāse* est à son tour un déterminant, soit quelque chose comme "je vous pré (senterai) des prières nouvelles afin de (vous) chanter". Tout est ainsi en ordre et la syntaxe avec *prā* elliptique est commune au début de *pāda*.

C'est avec raison que précisément GELDNER admet cette syntaxe pour un autre passage où figure la forme *áyase* *prā yád dhiyē prāyase mādāya* IV 21 7 (v. OLDENBERG sur d'autres possibilités; cf. en dernier lieu VELANKAR J. Un. Bo. VI 6 p 45) "quand il se pré (pare) à la prière, à la marche, à l'ivresse". Sur la contiguïté du préverbe *prā* et d'une forme en *-ase*, cf. *prā jīvāse* (*yāchanti*) X 185 3, *prā* (*tvata*) *pusyāse* VII 57 5.

Le fait qu'un préverbe est évité devant la forme en *-ase* se mesure aux constatations suivantes: la locution *dirghāya cāksase* I 7 3 VIII 13 30 tient lieu de **vicakse*, cf. *vicakse* passim, *prā* devant *jivāse* est remplacé par *pratarām* AV VI 41 3 XVIII 3 63, 4 54.

§ 13. L'image qui résulte de ces différents traits est celle d'une forme à emploi linéaire, passablement monotone et qui dérive directement des conditions générales fournies en védique soit à l'emploi des noms d'action, soit aux possibilités du datif.

La dissociation morphologique qui s'est effectuée entre cette forme et les datifs nominaux en *-ase*, marquée par la place du ton et par la qualité de la voyelle radicale, n'est, on le sait, pas constante. Plusieurs noms d'action en *-as-* ont le ton suffixal, quelques infinitifs ont le ton radical ou le vocalisme plein (ce ne sont d'ailleurs pas les plus caractéristiques, à savoir *cāksase*, *áyase*, *spārāse*, *bhōjase* et l'hybride *dohāse*—si l'on élimine des listes d'ARNOLD ou de MACDONELL les formes *ksādase*, *dhāyase*, *bhārāse*, *sāhyase*, *harāse* qui ne sont pas des infinitifs). Dans les datifs nominaux comme dans les infinitifs il y a juxtaposition fréquente avec d'autres datifs, situation fréquente en

fin de pāda ou en groupe fermé, dépendance fréquente des racines *dhā-* et *kr-*, absence de préverbes *Śrīyāse*, *śobhāse* ne se distinguent guère de *śrīyé* ou de *śubhé*, *vr̥dhase* équivaut à *vr̥dhāya* (cf. LANMAN Noun-Infl. p. 557), *carāse* s'échange avec *carāyai*.

En l'absence d'une construction d'accusatif régime, si l'on se demande ce qui en fin de compte caractérise comme tel un infinitif, la seule réponse plausible est celle-ci : c'est son isolement, isolement de structure, isolement de la finale *-ase* du point de vue du paradigme.

A SANSKRIT INDEX TO THE CHĀNDOGYA UPANISAD

(With References to other Sanskrit Texts)

By

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III r—au.

420. RKTAS, adv. with regard to the *Rik* verses. IV, 17.4.

421. RGVEDA, m. : the Rīg-Veda -*das* (nom. sg.) : I, 3.7 ; III, 1.2 ; VII, 1.4 -*dam* (acc. sg.) : III, 1.3 ; 15.7 ; VII, 1.2 ; 2.1 ; 7.1 ; Cf. B. Ā. U. II, 4.10—*Rgvedo* . *vyākhyānāny*—IV, 1.2. ; 5.11 ; M. U. VI, 32, 33 , cf. also Mund U. I, 15.

422 RC, f. lustre ; sacred hymn, verse “Esp as distinguished from that which is sung (*sāman*) and from the sacrificial formula (*yajus*) ; verse to which a rite or explanation refers.” (MACDONELL). Pl. : the Rīg-Veda. -(nom sg) I, 1.2, 4=5, 3.4 ; 6.1=5, 8 ; 7.1=5. -*cam* (acc. sg.) : I, 3.4, 9 ; 4.4 -*cā* (instr sg.) : III, 12.5 ; V, 2.7. -*cas* (gen. sg., nom.-acc. pl.) : I, 1.2, 4.3 ; III, 1.2, IV, 17.2 ; VI, 7.2. -*ci* (loc. sg.) : I, 3.9 ; 4.3 ; 6.1=5 ; 7.1=4. -*cau* (nom du.) : III, 17.6. *ṛgbhyas* (abl. pl.) : IV, 17.3. *ṛcām* (gen pl.) : IV, 17.4

423. RTU, m. : fixed time ; period, season -*tavas* (nom pl.) . II, 5.2. -*tūn* (acc. pl.) : II, 16.2 *tusu* (loc. pl.) . II, 5.1=2, 16.1=2.

424. RTUMANT, a. possessing the seasons -*mān* (nom. sg.) : II, 5.2.

425. RTE, prep. without , except. V, 1.8=11

426. RTVIJ, a : sacrificing regularly , m. : priest. -*vik* (nom sg) : IV, 17.9. -*viṇe* (dat. sg.) . V, 11.5 -*viṇas* (acc pl.) : IV, 17.10

427 RṢABHA, m : bull -*bhas* (nom sg.) IV, 5.1.

428. RṢI, m . an inspired sage ; poet-seer , *Rishi*. -*sim* (acc sg.) : I, 3.9

E.

429. E=pron st of third pers. See Nos 442, 448, 449, 451

430. EKA, num a one, alone -*kas* (nom sg m.) . I, 5.2, 4 ; III, 6.3, 7.3 ; 9.3 ; 10.3 ; IV, 3.6 ; 9.2, 17.9, VI, 7.3 , VII, 8.1, 26.2 -*kā* (nom. sg f.) . VI, 7.3, 6, VIII, 6.6 -*kam* (nom sg n., acc sg m.) II, 10.2 ; V, 3.5 ; VI, 2.1=2, 7.5 ; VII, 4.1, 5.1. -*kām* (acc. sg. f.) : VI, 11.2 ; 12.1. -*kena* (instr sg) ; IV, 16.3 , VI, 1.4=6. -*ke* (nom pl.) : VI, 2.1

431. EKATĀ, f. unity, union ; identity -*tām* (acc sg) : VI, 9.1 Cf. M. U. VI, 22 (unified condition of honey)

432. EKADHĀ, adv singly VII, 26.2.

432. EKAPĀD, a one footed -*pāt* (nom sg m) IV, 16.3.

434. EKALA, a alone , one -*las* (nom. sg.) : III, 11.1

- 435 EKAVIMŚA, num a · twenty-first -śas (nom sg) · II, 10.5¹
- 436 EKAVIMŚATI, f. · twenty-one -śatyā (instr sg) · II, 10.5¹
437. EKAŚATA, n. : hundred and one. -tam (acc sg) VIII, 11.3.
- 438 EKĀDAŚA, num · eleven -(nom sg) . VII, 26.2
439. EKĀYANA, n : union ; union-point. -nam (nom acc. sg) : VII, 12, 4, 21, 52, 71
440. EKĀRA, m the sound e -ras (nom. sg) I, 13.2.
441. EKAİKA, a. · each singly -kū (nom sg. f) VI, 34 ; 47, 8.6. -kām (acc sg f) . VI, 3.3=4. -kasmāi (dat sg.) V, 11.5.
- 442 eta-, pron. st of thurd pers this, this here (n. acc as adv. . thus). esas (nom. sg. m) . occurs 112 times. etat (nom = acc sg n.) : 185 times. eṣā (nom sg f) 12 times etam (acc. sg n) : 52 times. -tām (acc. sg. f) : 8 times. -tena (instr sg) . 4 times -tayā (instr sg f) : V, 27. -tasmāt (abl. sg.) 13 times. -tasya (gen. sg) : 16 times. -tasmun (loc. sg.) 9 times. -tasyām (loc sg f) · 9 times -tau (nom -acc du m) 3 times -te (nom. du f ; nom pl m) : 21 times -tayos (gen. du m) : V, 10.8 -tāni (nom. acc pl n) 16 times -tās (nom acc pl. f) . 7 times. -tān (acc. pl. m.) . 9 times. -tais (instr. pl) : VIII, 6.5. -teṣām (gen pl) . I, 10.3 -tāsām (gen pl f.) · 2 times
- 443 ETAD, adv thus See No 442
- 444 ETADĀTMAKA, a · having this nature ; essence of this (MACDONELL). See No 454
- 445 ETADĀTMAYA, a · having this nature See No 454
446. ETADUPANIṢADA, a . having this philosophical (secret) doctrine or Upanisad -das (nom sg m) . VIII, 8.4
- 447 ETARHI, adv now ; nowadays ; then I, 8.6, 8, VI, 7.3, 6
- 448 ENA-, pron. st. of thurd pers he, she, it. -nam (acc sg. m.) . occurs 39 times -nat (acc sg n) . 2 times -nān (acc pl m) · 3 times
- 449 EVA, adv · so, just so ; precisely. Occurs 403 times.
- 450 EVAMVID, a. · knowing so, having such knowledge -vit (nom. sg. m.) . I, 7.8, IV, 17.8=10, V, 24.4 ; VIII, 3.3, 5 -vidam (acc. sg.) : IV, 17.9=10 -vidi (loc sg.) I, 2.8, IV, 14.3 ; V, 2.1
- 451 EVAM, adv thus, so, in this way Occurs 157 times
452. EVAMMAHANT, a : thus great. -hān (nom. sg m) : VI, 12.2.
- 453 EṢAS See No 442

AI.

454. AITADĀTMYA, a : having this nature (essence of this) -yam (nom. sg n) VI, 8.7, 9.4, 10.3, 11.3, 12.3, 13.3, 14.3, 15.3, 16.3.
455. AITAREYA, proper name (m.) patr. of Mahidāsa. -yas (nom. sg) · III, 16.7

1 eko-vimśatyā ādityam āpnoti, eka-vimśo vā ito'sāu ādityah Oṣā-vimśena param ādityāḥ jayati tan nākam tad viśokam According to Śaṅkara, "the twelve months, the five seasons, and the three worlds, and the sun is the twenty-first"

456 AIRAMMADIYA, n. : name of a lake (Myth.). -*yam* (nom. sg.) : VIII, 53. See Kauṣ. U. I, 3.

O.

457. OMKĀRA, m. : the sound *om*. -*ras* (nom. sg.) : II, 23.4. -*reṇa* (instr. sg.) . II, 23 4

458 OJAS, n. : strength ; vigour. -(nom. sg.) : III, 13 5.

459. OJASVIN, a. : strong ; powerful. -*vī* (nom sg m.) : III, 13.5.

460. OM, m. : sacred syllable “*Om* appears first in the Upaniṣads as a mystic monosyllable, and is there set forth as the object of profound religious meditation, the highest spiritual efficacy being attributed not only to the whole word but also to the three sounds *a*, *u*, *m*, of which it consists” (MONIER-WILLIAMS). Occurs 18 times.²

461. OṢADHI, f : plant, herb -*dhayas* (nom. pl) . I, 1 2. -*dhīnām* (gen pl) : I, 1.2³

462. OṢADHIVANASPATI, m herbs and trees -*tayas* (nom. pl) . V, 10 6.

AU.

463 AUPAMANYAVA, proper name (m) ; patronymic from Upamanyu -*vas* (nom. sg.) . V, 11.1. -*va* (voc. sg) : V, 12 1.

464. AUHOIKĀRA, m. : the sound *auhoi*. -*ras* (nom. sg.) . I, 13 2.

(To be continued).

2 Cf. Egypt ŌN, Coptic AMn (AMon or AMnRA), and the Christian O'M, O'MEN, AMEN

3 *esām bhūtānām osadhayo rasa* Cf B Ā. U VI, 41 . = *eṣām va bhūtānām . osadhaya* etc.

NON-RGVEDIC MANTRAS RUBRICATED IN THE ĀŚVALĀYANA-GRHYA-SŪTRA : THEIR SOURCES AND INTERPRETATION*

By

V. M. APTE, Poona.

ĀG. III. 9. 1 . I (a) 'Smṛtaṁ nindā ca vidyā ca, (b) śraddhā praṇā ca pañcamā (c) iṣṭam dattam adhītaṁ ca, (d) kṛtaṁ satyaṁ śrūtaṁ vrataṁ II (a) Yadaṅneḥ sendrasya saprajāpatikasya sarsikasya sarsirājanyasya sapitr-kasya sapitrirājanyasya samanasyasya samanasyarājanyasya, (b) sākāśasya sātikāśasya sānūkāśasya sapratikāśasya, (c) sadevamanusyasya sagandharvā-psaraskasya, (d) sahāranyaiśca paśubhir grāmyaiśca, (e) yaṁ ma ātmanaḥ vrataṁ taṁ me sarvavratam idamahamagne sarva-vrato bhavāmi svāheti]

Trans. 1 Memory and reproach, lore, faith (and) understanding as the fifth ; what is sacrificed, what is given and what is studied , what is done, truth and learning—(all this is my) vow.¹

II. (a) *The vow* which belongs to Agni together with Indra, Prajāpati, the Rsis, with the royalty among the Rsis, the Fathers ; (to Agni together) with the royalty among the Fathers, with human beings, with the royalty among human beings ; (b) (to Agni) with Shine, Over-Shine After-Shine, Counter-Shine, (c) (to Agni) with gods and men, with Gandharvas and Apsarasas, (d) (to Agni) with wild and domestic animals (e)—*that vow* belonging to myself and centred in myself—that is my Universal vow. Here, O Agni, do I become (pledged) to the Universal vow—*Svāhā*

Context With these formulas, the fuel is put on the fire (a ritual act referred to in the preceding sūtra III 8. 21) by the snātaka standing.

Sources : ĀPMB II 5 2. 10 is a long passage similar to our I and II. Now ĀPMB. II. 5 2 reads : "Smṛtaṁ ca me'smṛtaṁ ca taṁ me ubhayam vrataṁ" Similarly II. 5. 3. is : Nindā ca me'nindā ca " etc. as above. II. 5 4-8 are similar statements with reference to Śraddhā, vidyā, śrūtaṁ, satyaṁ, tapah and then II 5 9 reads 'vrataṁ ca me'vrataṁ ca taṁ me ubhayaṁ vrataṁ, yad brāhmanānāṁ brahmanī vrataṁ' followed by a passage similar to our II with the omission of 'sarsikasya sarsirājanyasya' and the addition of 'sadevasya sadevarājanyasya in IIa, the complete omission of IIb, the omission of 'sadeva-manuṣyasya in II (c), the complete omission of II (d) and the omission of 'taṁ me sarvavratam' in (e).

This parallel passage shows (1) that Nārāyaṇa's view regarding the recitation of I. as "smṛtaṁ ca me asmṛtaṁ ca taṁ me ubhayavratam"

* Continued from p 222 of Vol. III, No 6.

1 Prof. OLDENBERG connects the verse syntactically with the following formula which is unnecessary The verse is complete in itself

for each of the twelve words of the section like 'smrtam' in the manner exemplified for 'smrtam' is based on tradition though rejected by OLDENBERG (p. 229. note to III. 9 1) because ĀPMB II. 5 2 above, we actually see the expanded form of the formula, secondly (2) this passage supports the conjecture 'agneḥ' for 'agne' of Prof STENZLER (adopted by Prof OLDENBERG) as ĀPMB also reads 'agneḥ'

AG. III. 9. 6.—*'Mahadvaḥ bhūtam snātako bhavañi' vijñāyate |*

Trans 'A great being, indeed, is the Snātaka', so it is known (from the Śruti)

Context. This is quoted in the Sūtra after enumerating a number of things forbidden for a snātaka.

Sources. The citation cannot be traced in this form to any Samhitā or Brāhmaṇa (Śruti) but it is always uncertain whether 'Vijñāyate' introduces a quotation or the gist of a similar statement on the subject in the śruti. If the latter is the case, then ŚB 11 3. 3 7 may be compared 'Yathā ha vā agniḥ samiddho rocate, evam ha vai sa snātvā rocate'— | [Even as the fire kindled shines, so does he who has taken a bath i.e. a snātaka shine]

ĀG. III 10. 2 '*Idam vatsyāmo bho' iti |*

Trans : Here we dwell, sir !

Context. The Snātaka now takes leave of his teacher as he is about to make his homeward journey. In doing so, he mentions the name [of the teacher according to Nārāyaṇa] in a low voice and then loudly repeats the formula in our sūtra

[Prof OLDENBERG (p 230) states that this chapter (III. 10) describes the way in which a student has to take leave of his teacher before a journey and has nothing to do with the Samāvartana but it may be pointed out that it is the common practice of Sūtra texts to state general rules (about leave-taking as here, in connection with a particular case (e.g. here the journey of the Snātaka) A comparison of ŚG II 18 which inclined OLDENBERG to the above view shows on the contrary that our text has deliberately made certain changes (e.g. the omission of 'eṣa te brahmācārī' in ŚG II 18 3 a formula parallel to our III. 10 6) to make the rules applicable to a snātaka here. This chapter, besides, follows immediately after a description of the Samāvartana]

Sources ŚG II. 18. 2 has 'Om aham vatsyāmi bhoh' as pointed out by OLDENBERG HG 1 5 13 has 'Idam vatsyāvah' Prof OLDENBERG's suggestion in his note on ŚG II 18 2 (p. 90) that 'vatsyāmi' (I will dwell) is a sort of euphemism for 'pravatsyāmi' (I will go away) is well-supported by an orthodox practice still prevalent in many parts of India according to which a person departing says euphemistically 'I come now' instead of 'I go now'

ĀG III 10 4 : '*Prāṇāpānāyor upāśu' |*

Trans. 'Into Inhalation and Exhalation'—(this formula) he (i.e. the student) utters in a low voice

Sources. Though the point has not been noted by STENZLER or OLDENBERG, in my opinion, these two words are the *pratīka* of the formula quoted below in Sūtra 6, because the two words by themselves, would be meaningless and because the student and the teacher repeat nearly the same mantras [compare sūtra, 6, according to which the teacher is to repeat the same Ṛg-verse (III 45. 1) which the student repeats (sūtra, 5), after this formula] ŚG II. 18. 2 has exactly this formula (i.e., its *pratīka* consisting of two words) in this very context

ĀG III 10 6 :—*Ato vṛddho japati* (a) ‘*Prānāpānayor uruvyacās tayā prapadye*, (b) *devāya savitre paridadāmi*’ *iti*—||

Trans (b) The aged one then mutters, ‘Into inhalation and exhalation, (I) the wide-extended one, enter with thee (b) To God Savitr, I give thee in charge’

Sources (a) is only traced to a Sūtra-text ŚG 2. 18 3, as Profs STENZLER and OLDENBERG point out. The former scholar proposes two emendations in formula (a), in the light of the ŚG readings :—(1) he adopts ‘*tvayā*’ for ‘*tayā*’. This is a necessary emendation to get some sense out of the formula *but his second emendation* (2) ‘*Prānāpānā*’ for ‘*prānāpānayoh*’ is, in my opinion unnecessary for the following reasons :— (i) The locative dual ‘*Prānāpānayoh*’ [It need not be genitive dual as Prof OLDENBERG takes it to be in his translation of sūtra 4] can go with ‘*prapadye*’ as well as the accustive [MACDONELL : *A Vedic grammar for students* 204 B1b page 325] (ii) Very possibly, ‘*Prānāpānayoh*’ in sūtra 4 is a *pratīka* of this formula, as I have shown above, which will rule out any alteration of that word here. Formula (b) is found without variation in ŚB. 11. 5 4 3 in an upanayana context ‘*Athainam bhūtebhyah paridadāti | prajāpataye tvā paridadāmi |*’ and then comes our formula. The common link between this Upanayana context in ŚB and our *leave-taking* context is that the Ācārya gives over his disciple in charge of god Savitr. This same formula occurs in PG. 2. 2. 21 and SMB 1. 6. 24 in the same Upanayana context.

ĀG. III. 10. 11 *Yasyā dīśo bibhīyād yasmādvā tām dīśam ulmukam ubhayatah pradīptam pratyasyen, mantham vā prasavyam ālodya* (a) “*abhayam mitravarunā mahyamastu*, (b) *arcisā śatrūn dahatam pratītya |* (c) *mā jñātāram mā pratisthām vmdantu* (d) *mitho bhindānā upayantu mṛtyum*” *iti*

Trans Sūtra 11 (If in the course of the journey), he should apprehend danger from any direction or person, in that or his direction, he should throw a fire-brand burning at both ends and having twirled a churning-stick from right to left with the mantra “Safety be to me, Mitra and Varuna ; having caught hold of the foes, burn them up with your flame. May they not find one who knows (*our whereabouts*) nor any support, falling out with one another, may they go to death” [Sūtra 12 : he lowers it i.e. the churning-stick with the RV. verse X 84 7]

Sources Prof. STENZLER compares AV. VI 32 3, from which he has adopted the reading ‘*Upayantu*’ in (d) although his MSS. ABC read ‘*bhindā-*

nām ubhayaṃ tu' and DE read 'bhindāna ubhayam tu' (p 51 Kritische Anmerkungen) This emendation, is, in my opinion, unnecessary as the reading of MSS DE gives quite a good sense e.g. pādas (c), and (d) could be translated with this reading "May they not find a knower or a support but let both, falling out with each other (find) death" the verb 'Vindantu' being easily supplied from the third pāda. Emendations should be resorted to only when a reading makes no sense at all because even though our text may have borrowed the verse from AV., it could, like all Grhya texts, exercise the privilege of making changes in it. In pāda (a), for example, our text has changed the AV. "ihāstu nah" into 'mahyam astu' because the speaker is a single person.

ĀG III 11 1 — 'Sarvatobhyādanāññātād aṣṭāv ājyāhutīm juhuyād : "I (a) Prthivī vṛtā, (b) sāgninā vṛtā, (c) tayā vṛtayā vartryā, (d) yasmād bhayād bibhemi tadvārāye svāhā | II (a) Antarikṣam vṛtam (b) tadvāyunā vṛtam etc III (a) Dyaur vṛtā (b) sādityena vṛtā and so on (there being eight associated pairs in all e.g. IV (a) diśaḥ etc. (b) candramasā etc. V (a) āpah etc. (b) Varunena etc. VI (a) Prajā etc. (b) Prānena etc. VII (a) Vedāḥ etc. (b) Chandobhiḥ etc. VIII (a) Sarvam etc. (b) brahmanā etc. svāhā |

Trans. When an unknown danger threatens him from all sides, he offers eight ājya oblations with the following (eight) mantras. (I). Prthivī is covered, (b) by Agni is she covered; (c) With her (i.e. with the help of her) the covered one (and also), the covering one, I avert the danger of which I am afraid II (a) The Antarikṣa etc. (b) by Vāyu and so on

Sources A parallel formula with 'śāntā' (peaceful) instead of our 'Vṛtā' is found in TA 4 42 5 I (a) "Prthivī śāntā (b) sāgninā śāntā (c) Sā me śāntā (d) śucam śamayatu | II (a) Antarikṣam etc. (b) Vāyunā III (a) Dyauh (b) ādityena | and then follows "prthivī śāntiḥ antarikṣam śāntiḥ etc. śāntireva śāntiḥ śāntir me astu śāntiḥ | tayāham śāntyā sarva-śāntyā mahyam dvipade catuspade ca śāntim karomi etc" |

IV. 3

For the funeral rites in the third kandikā of this (i.e. the fourth) adhyāya, Prof. STENZLER compares (p 119) ŚB 12 5 2 1. seqq. There is a general similarity in the rites described there, no doubt, but the passage ŚS IV 14. 17-35 agrees so remarkably with our text in practically every detail of the distribution and the disposition of the sacrificial implements on the dead body (of an Āhitāgni) that one cannot help thinking that the *Sāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* belonging to the RV and therefore allied to our text was the model before our text

ĀG IV. 3 27 *Pañcamīm urali pretasya*, (a) "asmād vai tvam ajāyathā, (b) ayam tvad adhiṣṭatām asau (c) svargāya lokāya svāhā" |

Trans. A fifth (oblation) on the chest of the deceased (is offered) with the formula (a) "From this one (i.e. the deceased) indeed, hast thou (the

fire) been born (because the Āhritāgni in his life-time kindled and maintained the three fires ; (b) May he—so and so—now be born out of thee (to the immortal life beyond) (c) To the Heaven-world, svāhā !

Context. This oblation follows four oblations of Ājya in the Daksināgni after the sacrificial implements have been placed on the limbs of the dead body and the body covered with a hide

Sources. (a) is found in an identical form in JB 1. 47 which has for (b) a slightly different formula 'eṣa tvaj jāyatām, svāhā' ; (b) is found in an identical form in ŚŚ 4. 14 36, after a formula slightly different from (a) viz "āyam vai tvām ajanayat" ; (a) and (b) in a slightly different form are found in ŚB 12. 5. 2. 15 (a) "Asmāt tvam adhyāto'si (b) tvadayam jāyatām punah" In all these passages (JB. ŚŚ. and ŚB.) the context is the same and the sense is the same

ĀG IV 7 11 · *Tilān āvapati* · (a) " *tilo'si soma-devatyā* '
(b) *gosave devanīrmitah* | (c) *pratna-vadbhiḥ prattah svadyayā*, (d) *pitṛm imāṇīllokān prīṇayā hi nah svadhā namah* | "

Trans. : (a) "Sesamum art thou, with Soma as thy deity ; (b) created by the gods at the Gosava sacrifice, (c) offered with the Rg-verses containing the word 'pratna' (i.e. RV. IX. 54. 1 seqq.) with faith, (d) propitiate for us the Fathers and these worlds "

The context is the śrāddha ceremony

Sources. : Prof STENZLER draws attention to Kātyāyana's and Gobhila's Śrāddha-kalpa-Sūtras where the verse occurs.

The text and the interpretation of the verse. : Prof STENZLER p 133 thinks that the verse is hardly right as it stands and draws attention to the different readings of the parallel verse noted above. Prof. OLDENBERG (p 251) similarly thinks that the reading of several words of the mantra is doubtful *I may point out however that the verse as it stands is not corrupt and yields a very satisfactory meaning, (as in the translation above).* In (a) 'tila' is called 'Soma-devatyah' (having Soma as its deity) ; in (b) it is described as created by the gods at the *Gosava* sacrifice—which is the name of a type of *Soma sacrifice*, a variety of the 'Ekāha' (or one-day soma sacrifice) It is but proper that the 'tila' whose deity is Soma, should be described as created at a soma sacrifice The third pāda (c) then says that the tila is offered ('prattah') with the '*pratna-vad*' Rg-verses (containing the word 'pratna') Prof. OLDENBERG who refers (p 251) to this meaning of the word as given in the Petersburg dictionary *unnecessarily rejects it* Sāyana's commentary on PB 10 4 8, where the word occurs explains that the 'pratnavat' Rg-verses are those beginning with '*Asya pratnām anu dyutam*' i.e. RV IX 54 1 seqq Now the deity of the hymn RV IX. 54 is 'Pavamāna Soma.' What could be more natural than that the 'tila' whose deity is Soma (pāda a), who was created at a soma-sacrifice (pāda. b), should be described as offered ('prattah') to the accompaniment of '*pratnavat*' verses that are sacred to Soma? *For these reasons, I think, our readings should not*

be tampered with. Emendation effected by the substitution of the readings of parallel passages are always of doubtful value as each text often altered and adapted the words of a mantra taken from the common stock of Grhya tradition in its own way.

ĀG. IV 7 15 : *Prasr̥stā anumānirayeta* : (a) “*Yā divyā āpah pṛthivī sambabhūvur*, (b) *yā antarikṣyā uta pṛthivīryāh* (c) *hiranya-varnā yajñryās* (d) *tā na āpah śam syonā bhavantu*” *iti* [15]

Trans Over (the Arghya water) poured out (by the Brāhmanas after accepting it) he recites the mantra “The divine waters that have appeared on the earth, the aerial waters and the terrestrial ones—may these waters, gold-coloured and sacrificial (as they are), be to us welfare (-bringing) and propitious—etc

Context · The description of the Śrāddha-ceremony continues

Sources : Prof. STENZLER p. 135 draws attention to the different readings of the parallel verses in Katyāyana's and Gobhila's Śrāddha-kalpa-sūtras but these are texts much later than ours and cannot be classed under ‘Sources’ The Mantra is traced to TB. 3. 1 2 3 with the following variations —‘*payasā*’ for our ‘*pṛthivī*’ in (a) ; ‘*antarikṣe*’ for our ‘*antarikṣyāh*’ in (b) ; (c) is a different pāda altogether, viz. ‘*Yāsām āśādhā anuyanti kāmam*’ and pāda (d) is identical. In TB the mantra is an Invitatory formula for offering an oblation to the ‘*Pūrvāśādhā*’ constellation sacred to Yama, which forms a link with our *Śrāddha-context* The first two pādās in this very form appear also in TB 2. 7 15 4 making a verse with two other pādās, employed for sprinkling water on the king in the Coronation ceremony This same is the ritual context of AV IV. 8. 5^{ab} which are also pādās very similar to our first two. It is thus clear that the first two pādās invoking the waters of the ‘*Dyauh, Antarikṣa and Pṛthivī*’ constituted a popular hemistich made up into different verses by the addition of different pādās The last pāda is also a very common ending of verses addressed to the waters (compare AV I 33 1 and 4, MS 2 13 1 etc) Our text then seems to have derived pādās (a) and (b) and (d) from the TB passage 3 1. 2 3 mentioned above. As regards pāda (c), I think it was suggested by the well-known verse TS 5 6 1 1 ‘*hiranya-varnāh śucayah pāvakāh*’ etc whose last pāda is identical with our (d), (a verse repeated in the daily Sandhyā adoration in India even to-day) I do not think that Prof. OLDENBERG's suggestion that “we should read no doubt as the parallel texts have *payasā sambabhūvuh*” need be adopted for the simple reason that the substitution of ‘*Pṛthivī*’ (Old Vedic Loc sing) is probably a deliberate change made by our text to suit the particular context viz the pouring out of the arghya-waters which are spilt on the ground and thus appear on the earth (Pṛthivī) Besides, emendations should be resorted to only when no sense is otherwise possible

ĀG IV 7 16 (a) “*Noddharet prathamam pātram*, (b) *pitṛnām arghyapātitaṁ* | (c) *āvṛtāstatna tisthanti* (d) *pitarah, śaunako'bravīt* [16]

Trans · (a) “He should not remove the first vessel, (b) set apart for

the *arghya water of the Fathers*¹; (c) and (d) :—"covered up, the Fathers remain there" so said Śaunaka"

Context : When the Brāhmanas have poured out the Arghya-water offered to them (Sūtra 15), the remainder of the Arghya water in the three vessels (mentioned in sūtra 10) is mixed together. This śloka implies that the remainder in the second and third vessels is all added on to that in the first vessel, which (it says) *must not be removed (or lifted for the pouring of its contents into another vessel)*

Sources It is a late śloka and not traced to any early work nor is it found in any other parallel Sūtra-text.

Prof. STENZLER in his *Kritische Anmerkungen* (p. 53) tells us that his MSS DE insert another verse after the 16th sūtra (i.e. the above śloka). *I give it here just for comparison with a different version of the same verse in the Trivandrum edition* —(a) "Uddhared yadi cet pātram, (b) vivṛtam vā yadā bhavet | (c) tadāsuram bhavēcchrādhm, (d) Kruddhaḥ pitṛ-gaṇaḥ gataḥ" | In the Trivandrum version of this second verse, pādā (a) reads 'yadā vā tūddhrtam pātram', (b) is the same, as also (d); in (c) it has 'abhojyam tat' for 'tadāsuram'. It is interesting to note that Haradatta calls both these verses as "yajña-gāthe" i.e. 'stanzas of sacrificial import' like the one quoted in our text I. 3. 10.

ĀG IV 7 22 (a) 'Agnimukhā vai devāḥ, (b) pām-mukhāḥ pitara' iti hi brāhmanam |

Trans. (a) "The gods have Agni for their mouth (b) The fathers have hands as their mouth" · thus runs a Brāhmaṇa

Context. A portion of the Sthālī-pāka prepared for the Pinḍa-pitṛyajña is besmeared with ghee and offered into the fire with the permission of the Brāhmanas or *offered into the hands of the Brāhmanas*. The latter alternative is supported by the quotation.

Sources For (a) may be compared 'Agnir vai devānām mukham, mukhata eva tad devān prīnāti' | (p. 100 Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa). "Agni is the mouth of the gods; he thereby pleases (the gods) through (their) mouth (when he sacrifices into Agni)."

For (b) may be compared ŚG 4 7 55 'Pāṇyāso brāhmaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ' (The Brāhmaṇa has his hand as his mouth).

AG. IV 7 30-31. 'Om Svadhocyatām' iti visṛjet | 30 | 'astu svadheti vā | 31 |

Trans. Sūtra 30. (At the end of the Śrāddha ceremony), he grants leave (to the Brāhmaṇas to depart) with the formula : let it be said 'Om ! Svadhā', (Sūtra 31) or 'So be it ! svadhā'.

Sources. These same formulas are found in a number of texts : ŚB 2.6. 1. 24 ; GB 2 1 24 ; APŚ 8 15. 12 ; KŚ. 9 11 and ĀŚ 2 19 18. These parallel

1. The compound 'arghya-pātitaḥ' can be dissolved, in my opinion, only in this way : 'arghyārtham pātitaḥ'.

passages show that the two formulas (corresponding to those given in our Sūtras 30 and 31) are for 'the leave-granting by the householder and for the response by the Brāhmanas respectively, whereas the wording in our text rather implies that the two are alternative formulas, either of which may be used by the householder—the formula for the response being left for inference from the 30th sūtra *I think that our text has made a confusion by putting 'vā' in sūtra 31 instead of 'ca' (!) and that the formula in sūtra 31 is really one prescribed for the formal response of the Brāhmanas!*

ĀG IV. 8. This whole Kāndikā describing the 'śūla-gava' sacrifice agrees so closely with ŚŚ. IV 17, not only in the wording of some of the mantras cited but many of the sūtras also, that it is almost certain that our text has made wholesale borrowings from the latter text! As a few instances of close agreement may be cited—IV. 8. 15-16 = ŚŚ. IV. 17 5 and 7; IV. 8. 22, 28 = ŚŚ. IV. 17 7 and 8. Many sūtras are wholly identical or in part; many RV. citations are also the same.

ĀG IV. 8 22 "*catasṛṣṭa catasṛṣu kuśasūnāsu catasṛsu dīksu balim haret* (a) "*Yāste Rudra pūrvasyām dīśi senāstābhya enan* (b) *nāmaste astu mā mā himsīr*" *iti evam pratidiśam tvādeśanam*]

Trans Let him make Bali offerings in (i.e. to) the four quarters, on four wicker-work baskets of kuśa grass (four for each quarter) with the formulas: (a) "Those hosts of thine, O Rudra, that are (stationed) in the eastern quarter, to them this (offering is brought), (b) Homage to thee! Do not injure me!" In this way (i.e. with similar formulas) the offering is directed to each quarter.

Sources: Only a Sūtra text: PG. 3. 8. 11 has similar formulas. Here, in fact, we find all the formulas for the various quarters introduced by words like 'purastāt', 'paścāt', 'dakṣinatah' and 'Uttaratah', etc., of which a specimen only is given in our text. The context is exactly the same as in our text.

ĀG. IV. 8. 27 and 28: *Uttarato' gner darbhavītāsu kuśa-sūnāsu vā śonitam ninayet*. (a) "*Suāsmūr ghosnūr vicinvatih, samaśnūh*, (b) *sarpā yadvot'ra taddharadhvam*" *iti* [27] *athodangāvṛtya* (a) '*śuāsmūh*' [etc as above, upto '*taddharadhvam*'] and then] *sarpebhyo yat tatrārg ūvadyam vāvasrutam bhavati taddharanti sarpāh* [8]

Trans: (Sūtra 27) He should pour out the blood (of the sacrificial victim) on Darbha-mats or wicker-work baskets of kuśa grass to the north of the fire with the formula:—(a) "Hissing Ones! Shouting ones! Searching ones! Seizing ones! (b) Serpents! what here belongs to you, take that! (Sūtra 28) —Then, turning to the north, he offers it to the serpents with the formula "Hissing ones" etc. [as (a) above] Then the serpents take whatever has trickled down, of blood, or of the contents of the stomach and bowels (of the sacrificial animal), (all that being intended) for the serpents.

Sources. In ŚŚ IV 17 7-8, we not only find a similar mantra but the ritual act or context is also very much the same "*palāśām prāgudañci nidhāya, teṣu lohita-mīśramūvadyamayadhāya Rudra-senābhyo' nudīṣati* [||?||]

“Āghoṣṇyah pratighoṣṇyah samghoṣṇyo, vicinvatyah śvasanāh, kravvyād eṣa vo bhāgastam juṣadhvaṁ svāhā! || 8 || [Placing the leaves in a north-easterly direction and placing (i.e. pouring), the stomach—contents mixed with blood (of the sacrificial victim) in those leaves, he assigns it to the hosts of Rudra with a mantra which is very nearly the same as ours.]

ĀG. IV 8 32 : *Nāsyā grāmam āhareyur “abhi-māruko haṁsa devaḥ prajā bhavati” iti.*

Trans He should not take anything belonging to it (i.e. the sacrifice to Rudra) to the village (the whole sacrifice takes place outside the village), because ‘this god is harmful to the people’.

Sources : Prof STENZLER (Vortrede III) accepts the suggestion of Prof. WEBER that ‘abhi-mānuka’ should be read for ‘abhimāruka’ (Prof. OLDENBERG proposes the same change on p. 258) in the light of AB. III 34. But the AB passage III. 34 reads ‘anabhi-mānuko haṁsa devaḥ prajā bhavati’ [This god Rudra becomes a non-attacker of men if the verse RV. II. 33. 1 from a hymn sacred to Rudra, is recited with some changes] ¹ It cannot be said that our text has taken the part ‘abhimānukaḥ’ from the word ‘anabhi-mānukaḥ’ in AB because it appears to be a quotation from the AB! The Trivandrum edition solves the problem by actually reading ‘anabhi-mānukaḥ’ ¹ This reading can be constructed also satisfactorily with the introductory part of this sūtra as well as the preceding sūtra e.g. sūtra 31 says ‘he should not partake of that sacrifice’ Sūtra 32 then says “He should not bring anything of that sacrifice to the village because [thus (i.e. by observing these restrictions)] the god becomes a non-attacker of men” exactly as it is said in the AB, that by reciting the verse RV II 33. 1 with certain changes, the god becomes a non-attacker of men! Thus if at all an emendation is necessary (*it is not, in my opinion*) ‘anabhimānukaḥ’ should be read and not ‘abhimānukaḥ’.

The foregoing investigation into the sources and interpretation of Non-Rgvedic Mantras liturgically employed in the Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra will, I hope, convince scholars that this Grhyasūtra (also Grhyasūtras as a class) is more a *School-compilation* than a composition by one or more individual authors. This is clear from the wholesale borrowings of not only Mantras (which were bound to be cited from earlier texts) but also whole chapters and sections from earlier Vedic texts such as the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas Upaniṣads and Śrauta sūtras. I have also demonstrated, I hope, that a far larger number of passages from earlier Vedic texts betray a definite Grhya bias than was thought possible by scholars. I propose to publish in course of time the results of similar investigations by me in connection with other Grhyasūtras as the whole material is now ready with me.

THE EPOCH OF THE SO-CALLED HARSHA ERA *

By

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE

[In the June number of the 'Indian Historical Quarterly' for 1935, Mr. K G SANKAR wrote an interesting article on the 'Early Chronology of Nepal' which helped me a good deal in examining the epoch of the so-called Harsha era.]

There are a few inscriptions in Indian Epigraphy dated in an era which from synchronistic evidence were found to fall in or about the reign of Harshavardhana of Kanauj who, from a statement of Alberuni (A D 1036), was supposed to have started an era from about A D. 606. Hence the era used in these inscriptions was assumed to be dated in the Harsha era of A D. 606.

Now, let us go deeply into the question of an era started by Harshavardhana of Kanauj Alberuni states 'The Hindus believe regarding Śrī Harsha that he used to examine the soil in order to see what of hidden treasures was in its interior. . . . that, in fact he found such treasures ; and, that, in consequence he could dispense with oppressing his subjects (by taxes etc.). His era is used in Mathura and the country of Kanauj Between Śrī Harsha and Vikramāditya there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region. However, in the Kashmirian calendar I have read that Sri Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. In face of this discrepancy I am in perfect uncertainty, which to the present moment has not been cleared up by any trustworthy information' (Alberuni's India SACHAU's trans, Ch XLIX, Vol. II p 7). Alberuni also states that the year 1488 of the era of Śrī Harsha is equivalent to the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya. From all this it is evident that Alberuni speaks of only one Śrī Harsha era, the epoch of which was 400 years earlier than the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. Alberuni searched for this king Sri Harsha in whose name the era was started and found in the Kashmirian calendar that Sri Harsha (-vardhana of Kanauj) was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. From this it is clear that even in the Kashmirian calendar there is no mention of Harshavardhana having started an era but it simply says that Harsha flourished 664 years later than Vikramāditya. That Harsha never started an era seems evident from his own inscriptions dated Sam 22 and 25 where he does not even state '(vijaya-) rājya Samvatsare'—in the year so and so of his (victorious) reign

Now, if it is assumed that Harsha did not start an era then the question is, to what era do the dates in those inscriptions really belong?

The late Prof Sylvain LÉVI has shown that BENDALL'S Gōlmādhītōl inscription of Śivadeva (I) of Nepal mentioning Mahāsāmanta Amśuvarman

* Read before the first Indian Cultural Conference held in Calcutta in 1936.

is really dated 'Samvat 518' and not 'Samvat 316' as read by BENDALL. As such the date '518' may really be in the Śaka era, equivalent to A.D. 595 about which Sylvain LÉVI assumed to be the epoch of a local Nepāla era, the same as the so-called Harsha era. From Stanislas JULIEN's translation we know that Hiuen Tsiang visited Nepal not later than A.D. 637 when he speaks of Amśuvarman as 'Lately there was a king called Amśuvarman', clearly indicating that Amśuvarman was dead before A.D. 637. We have Amśuvarman's inscription dated Sam 44 or 45. The epoch of A.D. 606, or A.D. 595 of Sylvain LÉVI would make Amśuvarman still living after A.D. 639. This shows that none of the epochs is the right one and the late Prof. KIELHORN's remarks 'But since for Amśuvarman we have the date No. 1393 of the year 44 or 45, even the adoption of such a new era (epoch A.D. 595) would not meet one of Prof. LÉVI's main objections to the assignment of this (of the year 34) to the Harsha era—the objection, namely, that according to Hiuen Tsiang's account, Amśuvarman could not have lived after A.D. 637.' (Dr. BHANDARKAR'S *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 189 fn.) Thus it is evident that the epoch of the era must be earlier than even A.D. 595 and hence Profs. KIELHORN and BHANDARKAR rightly suspected in their Lists that the era in those inscriptions is yet undetermined. The inscription of Sam 34 is dated '*prathama Pausha*,' i.e., the month of Pausha was intercalary this year. On the epoch of the so-called Harsha era (A.D. 606) this date is equivalent to A.D. 640. But there was no intercalary Pausha this year showing clearly the incorrectness of that epoch (A.D. 606). The following remarks 'Judging by the date of No. 40 the month of Pausha of Harsha samvat 34 would be expected to fall in A.D. 639-40 (in Kali Yuga Samvat—3740 expired), but in that year no month was intercalary. In (Kali Yuga Samvat 3741 expired =) A.D. 640-41 by the rules of mean intercalation, there was an intercalated month which might be called Pausha on the supposition (this supposition would be the very reverse of the supposition made under No. 1351) that it was calculated by the *Brahma Siddhānta* and named according to the modern (not Brahmagupta's) rule for naming intercalated months, but which ordinarily would be called *Mārgaśīra*' (Dr. BHANDARKAR'S *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 190) These are 'sufficient to show the incorrectness of the epoch (A.D. 606) of the so-called Harsha era.'

Now, we have the inscriptions of the Pratihāra P. M. P. Bhojadeva of Kanauj dated Vikrama years 893, 900, 919 (also Śaka 784) 932 and 933 and also in the so-called Harsha era dated Samvat 259 and 276. Now Vikrama Samvats 893, 900, 919 (= Śaka 784), 932 and 933 are equivalent to Śaka years 758, 765, 784, 797 and 798. If, however, it is assumed that a new counting of the Śaka era was begun after Śaka year 500 then the above Śaka dates should be written as (Śaka) Samvats 258, 265, 284, 297 and 298, and we see that these dates are quite near the other dates 259 and 276 of Bhoja. Thus there is every chance of the epoch of the so-called Harsha era being identical with Śaka year 500 when a new counting was begun.

Now let us see how far this is corroborated by other available evidence.

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Now let us see how far this is corroborated by other available evidence.

Rājaputra Vikramasena figures as the *dūtaka* in the Nepāl inscription dated year 535 and also in the inscriptions of Sam 32 and 34. This supports the assumption that Sams. 32 and 34 are a shortened way of writing 532 and 534. Thus Sam 518 of the inscription of Śivadeva (I) mentioning the feudal chief Amśuvarman might also have been written (5) 18.

BENDALL's Sundhārā inscr. of Amśuvarman is dated 'Sam 34, *prathama Pausha*.' If Sam. 34 is really Śaka 534 then this date ought to show *prathama* or intercalary Pausha. Now Śaka 534 current = A.D. 611 (March) and we know that according to the mean sign system the month of Pausha (Nov.-Dec.) was intercalary in A.D. 610. That in this year the month of Pausha was intercalary was also noticed by Mr. SANKAR in his article. But he took the *prathama Pausha* occurring 2×19 , or 38 years earlier in A.D. 572 to be equivalent to the *prathama Pausha* of Sam. 34 and thus placed the epoch of the so-called Harsha era incorrectly in A.D. (572-34, or) 538, the truth of which will be shown shortly. It is thus clear that in Nepāl at that time the year began some six months earlier in Kārttika or Mārgaśīrṣa ('Like all Luni-solar years, the *faṣṭ* takes the number of the next solar *Sam*. Thus A.D. 1900 was Bengal *Sam* 1307 current, but the luni-solar *faṣṭ* beginning on *Āswina Krishna pratipad* of A.D. 1900 takes the number of the next Bengal *Sam* i.e., 1308 current'—PILLAI's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol I, pt I, p. 54) and that the epoch of the so-called Harsha era is Śaka 500 current = A.D. 576-77.

From Dhruvadeva and Jishnugupta's inscr. dated Sam. 48 we infer that Amśuvarman was dead before this date. Now (Śaka) (5) 48 current calculated similarly is equivalent to A.D. 624-25 and this date is quite in accordance with Huen Tsiang's statement concerning Amśuvarman.

The inscription of Narendradeva's son Śivadeva (II) of Nepāl dated Sam. 119 (month Phālguna) is, therefore, equivalent to Śaka 619 current = A.D. 696. Sylvain LÉVI has shown from Chinese sources that Narendradeva of Nepāl received a Chinese envoy in A.D. 646 and sent envoys himself in A.D. 651. Thus Narendradeva is apparently Śivadeva II's father. The date A.D. 646 seems to fall in the first part of Narendra's reign and A.D. 696 to fall in the last portion of Śivadeva II's reign. From Jishnugupta's inscription of Sam. 48 (= A.D. 624-25) we know that Dhruvadeva was the Licchavi king of Nepāl at that time. Hence Udayadeva, son of Dhruvadeva seems to be the reigning Licchavi king of Nepāl mentioned by Huen Tsiang.

We know from Śivadeva II's son Jayadeva's inscription that Śivadeva II (Sam. 119 = Śaka 619 = A.D. 696) married the grand-daughter of Ādityasena of Magadha one of whose inscriptions is dated Sam. 66. From Ādityasena's inscription we also know that his father Mādhavagupta was a contemporary of Harsha of Kanauj whose inscriptions are dated Sam. 22 and 25. Thus there cannot be any doubt that the dates in the above inscriptions all belong to the same epoch. Sam. 66 is, therefore, equivalent to Śaka 566 = A.D. 642-43 i.e., during the last days of Harsha and also of Huen Tsiang's visit.

The Korean pilgrim Hwui Lun (mentioned by I-tsing) who visited India

after Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 645) and prior to A.D. 689 says 'Recently a king called Sun Army (Ādityasena) built by the side of the temple (near Mahābodhi) another, which is now newly finished' There cannot thus be any doubt that Ādityasena flourished during the last days of Harsha and after that Mr K G SANKAR in his article took the epoch of the so-called Harsha era to be A.D. 538, as such the date Sam. 66 of Ādityasena falls in A.D. 604 i.e., in the beginning of Harsha's reign. From Chinese and Indian contemporary evidence such an early date for Ādityasena cannot be accepted, for, we know from Ādityasena's inscriptions that his father Mādhavagupta was contemporaneous with Harshavardhana. If, however, Mr. SANKAR thinks that Śivadeva II's date (Sam 119) is equivalent to A.D. (538 + 119, or) 657 and Ādityasena's date (Sam 66) is to be referred to the epoch of A.D. 606, i.e., equivalent to A.D. 672, then we find that a grandson's date is much earlier than that of the grandfather! With Mr SANKAR's epoch (A.D. 538) Sam 22 and 25 of Harsha are equivalent to A.D. 560 and 563. These dates of Harsha are simply absurd. Hence the theory of Mr. SANKAR about his epoch (A.D. 538) of the so-called Harsha era having originated with Yaśodharman Vishnuvardhana is unacceptable. If Yaśodharman Vishnuvardhana contemporaneous with Narasimhagupta Bālāditya and Mihirakula really flourished only 90 years before Hiuen Tsiang's time, he should not have made the preposterous mistake of stating on various occasions that these flourished several centuries before his time. Hiuen Tsiang could easily have met several aged persons who might have been eye-witnesses of events occurring 90 years before. No one now will make the strange mistake of saying that the Sepoy Mutiny (A.D. 1857) occurred several centuries before A.D. 1936. We learn of Mutiny veterans still living. From the Hārāhā inscription we know that Suryavarman while he had attained puberty repaired a dilapidated Śiva temple in (Vikrama) Samvat 611 (or, more correctly 610-11 = Sam. 589—*vide* Annual Report of the Lucknow Museum for the year ending March, 1915, p. 3 footnote) and that he was born while his father Maukharī Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman was ruling. This shows that Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman was ruling in about Vikrama Samvat (611-20, or) 591 = A.D. 534 when according to FLEET's epoch Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman Vishnuvardhana was ruling. Moreover, during the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman Maukharī, Mahārājādhirāja (Kumāra-) gupta (III) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty was ruling in (Gupta) Sam 224 = A.D. 543 on FLEET's epoch. All this shows the incorrectness of FLEET's epoch (A.D. 319) of the Gupta era and the date of Yaśodharman Vishnuvardhana which forms the basis of Mr. SANKAR's epoch.

The inscription of Harsha dated Sam 22 is equivalent to Śaka 522 = A.D. 599. This date seems to be the first year of Harsha's reign. Hiuen Tsiang says that Harsha after his accession to the throne proceeded eastwards and invaded the states that had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had subjugated Northern India and then reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon. That this is true will be evident from the inscription of Gurjara Jayabhata III dated K. 486 = A.D. 735 (E.

I. Vols. XXII and XXIII) where it is stated that Dadda I (K. 330, 346 = A.D. 579, 595) protected the Lord of Valabhi that had been defeated by the glorious Harshadeva. Now Dadda I's son, Jayabhata I's only available inscription is dated K. 355 = A.D. 604. Therefore Harsha must have defeated the Valabhi ruler sometime before A.D. 604, showing clearly that Harsha's accession could not have taken place in A.D. 606. Therefore, by A.D. 605 he had consolidated his power and this was practically the date from which people acknowledged him to be an Imperial Sovereign. This was the date in the Kashmirian calendar where it was written that Śrī Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. Hiuen Tsiang says that from this date Harshavardhana lived in peace for thirty years (i.e., upto 634 A.D.) without raising a weapon. Curiously, the Aihole inscription of Cālukya Pulakeśi II dated Śaka 556 elapsed (= A.D. 634) speaks of Harsha as having been forced to retire discomfited and in Pulakeśi's subsequent inscriptions his defeat of 'the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the regions of the North' finds specific mention with legitimate pride. Now, Pulakeśi ascended the throne in Śaka 532 = A.D. 609, and in his earlier records there is no mention of his having defeated Harsha. Vincent SMITH, therefore, could not accept FLEET's date of A.D. 612 for Pulakeśi's defeat of Harsha and advocated A.D. 620. But in doing so we have to reject the explicit statement of Hiuen Tsiang that Harsha after his subjugation of the North reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon. Hiuen Tsiang visited Pulakeśi's court sometime after A.D. 634 and speaks of Harsha's encounter with Pulakeśi thus: 'Śilāditya-rāja (Harshavardhana, boasting of his skill and the invariable success of his generals, filled with confidence himself marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince (Pulakeśi)—but he was unable to prevail or subjugate him' (Rev. BEAL, 'The Life of Hiuen Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui Li, p. 147). Dr. G. J. DUBREUIL in his 'Ancient History of the Deccan' (p. 113) advocates a date after A.D. 634 for Pulakeśi's defeat of Harsha.

As for the other longer dates (Sam. 386, 413, 435 etc.) in inscriptions of Nepāl the late Dr. Bhagwanlal INDRAJI has very ably shewn in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XIII, pp. 424-26) that these must be referred to the Vikrama era. From the Kātmāndu inscription of Jayadeva of Nepāl he has shown that from Mānadeva (Sam. 386) to Jayadeva (Sam. 153 = Śaka 653 = v.s. 788,) there were twenty (eighteen, according to Dr. VASAK, *Hist. of North Eastern India*, p. 281) kings. Assuming Sam. 386 to be in the Vikrama era, the interval between this and the date of Jayadeva (Sam. 153 = v.s. 788) is 402 years. This divided by 18 or 20 gives twenty-two or twenty years for an average reign, which is perfectly acceptable. If Sam. 386 be assumed to be in the Śaka era then the interval between this and Jayadeva's date (Śaka 653) is one of 267 years which divided by 18 yield only 15 years for an average reign which is too low. This inscription of Sam. 386 is dated 'on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Jyaishta of Sam. 386 when the moon stood in Nakshatra Rohiṇī, in the excellent muhurta Abhijit'. Sylvain LÉVI took Sam. 386 to be equivalent to A.D. 496 on his epoch of A.D. 110 for a

Licchavi era of Nepāl and calculated the above details to occur on 'Tuesday, May 1, A.D. 496.' But May 1 (Jul) A.D. 496 was Wednesday and the tithi was Śuklā tritīyā Śukla pratipad with the above details, however, occurred on Monday, April 29 (Jul) = Apr 30 (Greg) A.D. 496 That Prof. LÉVI's epoch of A.D. 110 is seriously incorrect (in addition to what was shewn by Prof. KIELHORN and stated already) will be shown shortly In reality Sam 386 = v.s. 386 = A.D. 328 in which year the above phenomena occurred on the 27th April It should be remembered that there is no tradition of the use of any other era but the Vikrama and the Śaka in early Nepāl That these larger dates are in the Vikrama era will be evident from a recently discovered Nepāla inscription of an unknown king dated 'Sam 449 *prathama Āshādha*' (Sylvain LÉVI, *Le Nepāl*, Vol. III, p. 51) and we know that in Vikrama year 449 current = A.D. 391, the month of Āshādha was intercalary. (Dr R. G. VASAK in his *Hist. of North Eastern India*, p. 247 inadvertently dates this in A.D. 392).

We know that Candragupta I (Vikramāditya) married a Licchavi princess (apparently of Nepāl) and with the additional help of the sturdy Nepālese soldiers he effected his conquests through his son Yuvarāja Samudragupta and then introduced his era (the Vikrama era) It was quite natural for Candragupta to have visited his father-in-law's dominions and then after liquidating all the debts of the country he perhaps introduced his era there. The scene depicted in the ruined temple in the Garhwā fort and described by Gen. CUNNINGHAM (*Arch. Sur. of India Reports*, Vol. X, pp. 13-15 and plate VII) evidently describes the marriage procession, feasts etc., between the Vaisnava Guptas and the Sun-worshipping (Sūrya-vamśi) Licchavis of Nepāl Gen. CUNNINGHAM could not identify the scene but his description of the scene read along with the plate is so tempting that I cannot but reproduce a few lines from his description 'At the left end there is a circular medallion with the sun-god seated in his seven horse chariot' (evidently the sun-god worshipped by the Sūrya-vamśi Licchavis of Nepāl) 'On the extreme right there is a similar medallion with a king and queen seated together in conversation' (evidently Candragupta I and his queen Kumāradevī) 'In the middle there is a square panel, containing a male figure with six or eight arms,

On the ground to the right there is a figure kneeling before him with both hands raised in adoration. This is the principal figure of a long procession

Immediately behind the kneeling figure there is an attendant holding an umbrella over him—an almost certain mark of a royal personage; this evidently depicts Candragupta I kneeling before the image of Viṣṇu before he starts for his marriage Gen. CUNNINGHAM remarks on this six armed figure thus 'As this figure is an object of veneration, it would seem that it must be intended for one of the Brahmanical gods'. Then follows the scenes of musicians followed by a party bearing presents, marriage feasts, dancing girls, etc. A second attendant is bending forward with a second offering, followed by a burly man carrying a curved broad sword like the *Nepālese Kris* 'Two soldiers armed with the *Kris* shaped sword bring up

the rear' All this shows as clearly as possible that these soldiers are none but the Nepālese soldiers carrying *kukris*. It was thus quite natural for Candragupta to have visited his father-in-law's dominions and then after liquidating all the debts of the country, he perhaps introduced his era there. The author of the Nepāla *vamśāvalī* correctly states the tradition that Vikramāditya came to Nepāl but finding that Amśuvarman's inscriptions are dated Sam 30, 32, etc., he assumed these to be in the Vikrama era and thus made the singular mistake of stating that during Amśuvarman's predecessor's rule Vikramāditya came to Nepāl.

From the Nepāla *vamśāvalī* we also get the tradition that two generations before Narendradeva (A.D. 646), that is, some 50 years before, in about A.D. 595 (= Śaka 518), the Śaka era was introduced in Nepāl (during Nandadeva's rule). 'This Rājā, having heard that the era of Śālivāhana was in use in other countries, introduced it into Nepāl. Some people, however, in gratitude to Vikramajit, who introduced his era by paying off all the debts of the country, were averse to giving up the use of that era. Hence some continued to use Vikramajit Samvat, and others out of deference to the Rājā's wishes, used the Śālivāhana Śaka.' (D. WRIGHT, *Hist. of Nepal*, p. 134). The use of two eras only a few years more than a century (135 years) in interval might cause troubles, hence perhaps the figure of 500 was omitted from the newly introduced Śaka era and a new counting was begun. Thus Sam 30, 32, etc., of Amśuvarman and others were really in the Śaka era with omitted hundreds and it was wrong for Sylvain Lévi in face of the above correct tradition to state that the epoch of the smaller dates was Śaka 518 current (= A.D. 595) and not Śaka 500 current (= A.D. 577). Thus from tradition also we have the use of two eras only—the Vikrama and the Śaka in early Nepāla. The chance of Amśuvarman to have started a new era is impossible, as has been ably shown by the late Dr. Bhagwan Lal INDRAJI, for, Amśuvarman in all his inscriptions styles himself a Sāmanta king. Moreover, the new counting was in use not only in Nepāl but in all Northern India.

That the use of FLEET's Gupta era (epoch A.D. 319) in Nepāl is not supported by traditional or inscriptional evidence will now be put forth.

From the Nepāl inscription of Jayadeva II (Sam 153) we know that Mānadeva, Mahideva and Vasantadeva were successive kings. For Mānadeva we have inscriptions dated Samvat 386 and 413 and for Vasantadeva dated Samvat 435. The late Dr. FLEET referred these inscriptions to his epoch of the Gupta era and therefore equivalent to A.D. 705 to 754. But we know that during this time Śivadeva II (inscriptional dates Sam 119 to 143) and Jayadeva II (inscriptional dates Sam 145 to 153) who were respectively the 14th and the 15th kings after Vasantadeva, as we know from Jayadeva II's inscription, were ruling. This shows that the larger dates cannot be referred to FLEET's Gupta era. Referred to the Vikrama era (as was rightly done by Drs. INDRAJI and VASAK), the interval between Vasantadeva's (Vikrama) Sam 435 and Śivadeva II's Sam 119 = Śaka 619 = Vikrama Sam 754, is one of 319 years and on an average of 25 years for each reign.

we get 13 kings ruling in the interval. Strangely, in Jayadeva II's inscription the names of eleven kings after Vasantadeva are not mentioned, the twelfth was Udayadeva, the thirteenth, his son Narendradeva and the fourteenth, the latter's son Śivadeva II. Hence the meaning of verse 11 of Jayadeva's inscription as accepted by Dr VASAK and others seems to be the correct one. Dr VASAK, however, believing in FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era intends to read the dates, 'Sam. 510, 518, 519, 520 and 535 of Bhagwan Lal INDRAJI and Sylvain LÉVI as 310, 318, 319, 320 and 335. That this reading is incorrect will be evident from the following. Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman's last available date is then Sam. 320=A.D. 639, according to Dr VASAK. (The inscription which Dr. VASAK intends to read as '335' also belongs to Amśuvarman but as the portion containing the name of the king is illegible nothing should be discussed now). But the above date (A.D. 639) for Amśuvarman is incorrect for Yuang Chwang who visited Nepal not later than A.D. 637 states 'Lately there was a King called Amśuvarman' showing clearly that Amśuvarman was dead before A.D. 637. Hence those that believed in FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era meant to say that Yuan Chwang may not have actually visited Nepāl and therefore his statement on Amśuvarman is incorrect. Even assuming for argument's sake that Amśuvarman was still living after A.D. 637 we find that in A.D. 639 Amśuvarman and Śivadeva I were ruling. Śivadeva I was succeeded by Dhruvadeva who was followed by Udayadeva. Udayadeva's son was Narendradeva who we know from Chinese sources was ruling in A.D. 646. Hence A.D. 639 might be the date of his father Udayadeva but can under no circumstances be the date of Śivadeva I. The date of the inscription which Dr VASAK wants to read as Sam. 335 is, in his opinion equivalent to A.D. 654-55 i.e., during the reign of Narendradeva. The *dūtaka* of this inscription is *Rājaputra* Vikramasena, the same as the *dūtaka* of the inscription of Sam. 32 and 34 of Amśuvarman and Śivadeva I. Hence Dr VASAK intends to take the inscription of Sam. 335 to belong to Śivadeva I or his son Dhruvadeva. But as already shown Dr. VASAK should have taken the inscription to belong to the reign of Śivadeva I's great grandson Narendradeva. In that case one has to admit that the same *Rājaputra* Vikramasena was *dūtaka* and a *Rājaputra* from the time of Śivadeva I to his great grandson Narendradeva! Sylvain LÉVI intends to take the epoch of these longer dates as A.D. 110. Hence his Sam. 535=A.D. 645 i.e., only one year before Narendradeva's known date (A.D. 646). Again, his Samvat 520=A.D. 630 on his epoch. Hence this date might belong to Narendradeva's father Udayadeva; whereas, we know that this inscription belongs to Udayadeva's grandfather Śivadeva I. This shows that Sylvain LÉVI's epoch of A.D. 110 is hopelessly in error.

On Sylvain LÉVI's epoch of A.D. 595 for the smaller dates Sam. 45=A.D. 640. After this, in Sam. 48=A.D. 643 (according to LÉVI), we find Dhruvadeva as king. But we know that only three years later in A.D. 646 Dhruvadeva's grandson Narendradeva was reigning. Again, on the epoch of the so-called Harsha era (A.D. 606), Sam. 39=A.D. 645. The *dūtaka* in this

inscription of Sam. 39 was Yuvarāja Udayadeva, evidently the son of Dhruvadeva. Whereas we know that only one year later in A.D. 646 Udayadeva's son Narendradeva was reigning in Nepāl, thus vanishing the reign of Udayadeva. Hence Dr FLEET had no other option but to say that this Udayadeva was not the Licchavi (king) of that name but probably a Thākuri prince of that name. Again, Sam. 45 of Anśuvarman is equivalent to A.D. 651 on the epoch of A.D. 606. Anśuvarman ruled jointly with Śivadeva (I) for sometime who was followed by Dhruvadeva who ruled jointly with Jishnugupta in Sam. 48=A.D. 654. Thus on the epoch of A.D. 606 either Śivadeva (I) or Dhruvadeva was ruling in A.D. 651. Whereas, from Chinese sources we know that from A.D. 646 to 657 at least, Dhruvadeva's grandson Narendradeva was ruling. All this shows the utter incorrectness of the epochs A.D. 606 and 595 for the so-called Harsha era. From another consideration the incorrectness of the above epochs will be evident. The date of Jayadeva II's inscription of Samvat 153 is equivalent to A.D. 759 (on the epoch of A.D. 606). In this inscription Jayadeva describes Harshadeva of Kāmarūpa as 'a very powerful King, Lord of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga and Kosala'. Now, Yaśovarman of Kanauj sent an embassy to China in A.D. 731, evidently when he became Lord Paramount of Northern India after his conquest of Gauda and Bengal. This Yaśovarman was defeated by Lalitāditya of Kashmir and the Gauda King captured, taken to Kashmir and then killed by him seems to be this Yaśovarman. Evidently, after this, Lalitāditya received investiture as King by the Emperor of China in A.D. 733. From this time there was anarchy in Gauda and Bengal, there being no ruler there. To end this anarchy the people elected Gopāla (who became the first King of the Pāla dynasty) as their ruler from about A.D. 750. Thus Harshadeva of Kāmarūpa was Lord of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga and Kośala before A.D. 731. (The defeat of this Harshadeva by the Karmātaka army, evidently of Cālukya Vikramāditya II about A.D. 735 is mentioned in the Shamangad inscription of Dantidurga Rāshtrakūta dated Śaka 674=A.D. 752). Thus Harshadeva of Kāmarūpa was no longer Lord of Gauda, Odra etc., after A.D. 731, because the very laudatory reference to him could not have been made in Jayadeva's inscription if on the date of the inscription he was no longer the Lord of Gauda, Odra etc. This shows that the date of Jayadeva's inscription cannot be A.D. 759 (on the epoch of A.D. 606 for the so-called Harsha era) and the same is in error by more than (759-731, or) 28 years i.e., the true epoch of the so-called Harsha era should be about A.D. (606-28, or) 578=Śaka 500. In reality Sam. 153=Śaka 653=A.D. 730, on the true epoch of the so-called Harsha era.

It will thus be seen that Amśuvarman's inscriptions are dated in Śaka 510, 518, 520, (5)30, (5)32, (5)34, (5)39 and (5)44 or (5)45 = A.D. 587 to 622, and this date of Amśuvarman is quite in accordance with Hsien Tsiang's statement concerning him. Rev BEAL also remarked 'From Hsien Tsiang's allusion one should be inclined to place Amśuvarman's reign about A.D. 580-600' (*Buddhist Records*, Vol II, p. 81 fn).

The date of an inscription of Jishnugupta and Mānadeva (II) has been

read as Sam 500 by Sylvain LÉVI, the correctness of which is very much doubted by Dr. VASAK. We have the inscription of Jishnugupta and Dhruvadeva dated Sam 48 = Śaka 548 = Vikrama Sam 683. It seems that the date of the inscription of Jishnugupta and Mānadeva (II) is really (Vikrama) Sam. 700 = Śaka 565 = Sam (5)65 = A.D. 642 i.e., just before Narendradeva. The above Mānadeva (II) seems to be a brother of Udayadeva whose name occurs in the Nepāla *vamśāvalī* immediately after Udayadeva.

From the above it will be seen very clearly that true to tradition, in early Nepāl only the Vikrama era was in use till about A.D. 577 = Śaka 500 when the Śaka era was introduced. But the simultaneous use of two eras with a difference of a few years was causing trouble, hence a new counting with omitted hundreds of the Śaka era was introduced. So that the epoch of the so-called Harsha era is really Śaka 500 current = A.D. 576-77.

It will thus be seen that the conclusion of Dr. FLEET in 1887 "And no objection could be taken by the Early Gupta kings to the adoption of the era of a royal house (the Licchavis of Nepāl), in the connection with which they took special pride, I think, therefore, that in all probability the so-called Gupta era is a Licchavi era" (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 136) is just the reverse of what he expected. In reality there has been found distinct proof of the Licchavis of Nepāl using the era of the Gupta Vikramādityas which began from 58 B.C. and no proof of the use of the Valabhī era (epoch A.D. 319) which Dr. FLEET erroneously called the epoch of the era of the Gupta Vikramādityas. Hence incidentally I request real seekers after truth to decide how far the origin of the era of the Gupta Vikramādityas from a study of the Nepāla inscriptions as shown above, true to Dr. FLEET's expectations 'But the question of the origin of the (Gupta) era is one, of course, on which further discoveries, especially if any could be made in Nepāl, may be expected to throw more light' (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 136) has been traced.

I now append a synchronistic table with inscriptional dates for clearness.*

In conclusion, I acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Mr. Jogendra Chandra GHOSH of Calcutta from whom I received much help in writing this paper.

* See next page for table.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE WITH INSCRIPTIONAL DATES

		(Nepāl) Mānadeva (I) (v.s 386 to 413 = A.D. 328 to 355) | Mahideva | Vasantadeva (v.s 435 = A.D. 378) | (Nine kings) Sivadeva (I) and Amśuvarman. Śaka 510 to 520 = A.D. 587 to 597 Amśuvarman—Śaka (5)30 to (5)45 = A.D. 606 to 621. (Śaka 535 = A.D. 612). | Dhruvadeva and Jishnugupta. Śaka (5)48 = v.s. 683 = A.D. 625 | Udayadeva. | Manadeva (II) and Jishnugupta (v.s 700 = A.D. 642). | Narendradeva A.D. 646 to 651 (from Chinese sources) = v.s. 704 to 709. | Sivadeva II Sam. 119 to 143 = Śaka 619 to 643 = v.s 754 to 778 = A.D. 696 to 720. | Jayadeva (II) Sam 145 to 153 = Śaka 645 to 653 = v.s 780 to 788 = A.D. 722 to 730.
Harshavardhana of Kanauj. Śaka (5)22 to (5)25 = A.D. 599 to 602	Mādhavagupta. | Adityasena Śaka (5)66 = A.D. 643. | daughter | Vatsādeva =	
Cālukya Pulakeśi II. (Śaka 532 = A.D. 609).	Harshadeva of Kā- marūpa. (Upto c.A.D. 730) Yaśovarman of Kanauj (Upto c. A.D. 731).	
	Lalitāditya of Kashmir. (c. A.D. 732—) Anarchy in Gauḍa and Bengal Gopāla, the first Pāla king (c. A.D. 750—)	P. M. P. BHOJADEVA OF KANAUIJ 1. v.s 893 = Śaka 758 = A.D. 834-35 2. Sam 259 = Śaka 759 = A.D. 835-36 3. v.s 900 = Śaka 765 = A.D. 841-42. 4. Sam. 276 = Śaka 776 = A.D. 852-53 5. v.s 919 = Śaka 784 = A.D. 860-61 6. v.s 932 = Śaka 797 = A.D. 873-74 7. v.s 933 = Śaka 798 = A.D. 874-75

REVIEW

The Early History of Bengal (From the earliest times to the Muslim Conquest) Vol I, by Prof Pramode Lal PAUL, M.A with a Foreword by Dr R C MAJUMDAR, M.A, PH D, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, Indian Research Institute (*Indian History Series, No. 2*), 170, Mamuktala Street, Calcutta, 1939, Pp. viii+158, Price —Rs. 4 (Inland) ; 7s (Foreign) , Size —6¼"×9½".

There was a time when the history of different Indian provinces and States recorded in Government Gazetteers was looked upon as God's word in the fields of history touched by them. With due deference to this European nursing of Indian History and the impetus given by it to historical studies in the last two decades of the 19th century we must say that the history of provinces recorded by Government Gazetteers was necessarily imperfect as many sources of history were unknown to them. During the last 50 years so much material has been brought to light that the Provincial Governments ought to establish separate offices for revising all their ponderous tomes of Gazetteers with the help of experts well trained for this work. In the old Gazetteers also we find better work done and recorded in cases where the Gazetteers had the benefit of expert scholars like BHANDARKAR and others but where these Gazetteer histories were written by administrative officers the history recorded by them was too tentative in conception and execution.

Sir R G BHANDARKAR wrote his *Early History of the Deccan* for the *Bombay Gazetteer* but still his work is found authoritative as he combined the accuracy of the Western method of study with the profundity of a Sanskrit Pandit par excellence. Of recent years scholars in different provinces have set themselves to the task of writing Early Histories of their provinces and brought forth more reliable works than the accounts in the Government Gazetteers. The work before us though it does not pretend to be a comprehensive history of early Bengal provides an excellent outline for such a history and we are sure that the author himself will give us someday a comprehensive history of Bengal in several volumes from the earliest times to the present day.

Dr R C. MAJUMDAR, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, who has already given us several volumes of the history of Greater India, has trained many students in the art of handling sources of history and the present volume by Prof. P. L PAUL prepared under the guidance of Dr MAJUMDAR and blessed with his Foreword would be found very useful to the students of the early History of Bengal. In this volume Prof PAUL gives us the political history of early Bengal up to the Muslim Conquest. He hopes to bring out shortly the second volume of this study containing religious, cultural and social history of Early Bengal.

The volume before us contains seven chapters—I—*From the Earliest Times to the Gupta Period*, II—*From the Fall of the Guptas to the Rise of the Pālas*, III—*The Pāla Dynasty*, IV—*The Pāla Dynasty (Contd)*, V—*Independent Dynasties in Vanga and Rāḍha*; VI—*The Sena Dynasty* and VII—*Administrative System*. These Chapters are followed by four Appendices on the Pāla Chronology, Sena Chronology, Lakṣmaṇa Sena Era and Doubtful Invasions of Bengal. We believe Prof PAUL will give us an exhaustive Index to both the volumes in the second volume promised by him.

There is no mention of any part of Bengal in the Rgveda. The ancient name of northern Bengal was Puṇḍravardhana. The *Aitareya Brāhmana* refers to Puṇḍras, Andhras and Śābaras. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* mentions Vaṅgas, Vagadhas

(=Magadhas) and Cers. It seems that in the later Vedic period Bengal was inhabited by tribes of a different stock of population from the Brahmanical writers of the above texts and these tribes were avoided by them as far as possible. The *Mahābhārata* mentions Vanga, Pundra and Anga. The Buddhist literature also mentions Anga. The history of Bengal from the fall of the Mauryas to the rise of the Guptas is almost dark. Northern Bengal was under the Gupta emperors almost up to the middle of the 6th century A.D. About this time the Gupta Empire broke up into independent dynasties, some of which fought among themselves and thus invited foreign invasions from neighbouring potentates, including one by Harṣa-deva, who is called King of Gauḍa in an inscription of A.D. 759. The history of the Pāla and Sena Dynasties (pp. 33 to 110) i.e. from the 8th century to the 12th century A.D. is more rich in details than the earlier history of Bengal—This in brief is the history of Bengal touched by the author and reconstructed on the strength of available materials. Written in a clear style and well documented on all important points the present outline of the *Early History of Bengal* by Prof. PAUL would be found attractive even to a lay reader not interested in the dry bones of chronology, the rattling of copper-plates or the vacuous vagaries of the Purāṇas, which breed controversies in which the public finds no interest as they are inconclusive. We congratulate the author and the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta on this useful publication.

P. K. CODE

THE LATE SIR E. DENISON ROSS

It is with the deepest regret that the Editors and Publishers of the *New Indian Antiquary* have to announce the death of Sir E. Denison Ross, the noted Iranian scholar, in September this year. It was only recently that a Volume of Studies organised by the *New Indian Antiquary* in his honour was published, and a specially bound presentation copy was being sent to him. It is all the more regrettable that the only Volume which was completed, whether in India or Europe, before the war clouds spread over the Western world, could not reach his hands. It is now doubtful if a Presentation Volume will be organized, as intended, by the School of Oriental Studies in London, of which he was the first Director. Thus the *Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies* remains the unique symbol of the regard and esteem which he inspired in his colleagues, students and admirers.

SOME RARE PORTRAITS AND WASLIS¹

By

HIRANANDA SASTRI, Baroda.

Collections of specimens of art are of three kinds; those housed in museums, those made by the rich dilettante, and those made by the lover of art. Personally I am not in favour of private collections in spite of being a collector myself. For when paintings, writings, etc., are deposited in museums they become available to the public, and reproductions of them can be obtained, even if with some difficulty. But when they go to the drawing-room of rich amateurs they are beyond the reach of ordinary people or are not even known to exist. They are lost to the student at large. The case however is different where lovers of art are concerned, for they are always ready to encourage art by placing their collections before genuine students and glad to allow them to study the specimens they possess and publish the results of their investigations for the information of the votaries of the muse of art. Such personages might even lend their acquisitions to museums for exhibition, thus making them readily accessible and hence useful to the student and connoisseur alike.

The small art collection in the possession of Sir V. T. KRISHNAMA CHARI comes under the third of the categories I have enumerated above, for it is always available to scholars for study. The collection consists of paintings and *washis*, or specimens of calligraphic writing. The *washis* are beautifully written. Some of them are signed and dated though the date is expressed symbolically. It is my intention here to publish a few of these specimens.

The Delhi Museum of Archæology is said to have specimens by more than one hundred calligraphists in its collection. A number of these were made known to the public by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar HASAN, B A., in a memoir of the Archæological Department of India and in a note on Muslim calligraphy in the Journal of Indian Art and Letters, Vol. IX, pp.60 ff. The 'Nastālīq'² and the 'Shikasta' and the other specimens in the collection under notice are fair examples of some Muslim calligraphic systems. They are reproduced here for comparative study. Such comparison with other specimens will enable us to see how the art developed and declined. Similar specimens are also to be found in other collections also which the late Dr SMITH mentioned in his *History of Fine Art in India*, etc. The *washis* require study—a patient study, for some of them, particularly those written in the Shikasta style, defy even an expert decipherer!

1 This article has been written in collaboration with Mr. V. H. BHANOT, B.A. (Hons.) (Cantab), M A., of the Education Department, Baroda

2. These terms are explained in the sequel.

It would be well to give a few general remarks on the history of the Indo-Persian or Mughal School of painting and the technical names of the calligraphic systems of Persian or Arabic writings

The Indo-Persian or Mughal School of painting might well be considered to have started in the reign of Akbar. His grand father Bābur is known to have been an admirer of Bihzād, the famous painter of Herat, who was Bābur's contemporary (A.D. 1487-1524). Akbar seems to have been greatly influenced by the paintings of the said Kamāl-ud-dīn Bihzād, and of his pupil Āghā Mirah of Tabriz. They led him to establish the school of painting generally known by the name of Indo-Mughal.

Though opinions differ, we make bold to assert, with Abu-l Fazl, the Boswell of Akbar, that the Indian disciples of this school produced works which surpassed those of the foreign *ustāds* themselves. Indeed one of these Indian painters is said to have touched up and finished a painting by the great *ustād* Bihzād himself. This was Khwāja Abdul Dāwūd, who was the favourite of Akbar and the *ustād* of Daswanth the Kahār painter of Akbar's court. Khwāja Dāwūd was a master calligraphist as well. Abu-l Fazl gives a list of calligraphic experts, among whom the most eminent in Akbar's time was Muhammad Hussain of Kashmir. These calligraphists followed various styles or systems. Abu-l Fazl has enumerated eight such systems, which were current during the 16th century in Iran, Turan, Turkistan, Turkey and India. These are all distinct styles and can be distinguished from one another by differences in the proportion of straight and curved lines. Akbar's favourite script was Nastālīq, which consists almost entirely of curved strokes. The letters of the Arabic alphabet in which Persian is also written lend themselves to artistic treatment, and the masters of the calligraphic art have been able to produce specimens which win admiration from all and sundry.

The eight calligraphical systems current in the time of Akbar are, according to Abu-l Fazl, as follows:—

(1) The Suls, (2) the Tauqī'a, (3) the Muhaqqaq, (4) the Naskh, (5) the Raihān, (6) the Riqā'a, (7) the Ghubār and (8) the Tā'alīq. The main styles of Muslim script, however, are four, i.e., (1) Kūfic (2) Naskh (3) Nastālīq and (4) Shikasta. Of these the first two are used chiefly for Arabic, and the other two, for Persian.

The first six styles in Abu-l Fazl's list were derived in A.H. 310 by Ibn-i-Muqlah from the Maqalī and the Kūfic characters. The Ghubār system is also attributed to him. Many ascribe the Naskh method to Yāqūt. The Tā'alīq way of writing is believed to have been derived from the Riqā'a and the Tauqī'a.³

The main difference in the form of a letter in these systems lies in the proportion of straight and curved strokes. The Kūfic character consists of one-sixth curvature and five-sixth straight lines, the Maqalī has no curved lines at all—that is why the inscriptions found on ancient buildings

3 *Āin-i-Akbarī* (BLOCHMANN), Vol. I, pp. 99 ff

are mostly written in this script. The Suls and the Naskh each consist of one-third curved lines and two-thirds straight lines. Of these the former, i.e., Suls is described as *Jalī* i.e., clear, bold, while the other as *Khafī* or hidden, thin. The Tauqī'a and the Riqā consist of three-fourths curved lines and one-fourth straight lines—the former is *Jalī* and the latter *Khafī*. The Muhaqqaq and Raihān each consist of three-fourths straight lines; the first of these is *Jalī* and the second is *Khafī*.

Akbar's favourite mode of writing seems to have been the eighth in Abu-l Fazl's list, i.e. the Nastālīq. It is a round script and seems to have been evolved from the Naskh and the Tā'alīq scripts which it gradually replaced. The majority of *waslis* i.e., specimens of calligraphy, beautifully illustrated and mounted on cardboard, are written in this style. It would appear from Abu-l Fazl's writings that Akbar much preferred calligraphy to painting. "Pictures are much inferior to the written letter inasmuch as the latter may embody the wisdom of bygone ages, and becomes a means of intellectual progress." But Akbar was highly interested in the art of painting also, in spite of his predilection for beautiful writing. The encouragement he gave to the art of painting produced some master-painters who even excelled their own *ustāds*. Witness Abu-l Fazl, "More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, whilst the numbers of those who approach perfection, and of those who are middling, is very large. This is specially true of the Hindus, their pictures surpass conception of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them."

These remarks are indicative of the interest which painting must have attracted during the rule of Akbar. The Emperor himself is said to have remarked once that "there are many men who hate paintings but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God, for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase his knowledge."

Evidently it was this exalted attitude of the great Mughal that made possible the masterpieces of painting and calligraphic art to be so numerous during his reign. Like painting, calligraphy was regarded as a fine art worthy of the most serious study, and masters of this skill enjoyed fame throughout Asia in those days. They were careful to sign and date their work, and thus added to the value of their productions. As Vincent SMITH has stated, many of the albums in the London collections containing miniatures include hundreds of specimens of beautiful writings in various styles and of different periods, which often seem to have been more valued than the drawings and paintings associated with them. Indeed a long catalogue of calligraphists might be compiled from the collections in England, if anybody would but take the trouble.

Both these arts, especially the art of calligraphy, require patronage to flourish, though this is to some extent true of every fine art. Proper appre-

ciation is necessary in order that it might prosper Akbar and his two immediate successors patronised this art very liberally, and the *waslis* produced in their reign are the objects of unstinted praise The art began to deteriorate later on for want of patronage. Only recently we have again become aware of the beauties of the art Much of the credit for this must go to Tāgore and Havell, who have done splendid service in bringing specimens of Indian painting to the notice of the general public and in revealing the mystic and other meanings connected with them European art critics and those who follow in their wake take Havell as an extremist in his admiration of Indian art How far they are justified in this we do not feel tempted to decide We can only say here that Havell was one of the foremost admirers or connoisseurs of Indian art to whose appreciation of its merits and symbolical interpretation the care bestowed on it in Europe and America is largely due

It would be out of place to discuss the history of Indian painting here. But that the art has existed in India from very ancient times it is hardly necessary to prove One must, however, refute any contentions that "the history of painting came to an abrupt stop with the Ajanta Series in A.D. 642" or that "the history of Indian painting between the close of the Ajanta Series in A.D. 642 and the importation of Persian art by Akbar about A.D. 1540, a period of more than nine centuries, is almost a blank." The art was not extinct on Indian soil at any time. Fine specimens of paintings belonging to different periods between these nine centuries have been published and can be shown as evidence vitiating such statements. As regards coinage, too, it would be incorrect to assume that the art of striking *mudrās* deteriorated and ceased developing in the early mediæval period in India. Vincent SMITH and others have made such assertions as the above, and I cannot help remarking that they must be held to be prejudiced and hasty In Gujarāt and Rājputānā at least, the art continued to flourish, and specimens bearing dates before the advent of the Mughals in this country are known to exist One must admit, however, that painting was liberally patronised by Akbar and his two immediate successors and some great masterpieces were produced in consequence.

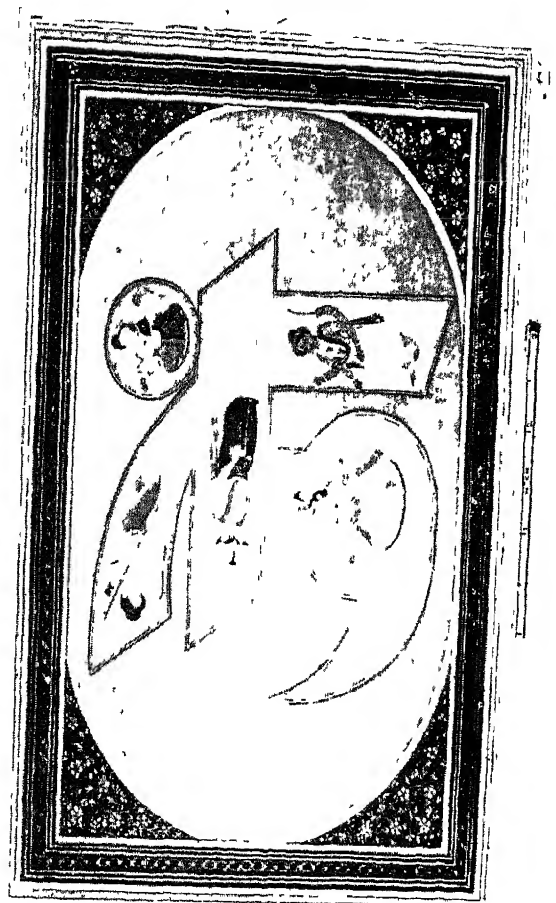
PLATE I (a)

As remarked above the art of painting in India can be traced to hoary antiquity But this is hardly the case with calligraphy. Indeed, I am not aware if calligraphy as an art was developed in Hindu India as it did in Musalmān countries or in India under the Mughals Excepting the autograph of the great Harshavardhana engraved in the Banskhera copper-plate, (Plate I (a)), and the royal signatures which frequently occur in Mysore inscriptions (Archæological Survey Progress Report, 1911-12, pages 109 ff), hardly any calligraphic specimens worth the name, such as we see written in the systems enumerated by Abu-l Fazl, are known in the case of Devanāgarī at least Of course, neatly written documents and manuscripts are legion, but they are



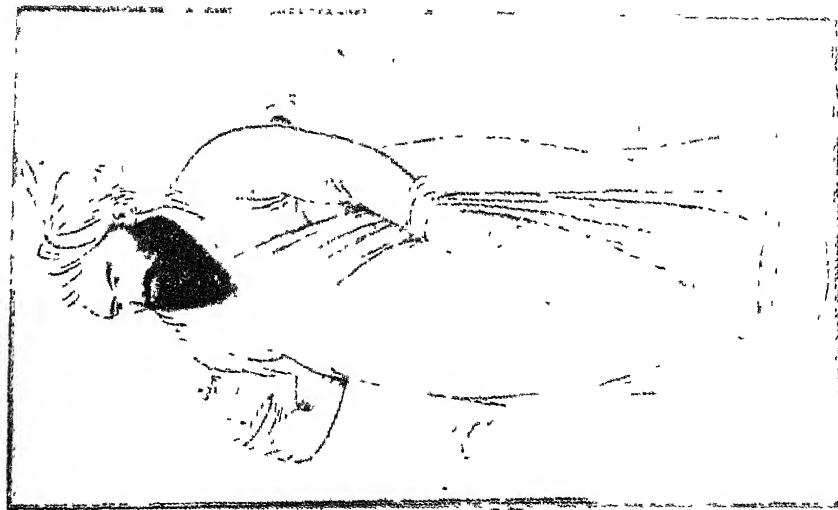
(a)

AUTOGRAPH OF HARSHAVARDHANA



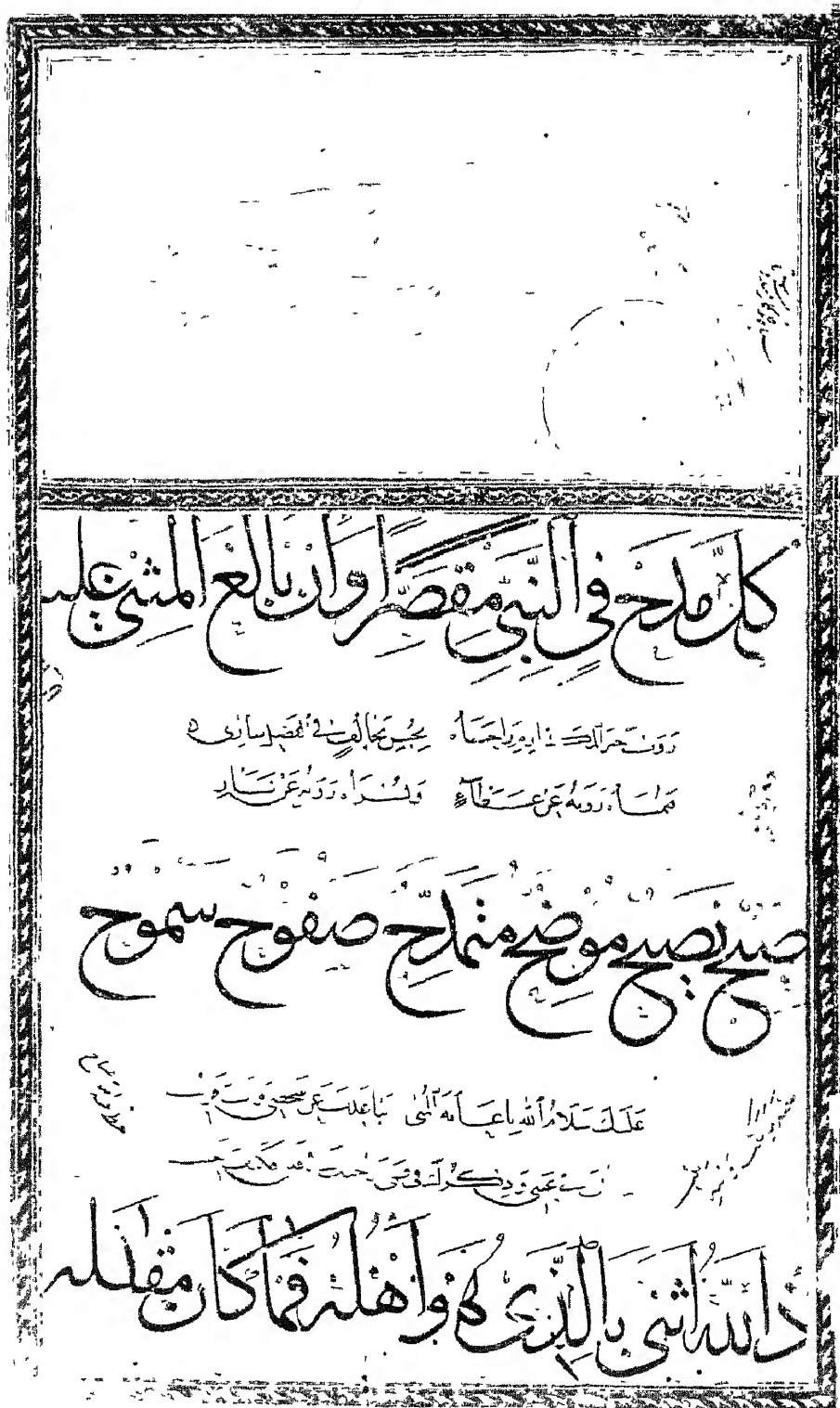
(b)

DEITIES CONNECTED WITH THE SYLLABLE OM



(c)

JAMII (?)



not analogous to the Tughrā, the Nastālīq and other ways of writing invented by Musalmāns.

Different modes of writing were known in ancient India, such as the Citra-lipi or the Mudrā-lipi. Yet excepting the way of writing on *mudrās*, i e, coins or seals, specimens of other modes are not known. This may be due to the fact that the Brāhmī-lipi and the scripts derived from it were not suited to the requirements of the modes invented by Musalmān calligraphists, who often wrote in a crooked way, so much so that their writing became very difficult to read if not unreadable. The qualifications of good penmanship according to Hindu ideals are, as stated in the *Matsya* and the *Garuda-Purāṇas*, or in the *Śārangadhara-paddhati* quoted in the *Lekhapaddhati*, as follows —The letters should always be equal, of equal headlines, that they should be round and thick and well connected with the *mātrās* or vowel marks :—

समानि समशीर्षाणि वर्तुलानि घनानि च ।

मात्रासु प्रतिबद्धानि यो जानाति स लेखकः ॥

These characteristics are contrary to the features of calligraphy noticed in the *Ā'in-i-Akbari*.

Later specimens of what may be called Citra-lipi are known to exist. They are rather pictures of the subjects of the *aksharas*. For example, the syllable *Om* is considered to consist of three component parts, *a*, *u*, and *m*. The letter *a* stands for Vishnu, *u* for Śiva and *m* for Prajāpati. Figures of these divinities may consequently be seen written in the diagram of the *Om*, as in a picture in my collection which I reproduce below (Plate I (b)). But that is hardly the kind of calligraphy we see in the *waslis*.

PLATE I (b)

Waslis require a careful and patient study as many of them are extremely tortuous and difficult to read. Sayings like *lkhe Mūsā padhe Khudā* are indicative of the undecipherable nature of such writings. One has to familiarise oneself with them by seeing as many specimens as one possibly can. For this he must have access to specimens, either directly through museums and private collections or through learned publications.

We turn now to the paintings and *waslis* in the collection under notice. The best pictures in it are by painters of the Indo-Persian School, excepting one which I would call Persian. This is a portrait of Jāmi, the celebrated poet of Persia who flourished in the 15th century A.D. Jāmi is a *nom-de-plume*, the real name being Nūr-ud-dīn Abdu'l Rehmān. He was born on the 7th November 1414 A.D. (23rd Sha'abān 817 A.D.) at a village called Jām in Herāt. His mastery of the Persian language and his knowledge were reputed to be unequalled throughout the Persian Empire, and he enjoyed great respect for his erudition from the Princes of his time. More than 44 works were written by him—his poem on the loves of Yusuf and Zulekhā is one of the finest compositions in the Persian language. Jāmi died at the advanced age of 81 lunar years, on Friday the 9th November 1492 A.D. (18th Muharram 898 A.H.).

PLATE I (c).

This picture (Plate I (c)) bears some texts written on it They are as follows⁴ :—

Jāmi's portrait. Top and bottom lines :

قصده شهرت جامی را نبود کین همه نظم انداز بود است

“Jāmi had no desire for fame,
All this verse is in new style”

Right and left margins—

فقلت 'مالك لا تذكر اياك فقال ان ربي رجلاً يحال نفسه وان امن (أمي) امرأة
ضعفه ٥ قبل لعارف خد لحظك من الدنيا فانك فان

I said, “How is it that thou dost not say anything about thyself?” He replied, “My father is a person who is proud of himself, but my mother is of lowly spirit”⁵ It was said to a learned man that he should take his share from the world, for he will pass away”

Most of the inscriptions written in such miniatures, it may be remarked here in passing, have little to do with the pictures they are written upon In the case of Jāmi, too, this remark holds good to a certain extent. He was a great Sūfi, and the words قصده شهرت جامی را نبود could apply to him But the writings in the margin, however, would not He was a well-known person His father was Maulānā Muhammad or Ahmad Isfahānī He was remarkably polite, of a very gentle disposition, and endowed with extensive learning. Even princes who were themselves men of erudition and exalted talents have lavished the most unbounded praise upon Jāmi. A scholar and profound Sūfi like Jāmi would not describe his mother as is done in the inscription on the painting This means that the writing cannot be contemporaneous with the portrait

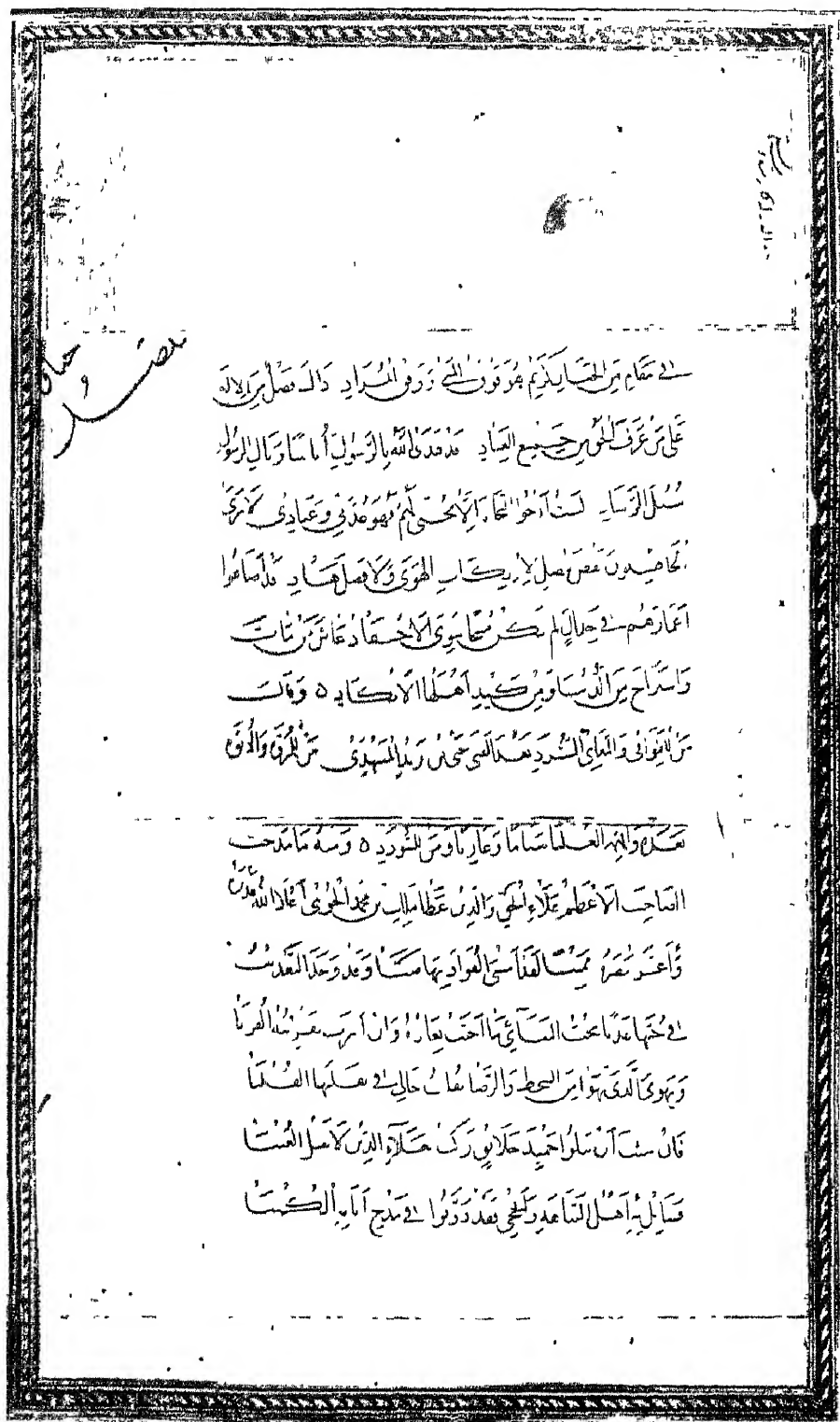
The figure has a marked resemblance with the portraits of Persian dignitaries which are published elsewhere⁶ We have no means of ascertaining whether the picture is a genuine portrait of Jāmi or not, apart from the name جامی written in the top line. Judging from the evidences of style, dress, etc. there would seem to be little against accepting it as an actual portrait In all cases, however, it will be a matter of belief or opinion and we might leave the point there

Some of the texts of these *washis* are of the nature of what we call *subhāshatas* in Sanskrit, i.e. apophthegms They may aptly be used as quotations for adorning a speech The stanzas written on the accompanying representation of a youth of unknown identity are of this kind There is no label on it The inscription in small letters above the head of the young

4 I am indebted to Mr G YAZDANI, Director of Archæology, Hyderabad, for these readings and their translation

5. See postscript

6 I am told of another portrait of Jāmi which differs from the present one in many details. I have not, however, been able to see this portrait



اَللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ وَسَلِّمْ عَلٰى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ
 وَصَلِّ وَسَلِّمْ عَلٰى اٰلِهِ الطَّيِّبِينَ
 اَسْأَلُكَ بِرَحْمَتِكَ وَسِعَتْ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ
 اَنْ تَجْعَلَ لِيْ رِزْقًا وَرِثَةً
 وَتَجْعَلَ لِيْ رِزْقًا وَرِثَةً
 وَتَجْعَلَ لِيْ رِزْقًا وَرِثَةً

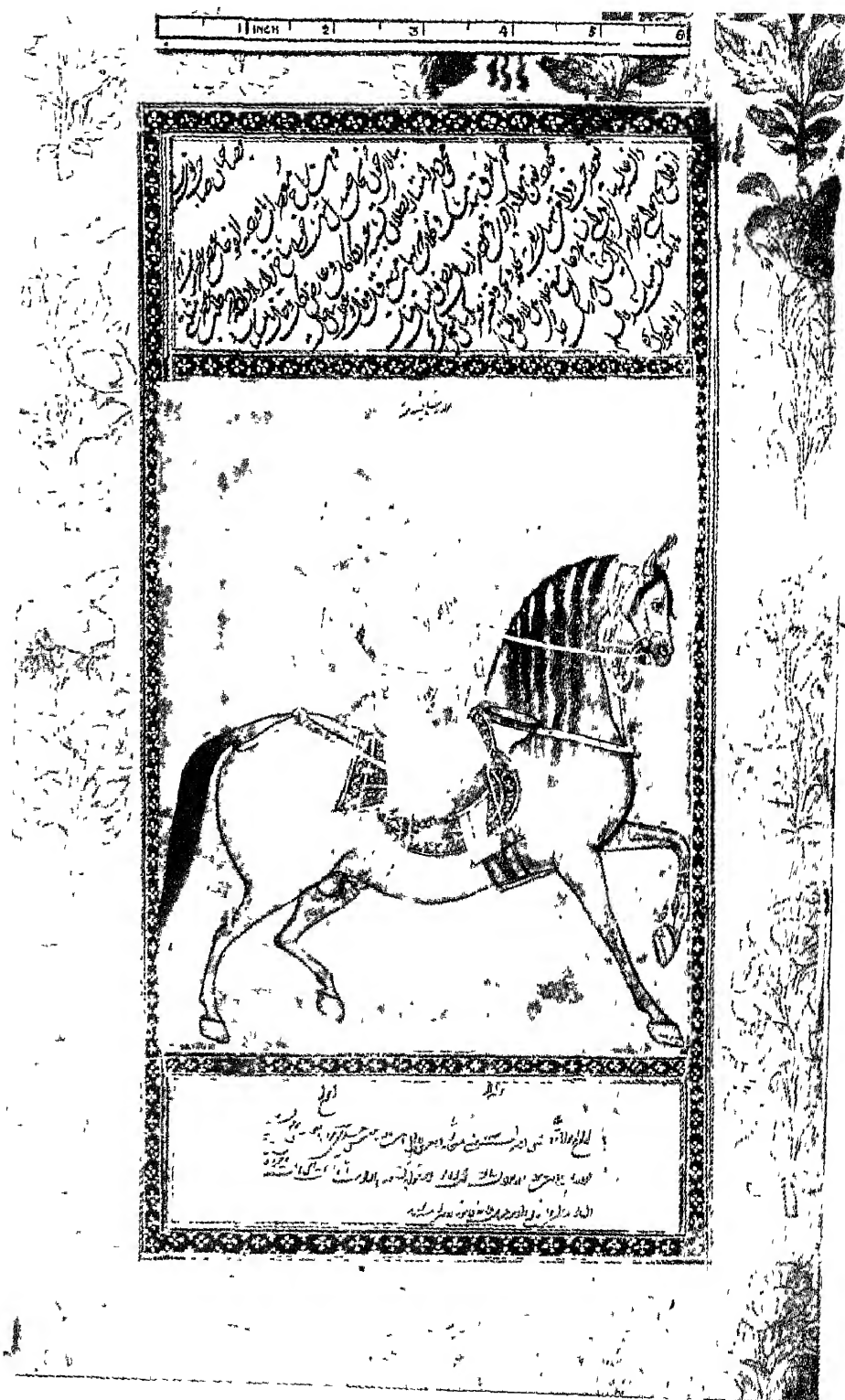


اَللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ وَسَلِّمْ عَلٰى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ
 وَصَلِّ وَسَلِّمْ عَلٰى اٰلِهِ الطَّيِّبِينَ
 اَسْأَلُكَ بِرَحْمَتِكَ وَسِعَتْ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ
 اَنْ تَجْعَلَ لِيْ رِزْقًا وَرِثَةً
 وَتَجْعَلَ لِيْ رِزْقًا وَرِثَةً
 وَتَجْعَلَ لِيْ رِزْقًا وَرِثَةً

DARBĀR OF BĀBUR



SHAH SHUJA'A



NAWAB SHAISTA KHAN

man simply says that it is the result of Indian penmanship in black. The verses are written in *Thulth* characters and in Arabic. The three lines in bold *Thulth* characters are in praise of the Prophet and the intervening lines in small letters are general expressions. The short line written towards the right corner is also of the same nature. Evidently it is addressed to God. The opposite side gives the name of the scribe saying, "It is in the hand-writing of 'Abdulla Tabhak^h'" Who this person was I am unable to establish. No date seems to be given anywhere on the picture.

PLATE II.

(١) كل مدح في النبي مقصرا و ان بالغ المثنى عليه

(٢) صبح نصيح موضح ممدح صفوح سدوح

(٣) ذا الله اننى بالدى هواهله بما كان مقابله

Translation

- (1) "Every praise in respect of the Prophet falls short even if the person who is praising may exaggerate ;"
- (2) "Bright, sincere, transparent, winner of praise, conniver, valiant"
- (3) "Verily God has praised him according to his worth , he has no match."

PLATE III.

Another noteworthy picture is a portrait—a very lifelike representation of some Musalmān dignitary. The label on the top in Persian calls (Plate III) him (Ba)hāvuddaulah, but does not throw any light on his identity. The label in Persian says it is drawn in India. The picture occupies the top portion. Below it there are two panels containing fourteen lines of Arabic verse, seven lines to each panel. In the margin opposite to the right leg of the portrait there is a name which might be read as Nisad Khān. Whether it stands for the calligraphist or for some other person it would be hazardous to opine.

PLATE IV

There are four more pictures in the collection requiring special notice. They are reproduced below. One purports to represent the Darbār (Plate IV) of Bābur. His name is written in the Persian script at the top. The phrase *Kār-i-Hind* is also given towards the right corner at the top. These words are meant to indicate that the picture was drawn in India. Who the painter was is not stated. The picture must be the work of some master painter whose name I am unable to find. That the picture is an early Indo-Persian work cannot be doubted. The central figure seated under a canopy and on a couch represents some royalty probably early Mughal. It bears a resemblance to the portraits of Bābur in several of the pictures that are reproduced in "*The Memoirs of Baber*" by F. G. TALBOT, published

in London in the year 1909. At the same time it must be admitted that our picture does not resemble some of the other portraits in this very book. The translator of "The Memoirs of Baber" avers, however, that the portraits of Bābur shown in the illustrations of his book must be accepted as authentic, as there is sufficient resemblance between the several pictures to warrant such acceptance. We shall have to admit that such representations might not have been drawn in front of the person sought to be portrayed, as is usually done nowadays by giving sittings to the painter. They might sometimes have been drawn from memory. The same is the case with the portraits of Nūrjahān, the famous Mughal Empress, for instance. All her pictures differ from one another and would lend support to the view that the Mughals did not give sittings for their portraits in violation of the injunction of the *Qur'ān*.

PLATE V.

Another picture in the collection purports to represent Shāh Shujā'a, (Plate V) as is shown by the labels on it. This Shāh Shujā'a (شاه شجاع, شجاع الملك) must be the youngest son of Taimūr Shāh, the son of Ahmed Shāh Abdālī. He was sent to Kashmir by his brother Muhammad Shāh and imprisoned in the Koh-i-Mirān fort in A.D. 1812 whence he was released in 1814 by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and detained in Lahore as a prisoner till he escaped to the British territories. He was placed on the throne of Kabul by the British Government in 1839 but was murdered by his nephew in A.D. 1842. I do not think he should be identified with the Sultān of the Muzaffarians or any other ruler of this name.

PLATE VI.

Then comes the picture of Nawāb Shāista Khān (Plate VI) on horseback. It is full of vigour and quite lifelike but for the pose of the leg, which looks shorter than what it should be. The label calls the subject of the painting Shāistā Khān and if it names him correctly he must be identical with the Mughal Subedār of Deccan who was attacked by Shivaji in his camp at Poona and fled through a window. Vincent SMITH also reproduces a portrait of him, but the present picture bears no resemblance to SMITH's picture. This would strengthen our view that the Mughals and other Musalmāns were unwilling to sit for portraits which were consequently drawn from memory only.

PLATE VII.

The last picture we should like to mention here is of a young prince of Arabia (Plate VII), if one is to be guided by the labels. Whether he is an imaginary figure or stands for some historical person we have no means to determine. But that it is an artistic and well-executed drawing cannot be denied though the face is too boyish for the long whiskers we see on it. The figure stands between two texts written above and below. The left corner at

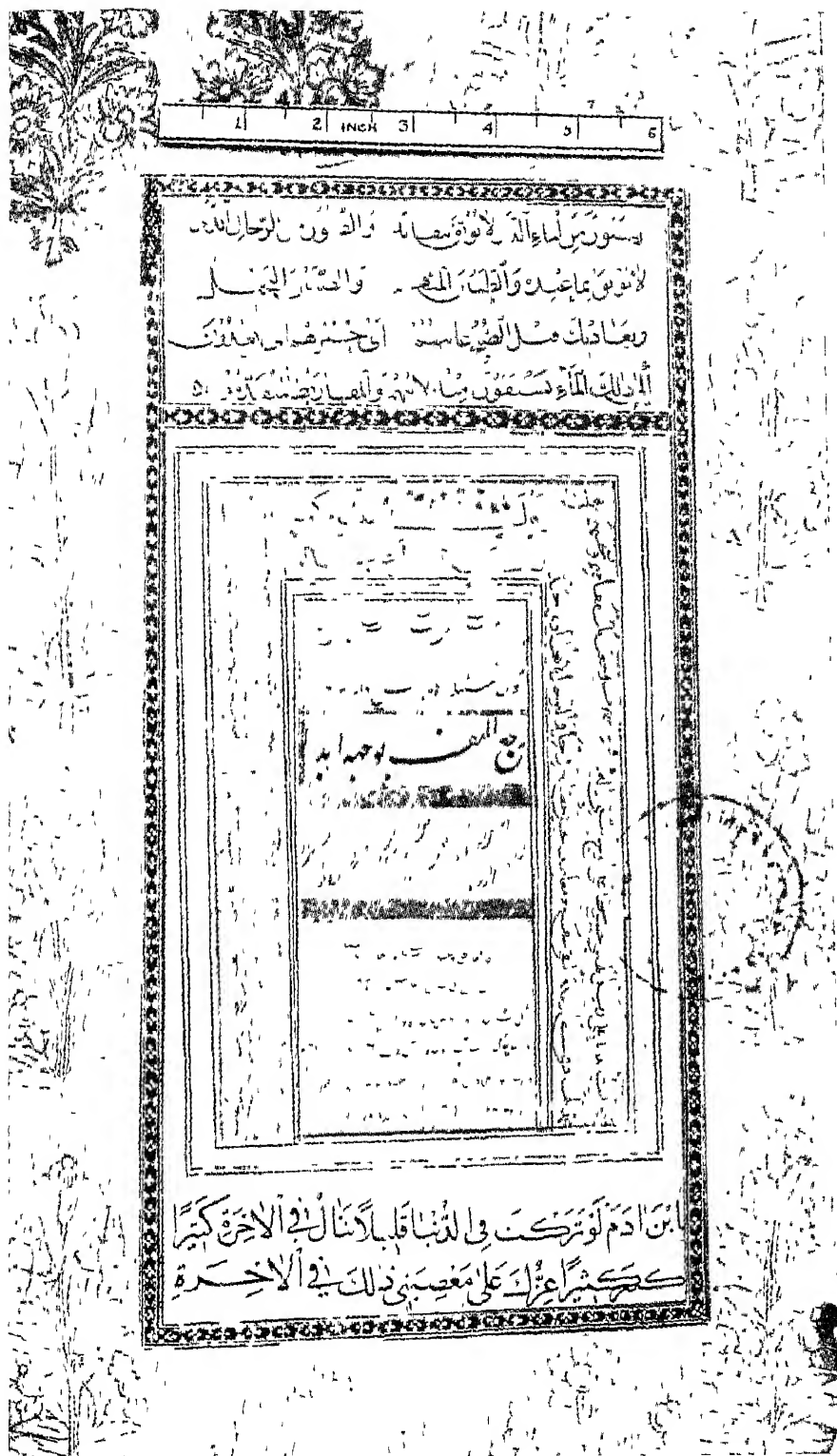


A PRINCE OF ARABIA (?).

اما اولين نبي الحياة الدنيا والباقي



نواب الاخرة حرم نعيم الدنيا



ANOTHER SPECIMEN OF CALLIGRAPHIC WRITING.

the top gives the name of the poet which seems to read Shāh-Mīr. Both the texts are written in Shikasta.

PLATES VIII & IX.

As to the *waslis* proper, that is, the calligraphic writings as such, of which three (Plates VIII to X) are reproduced here, one (VIII) seems to give the date in the words *دو تر کردید* which according to the *Abjad* way of reckoning would mean 962 (A.H.) i.e. 1554-55 A.D. Below the date is written the name of Muhammad Kāzīm who might have been the calligraphist or the composer of the Persian verses written in beautiful Nastālīq mode. The second *wash* (Plate IX) is written on the back of the picture of what the label calls Bābur's Darbār.

PLATE X.

The text of the third *washi* (Plate X) has two couplets in Persian and according to the subscript, was written by one Muhammad who describes himself as *Mehjūrul Khidmat* (?) i.e. one who is away from service.

If this note can persuade persons who possess such collections to bring their art treasures to the notice of scholars interested in the subject we shall consider ourselves to be amply rewarded. Many States as well as private individuals in this vast country are known to possess them. They very often keep them to show to select personages in order to earn their good-will. Numbers of them are sold for high prices and go to distant lands, never to be heard of again. And only genuine love of art, true devotion to the Muse of learning, can check it and keep these treasures within the reach of the votaries of knowledge.

Postscript—

While correcting the final proofs of this article I had an opportunity of consulting Sayyid Mahmudmiyan Ahmadmiyan KAZI, M.A., Professor of Persian in the Baroda College. He has kindly made two suggestions which I consider valuable and should like to place before scholars in the form of this postscript. I think he is right and I would gladly change my remarks accordingly. The epithet of *ضعیفه*, etc., he takes in the sense of "a frail old woman." This does not imply any insinuation but would be quite appropriate especially when a *sūfi* like Jāmī is speaking of his mother. In that case my remarks about the contemporaneity of the text will have to be modified. As to the *wash* reproduced in plate VIII he will calculate the date from the words *عالم بنطام* and not from *دو تر کردید*. In that case the date would be 1134 A.H. i.e. 1721 A.D.

JUXTAPOSITION ET COMPOSITION DANS LE RGVEDA

By

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L'un des traits qui marquent la langue du RV. est qu'on y trouve juxtaposés des éléments nominaux entre lesquels la relation attendue est celle qui existerait entre un substantif et son épithète, entre un nom déterminant et un nom déterminé. Le cas qu'on peut prendre pour type est l'expression *sóma in máde* I 80 1 "dans le soma, dans l'ivresse", c'est-à-dire "dans l'ivresse du soma", cf *máde sómasya* I 85 10 et passim.

Des cas analogues ont été relevés notamment par PISCHEL et par GELDNER ; PISCHEL les rangeait sous la rubrique de l'hendiadyoin (cf Ved Stud. I, Sachverz.), GELDNER inclinant vers la notion de composés ouverts "offenes, loses Compositum" (Ved. Stud. II et III, Sachverz., Kommentar, Index, notes à la traduction du RV., passim). L'un et l'autre terme sont inadéquats. L'hendiadyoin est une figure de style d'un emploi limité, la juxtaposition védique est un trait de langue général, l'hendiadyoin suppose en quelque manière la fragmentation d'une expression unitaire, le type *sóme máde* se réalise seulement (comme l'a noté OLDENBERG Noten ad VI 66 11) là où chaque membre pris à part donne un sens valable et suffisant. Quant à la composition "ouverte", elle implique cet enseignement que le type *sóme máde* repose sur d'anciens composés dont éléments se seraient dissociés. Ce ne peut être exact, dans la majorité des emplois, pour la langue du RV, étant donné que les composés de même structure que ces formations ne sont attestés le plus souvent qu'à une date ultérieure. Il faut voir bien plutôt dans un juxtaposé comme *sóme máde* les témoins d'un stade pré-compositionnel.

Les formes en question sont passablement nombreuses. Un examen minutieux du RV. à cet égard en ferait sans doute ressurgir d'autres : il est visible qu'en maints endroits l'interprétation de formes juxtaposées comme types pré-compositionnels facilite l'intelligence d'un passage.

Bien entendu, il ne faut retenir, dans l'immense masse des emplois juxtaposés, que ceux dont les éléments comportent entre eux un rapport de dépendance ou de détermination. Le cas normal est que l'un des deux termes précise l'autre : nous sommes sur le plan de ce qui donnera dans la langue postérieure au RV (WACKERNAGEL II 1 p. 250) des *karmadhāraya* : cf GELDNER Ved. Stud. II p. 280 qui rapproche cl *dukkhayantra* = *dukkham eva yantram*. On peut citer avec des nuances diverses et des probabilités également diverses *ghṛtām ānnam* II 35 14 "nourriture consistant en beurre" *havisā ghṛtēna* II 10 4, *sómam āśīram* X 49 10 (contesté OLDENBERG Noten I p. 411 n.) La coexistence d'expressions comme *ghṛtāvad dhavis* X 14 14 indique quel est le rapport des deux termes en présence.

A *sóma in máde* précité se laisse joindre *ránāya mādāya* ("pour l'ivresse réjouissante" PISCHEL Ved Stud I p 66) III 47 1, cf *mádo rántyaḥ* X 29 3

Un groupe s'établit autour de la notion de *gír-* "chant" ou analogues *dúvo gírah* I 14 1 ("Lobreden" GELDNER), *arcísā girā* V 17 3, *ṛcā girā* VIII 27 5, *víprobhīh mánmabhīh* I 127 2 VIII 60 3 = *víprānām ma°* Cf. aussi *ślókam ghósam* X 94 1, *tristúbham ísam* VIII 7 1, 69 1 "une force (i.e. un chant) consistant en *tristúbh*", cf. PISCHEL I, p 197 n. 1 qui allègue encore *arkās tristúbhah* IX 97 35 *Vípo rátnā* III 3 1 est sans doute à entendre avec GELDNER "Redeperlen" On peut rapprocher *mánma vayúnāni* II 19 8 "prière (qui suit) les voies rituelles" (analogue Pischel I p 301)

Le mot *gír-* se juxtapose aussi avec *barhánā* IX 10 4 "avec la force annihilante, avec le chant", cf RÖNNOW BSOS IX p 65, et le même mot *barhánā* avec *śávas* I 52 11, RÖNNOW p 58

Cet état de choses aboutit parfois à des locutions stables, ainsi *yaññám adhvarám* qui désigne le sacrifice sous son double aspect oratoire et pratique (NEISSER Wörterb s v *adhvarā-*)

Le phénomène n'intéresse pas uniquement les noms d'action; des noms d'agent y sont concernés, ainsi *devám rtvijam* I 1 1 (et ailleurs), *devó dūtāh* X 98 2 "messager des dieux" SIEG Sagenst p 138 n. 4, *druhyāv ā jāne* VI 46 8 et autres locutions analogues C'est ici qu'interviennent les expressions *gāvo dhenāvah*, proprement "des vaches qui sont des laitières", ou *staryō gāvah* TS *ānur vaśā* citées WACKERNAGEL II p 250 nous sommes à l'origine des composés du type *dhenustarī-*, *vadabadhenu-*, qui entrent dans la langue à partir du YV.

GELDNER II p 280 a noté la fréquence de l' "asyndète" avec le mot *tāmas-* le cas le plus notable est *tāmasi harmyé* V 32 5 "dans la demeure des ténèbres" (mort ou enfers, GELDNER ZDMG LXXI p 338 n 1)

Cf encore *ātyena pājasā* II 34 13 "sous la forme d'un cheval" un tel juxtaposé ouvre la voie aux innombrables composés en **rūpa-* du classique; *māricīh pravātah* X 58 6 "espaces pourvus de rayons lumineux", *śrīyā hīranyaih* I 122 2 (PISCHEL II p 199, qui renvoie à son article de GGA. 1895 p 448), *énasah ūrvāt* IV 12 5 "prison consistant en (ou résultat de) péché" (GELDNER II p 280 OLDENBERG ZDMG. LV p 318), *vārūthe gābhastau* II 18 8 (GELDNER III p 180), *vayúnām bhójanā* X 44 7 "jouissances consistant en les voies rituelles" (PISCHEL I p 303, qui cite *gātṛā vayúnā* I 162 18) *Gotṛā gāh* III 30 21 "troupeaux de vaches", cf. avec la détermination grammaticalement exprimée *gāvām gotṛām* II 23 18 *gotṛā gāvām* VI 65 5 *Budhné yónau* IV 1 11, 17 14 (PISCHEL II p 214), *ksāma budhnām* IV 19 4 ("Erdboden" GELDNER), *pastyāsu yónau* X 46 6 "au sein des demeures" (cf la double construction juxtaposée ou subordonnée avec *mādhyā- mādhye samudré* VII 68 7, *apām mādhye* VII 89 4), *dūrah dr̥hā* VI 17 6, *váyō śvāsah* VI 63 7, *śūsmanīh jámbhebhīh* VII 7 2 (GELDNER I p 114) *śácyaṁ ājau* X 61 1 (PISCHEL I p 76), *jrāyāmsī*

.*rājāṃsi* X 75 7 "l'étendue des terres" (cf GELDNER II p 266), *ānīnām* . .*ksūdham* VIII 60 20 (GELDNER II p. 291), *sūdam* .*rāsam* (= *rāsavan-tam*) TB. I 2 1 3 (PISCHEL I p 72) Des faits de ce genre dispensent de chercher dans *devān* juxtaposé à *jānma* I 71 3 (en dépit d'Oldenberg) VI 11 3 autre chose qu'un accusatif pluriel au sens d'un génitif déterminant.

Un petit groupe se forme autour de noms d'armes : *īśuh* .*asanā* X 95 3 et *śāryām asanām* I 148 4 (GELDNER I p 266 II p 280) ; cf aussi *śāyakam* .*vāgram* I 32 3, 84 11, *hetīm tāvisim* X 142 3 (PISCHEL II p. 207), *tāpusim hetīm* III 30 17 VI 52 3, peut être *gābhastim aśānim* "une main (qui est comme) une fronde" (cf. GELDNER, OLDENBERG) I 54 4

Dans plusieurs cas cette juxtaposition, quelle que soit la valeur originelle des termes en présence, aboutit à associer deux synonymes *kṣām...prthivīm* I 67 5, *bhūmim prthivīm* V 85 4 (et analogues), *adrayah parvatāh* X 94 1 (et ailleurs), *pārvalo grīh* I 37 7, cf. aussi *grāvā...ādrih* AV. V 20 10 et BLOOMFIELD ad loc Cette association se présente exclusivement aux cas directs

La constatation d'emplois ainsi définis n'est pas sans importance quand il s'agit de discriminer la valeur adjectivale et la valeur substantivale d'un nom. A parcourir le dictionnaire de GRASSMANN, à suivre certains traducteurs, on serait amené à conclure qu'un grand nombre de mots qui en vertu de leur emploi normal ou des conditions morphologiques sont des substantifs peuvent aussi de façon occasionnelle fonctionner comme adjectifs. Or, lorsqu'on observe le contexte on s'aperçoit que la plupart du temps ces fonctions d'adjectif sont instaurées par méconnaissance d'un emploi juxtaposé. Ainsi GRASSMANN confère au mot *vīp-* "incantation" l'acception de "begeistert" pour le seul passage V 68 1. Il y a là, simplement, un emploi de substantif juxtaposé : *vīpā girā* "le chant, à savoir l'incantation". De même *tūj-* "élan" signifiera "l'élan du chant" dans *tujā girā* V 17 3, non "mit kraft" 'gem Liede'; *tān-* "durée" vaut comme substantif dans *tānā girā* I 38 13 II 2 1 "la durée du chant" c'est-à-dire "un chant comportant une durée". De même *sūktā-* dans *sūktāya vācase* IX 90 6 est l'équivalent sous forme de juxtaposé de ce qu'est en *tatpurusa sūktavākā-*, en *bahuvrīhi sūktāvāc-*

Susma- n'a nulle part le sens de "stark" que lui attribue GRASSMANN. On a cité précédemment la juxtaposition *sūsmāh jāmbhebhūh* ; *sūsmāh mādah* IX 79 5 "l'ivresse en tant que force", *sūsmāh* I 52 4 est un nom d'action pluriel sujet, comme on a si souvent dans le RV, notamment dans la catégorie des noms en *-ti-* *ūtāyah*, *rātāyah*, *abhīstayah*, *abhīmātīh*. La notion de nom d'action est vaste dans les mantra, ces noms sont en mesure de fonctionner librement comme sujets, sans qu'il faille pour autant multiplier les emplois d'agents ou d'adjectifs. Les Marut sont les "ébranlements" (du ciel) *dhūtāyah* ; on nous parle des "faveurs" (*rātāyah*) et des "défaveurs" (*ārātāyah*) comme d'entités personnelles (cf I 29 4). Les noms-racines féminins du type *dvīs-* *nīd-* *rīs-* *drūh-* etc. sont des "hostilités" agissantes la traduction par "ennemis" peut être une commodité pour nos langues, elle ne répond à l'instauration d'aucune catégorie grammaticale dis-

tincte De même *tāpus-*, qui est juxtaposé à *aghá-* ou à *vrjñāni* "le mal" comme il est composé avec *vadhá-* dans *tāpurvadhá-* "dont l'arme de mort est un feu qui brûle" Le mot *aghá-* lui-même est substantif, non adjectif, et le composé *aghásamsa-* "dont la parole est le mal" se trouve résolu en *aghāt.* . *śāmsāt* I 166 8 (cf GELDENER ad loc)

Rtá- n'a pas d'emploi adjectif authentique, du moins dans le RV ancien (cf NEISSER Worterb s v) : encore une locution comme *rtás kavīh* VIII 60 5 (*rtāh kavīh* IX 62 30) avec son-*as* final laisse-t-elle supposer un semi- composé **rtaskavi-* comparable à *rtaspate* La locution *śardhāya rtāya* IV 3 8 n'est pas distincte de *śardhām rtāsyā* VIII 7 21 et on ne gagne aucun avantage à rendre *rtēna rtām nīyatam* IV 3 9 avec GELDNER "die durch den Ritus bestimmte, gesetzmassige (Milch)" . il est visible que le lait est le *rtá-* de la vache, comme au vers précédent la troupe des Marut est identifiée au *rtá-*. Le mot *rtá-* se prête précisément à la juxtaposition *rāyā rtāya* V 20 4 *rtām dharūnam* V 15 2, et cf. *dhárman dharūne* ibid. et X 170 2, etc.

Le *krātu-* "héros" de GRASSMANN est à éliminer le *krātu-* est une certaine forme de "pouvoir" qui est tantôt considérée comme possédée par telle divinité, tantôt identifiée à cette divinité même, type *sá hí krátuh sá máryah sá sādhuh* I 77 3 "il est la force, il est le jeune homme, il est le bon" (ou = *sá hí sādhuokratuh?*).

Lorsqu'on a réalisé l'importance de la juxtaposition, il devient facile d'interpréter les infinitifs datifs apposés du RV., soit (avec un datif nominal sujet et un autre datif régime) *indrāya. pātave mādāya* IX 11 8 "pour qu'Indra boive le breuvage enivrant" On voit à quel point il est défectueux de parler d'attraction Nous sommes en présence d'un type particulier de juxtaposition, en situation favorable On sait que cette juxtaposition est attestée non seulement avec les infinitifs caractérisés en *-tave (-tavái) -e -mane (-vane)*, mais encore avec les pseudo-infinitifs en *-taye (indrāya pītāye* IX 32 2) et les pseudo-datifs en *-adhyai (sáhase sáhadhyai* VI 1 1), de même on a le génitif apposé à l'infinitif en *-toh* l'ablatif apposé à l'infinitif en *-ah*, DELBRÜCK Ai. Syntax p. 88 et 418 LUDWIG Infinitiv p 32 GAEDICKE Accusativ p 253.

Une autre forme de juxtaposition est celle qu'on trouve en phrase comparative le type *sindhur ná kṣódah* I 65 6, 66 10, 92 12 II 25 3 "comme le bouillonnement du fleuve" a été identifié dès BERGAIGNE Mél. Renier p 93. Déterminant et déterminé sont au même cas, en l'occurrence au nominatif. Les emplois relevables sont *apó ná kṣódah* I 180 4 (identique à *sindhur ná k°* précité, et montrant à quel point il serait vain de poser comme font certains un génitif sing *apáh*, sur l'existence d'une flexion sing de *áp-* v. BERGAIGNE op c p 96 n il NEISSER Worterb s v), *vāyo ná śréñih* V 59 7, *gūrī ná bhūjma* I 65 6, *āyur ná prānah* I 66 1, *pāyo ná dhenúh* I 66 2 (cf. OLDENBERG), *gāvo ná vrajām* I 92 4 (mais cf OLDENBERG), *gāvo ná yūthām* VIII 46 30 (*yūthēva paśvāh* IV 2 18 V 31 1 VI 19 3, en soi équivoque, *paśvāh* pouvant être génitif sing. ou accusatif plur., est sans doute à agréger à cet

ensemble), *rātho ná vāyúh* III 49 4, *ūro ná ráthah* IX 94 3 (cf OLDENBERG), *gīráyo ná āpah* VI 66 11 (contesté OLDENBERG), *sūryo ná cáksuh* V 59 3, *sūrya vopadīk* IX 54 2 VIII 91 15 : ces deux derniers emplois éclairent à leur tour d'une part *sūro ná samdīk* I 66 1 (où théoriquement *sūrah* pourrait être le génitif de *svār*-), d'autre part *svār ná jyótīh* (où *svār* pourrait également avoir valeur de génitif, WACKERNAGEL III p 314, sur le cas de *svār dīkīke*, v. OLDENBERG Noten I p. 73), enfin *usrāiva rāsyah* VIII 85, 8, *ātméva vātah* I 34 7 Il y a là un procédé de style auquel certains rsi semblent s'être amusés, il suffit de voir l'usage que fait de ces formules Parāśara, auteur de I 65 et 66 et comment il combine ce type avec le groupement substantif + épithète, ainsi I 66 11 avec *rayīn ná citrá nītyo ná sūnūh, tākvā ná bhūrrah*

On ne retiendra pas l'hypothèse de GELDNER Ved Stud III p 32 qui voit dans le juxtaposé *āhutam rñjasānām* I 96 3 un avant-coureur des karmadhāraya classé du type *snātānukṛpta*

Mais un tout autre aspect de juxtaposition se laisse percevoir dans les mantras : on formule au moyen d'un substantif accompagné d'une épithète ce que la syntaxe de la phrase conduirait à formuler au moyen d'un bahuvrīhi. Le fait a été noté par WACKERNAGEL II p 288 (repris MACDONELL Ved. Gr. p. 175) qui voit là à juste raison les débris d'un stade pré-compositionnel. Une association de mots telle que *varāhām tvesām rūpām* I 114 5 "le sanglier, (sa) forme menaçante" donne l'exact équivalent de ce que sera **tvesarūpam* en classique. De même *tvācam kṛsnā* I 130 8 IX 41 1 "les hommes à la peau noire", cité déjà par OLDENBERG Religion d Veda p. 154 auquel renvoie SCHULZE Schriften p 656 n 2 (moins directement, on a aussi *kṛsnām ca vānam arunām ca* I 73 7, cf *kṛsnāyom*- épithète des *dāsi*-); *dīnā dākṣāh* IV 24 9 "les hommes aux capacités faibles" (cf OLDENBERG et le bahuvrīhi *dīnādaksa*-) Sur *urūh kākṣah* VI 45 31, v WACKERNAGEL et OLDENBERG

Des faits de ce genre sont certainement assez nombreux ; il n'est pas certain que les poètes védiques ne les aient pas sentis comme une expression parfaitement normale, tant est intense dans le RV le pouvoir "personnel" des mots abstraits ou des noms d'object

Souvent la forme sous laquelle se présentent ces pré-bahuvrīhi est un peu différente : l'emploi du groupement substantif + épithète forme une sorte de rupture syntaxique : ainsi *arusástūpo rūsad asya pājah ajanista* III 29 3 "il est né, ayant une rouge crinière, éclatante est sa forme" On voit ce que gagne en vigueur ce glissement vers l'expression analytique. De même *śyvnāsya pakṣā harnāsya bāhū* (. te) I 163 1 (cf. Kommentar), *hiraṇya-śrngó 'yo asya pādā* 9, *pīśadaśvāso 'vānayo ná ráthāh* I 186 8, *anantām anyád rūsad asya pājah* I 115 5, *suparnām vaste mrgó asyā dāntah* VI 75 11, *rūruśirsny ātho yāsya āyo mūkham* 15, *piśāngarūpah .andrah śūsma* AV IX 4 22, peut-être *kṛsnām nyānam* (*hārayah divam út patanti*) I 164 47, cf *āsītavarnāh* au passage correspondant de TS, et cf *kṛsnāyāma*- La locution *hiraṇyanrṃg āyo asya sthūnā* V 62 7 semble bien d'abord faire corps avec les précédentes (et cf *āyasthūnam* 8), mais comme le substantif *sthūnā* est le sujet du verbe qui suit, il vaut mieux entendre *āyo asya sthūnā*

comme une juxtaposition du type karmadhāraya "sa colonne (faite d') airain"

Cf encore *vīrényah krátuh* (*īndrah*) X 104 10, *krátum ná bhadrām* IV 10 1, *ékam krátum* VI 9 5, *brhán ksáyah* VIII 15 9 (que significativement BR. proposait de corriger en **brhátksaya*- Une expression à part est celle du v I 108 4 *barhír u tistirāná* "vous à qui on étend le barhís" : elle semble avoir décomposé maladroitement un **tistirānabarhís*-, qui toutefois ne serait guère admissible dans la langue du RV que sous la forme **stīrnabarhís*- ce n'est pas un hasard si *barhír u tistirāná* est précédé dans le texte d'une part par *ānājanā* d'autre part par *yatāsrucā*.

Toutes les formes qu'on vient de passer en revue attestent à notre avis plutôt des emplois libres de juxtaposés que des composés "résolus" à la manière où l'entendait GELDNER. Des "résolutions" authentiques de composés, il n'y en a qu'un fort petit nombre dans le RV. Il faut naturellement mettre à part le cas des devatādvandva où l'autonomie de chaque membre (type *dyāvā yajñāth prthivī* VII 53 I, v. les exemples chez WACKERNAGEL II p 151) a été préservée par sa finale même et par la coexistence du "duel elliptique" : *mitrā* ou *prthivī*. Dans bien des cas, loin d'être une "résolution" de dvandva, la forme juxtaposée est plus ancienne que la forme composée, ainsi dans *krátve dāksāya* I 111 2 et passim (à côté de la relation de dépendance *krátvā dāksasya* III 23 3) à quoi succède *krātūdāksau* VS, *dak-sakratū* TB, analogues WACKERNAGEL II p 154, 156.

Hors des dvandva, on a identifié comme composés scindés *śūnās cic chēpam* et *nārā ca śamsam* (*nārā vā ś*) le premier membre avait son autonomie désinentielle et accentuelle, et l'élément scindant n'est qu'une particule atone qui tendait naturellement à occuper la seconde place. La résolution est donc minime. Des cas un peu plus remarquables sont *ījūr ic chāmsah* II 26 1, scission d'un bahuvrīhi **rjūśamsa*-, et *dróghāya cid vácase* VI 62 9 "dont la parole est trompeuse" (cf *droghavác*-).

Il est probable d'autre part que plusieurs noms propres résultent d'une scission analogue : *paṛāya śamne* VIII 4 17, 6 47 (cf OLDENBERG), *rūśato vāpsasah* I 181 8 (id), *jāratāḥ kárnam* X 80 3 (id), peut-être *varo suśamne* VIII 23 28 et ailleurs (id) ceci préluant aux fantaisies des kāvya du type *daśa-pūrvvaratham* Ragh, *hranyapūrvam káśipum* Śiś. (et cf South Ind Inscr I p. 166 n 6).

On trouve encore les formes suivantes *vajra sāyaka* X 83 1, 84 6, c'est-à-dire **vajrasāyaka* "toi qui as le foudre pour arme de jet" (cf *sāyakam* .. *vājram* précité) : la correction, qui ne porte que sur le padapāṭha, est à vrai dire aisée, cf OLDENBERG.

Mānaso javésu X 71 8 semble une mauvaise résolution pour *mānojavésu* "rapides comme la pensée" le glissement a pu être facilité par le fait que le comparatif de *manoḥjū*- *mānojava*(s)- était normalement *mānaso jāvīyān* (aucune forme composée n'est attestée lorsque le dernier membre serait un adjectif en -(ṭ)yāṃs-).

OLDENBERG admettrait pour expliquer *divi ksáyam* III 2 13 X 63 5 un emploi adjectif de *kṣáya-* cet emploi est peu vraisemblable puisqu'il se limiterait à cette locution qui se présente d'autre part sous l'aspect d'un bahuvrīhi dans *divikṣayá-*, cf. WACKERNAGEL II p 289. *Divi kṣáyam* (cf. encore *kṣáyo divi* VIII 64 4 *divikṣit-* X 92 12 *divi ksáyantā* VII 64 1) représente la scission de *divikṣayá-*. Dans le cas de *divó ná sádmamakhasam* I 18 9 *divi sádmabarhíśah* I 52 4 (cf OLDENBERG) "ayant pour *makhá-* ou *barhís-* un siège céleste", où ce qui devrait être un premier membre de composé (*divi*) demeure hors de la composition, on s'achemine vers les cas de rection extérieure, presque tous post-rgvédiques, amplement décrits chez WACKERNAGEL II p 31. Sur *divá á prsthayájuane* V 54 1, *turás cid aryayá* V 75 7, v OLDENBERG (sur ce dernier ex aussi THIEME Fremdling p 85)

Tantôt supposant une composition déjà faite, tantôt et plus souvent précédant le stade compositionnel, les formes du RV sont en tout cas les précurseurs des phénomènes de résolution que M. Helmer SMITH a notés en pali sous la désignation imagée de split-compound (Critical Dict I p XXVI BSL XXXIII p 172 n 1). Les textes bouddhiques en skt mixte en abondent; nous fondant sur les notes de WELLER Zum Lalitav nous trouvons pour ce texte *usnānti saṃsparśāṃ (gātrāṃ)* 17 13 (*sītasamsparsā* 14), *khādanīyaṃ bhojanīyaṃ āsvādanīyākālṇikānām* 2 22 (cf 58 5, 123 17); mise à l'extérieur d'une épithète se rapportant à un premier membre de composé 127 5, 256 1, résolution dans des expressions contenant des noms de nombre 31 10, 61 19 (cf 63 1), 84 1 et 7, cf enfin 429 8 et 13. D'ailleurs l'adjectivation des noms des dizaines, de cent et de mille dans toute la tradition skte (type *vimsatyā ...hāribhūh* RV. II 18 5 et avec égalisation de nombre *śatā pūrah* I 53 8, WACKERNAGEL III p 362, 373) est un phénomène qui s'explique en fonction de la tendance générale à la juxtaposition.

Pour le MhVu, WELLER p. 14 renvoie à I 3 12 (cf la note de SENART), 29 3 (note), 31 12 (ou SENART renvoie encore à 199 7), 60 14 (note) et passim. Les expressions du Lal. que SENART cite I p 396, *mahāpadmo yathodbhavaḥ* et *gangā yathā vālikā* sont identiques au type *sīndhur ná kṣódah* du RV. Cf. encore SENART I p 466, 499 etc.

INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD*

By

D. B. DISKALKAR, Poona

UNĀ

No. 107]

v.s. 1652.

[12-11-1595.

The following inscription is found in one of the *deris* in the Shahabāg at Unā, the principal town of a mahal of the same name in Junagadh State. It measures 1'-4" by 1'-1" and is in a good condition.

The inscription opens with the date, Wednesday, the fifth day of the dark half of Kārtika of v.s. 1652. It then mentions that the Emperor Akbar, hearing of the great fame of the Jagadguru, the Jain Ācārya *Hiravijayasūri*, invited him to Delhi and received him with great respect. After listening to his lectures on Jain religion he presented him with a collection of books and issued the following edict : "No one should fish in the tank called 'Dāmar'. For six months in a year animals should not be killed. The tax levied on each individual (*per capitā mundi vero* Guj) on the Śatrunjaya hill is discontinued for ever. The *Jhijha* tax is repealed. In the whole empire the property of a deceased (without an heir) should not be confiscated to the crown. Imprisonment should always be avoided (as far as possible). Truth and other virtues should be inculcated in the minds of all the people." Thereupon *Hiravijayasūri* made a pilgrimage to the Śatrunjaya along with the whole Sangha, and left his ethereal body on the eleventh day of the bright half of Bhādaravā (of v.s. 1651). Meghā caused his footsteps to be set up in a *Derī*, the consecration ceremony of which was performed by Vijayasena-sūri, on the date mentioned at the beginning i.e., in v.s. 1652.

In the reception given to *Hiravijayasūri* by the Mughal Emperor Akbar the Jainas seem to have considered too great an honour to their religion. For in a number of inscriptions of this period, wherever the name of *Hiravijayasūri* occurs this fact is recorded with a special pride.

Text

- 1 ॥ ७० ॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६५२ वर्षे कार्तिक वदि ५ बु [धे]
- 2 येषां जगद्गुरुणां संवेगवैराग्यसौभाग्यादिगुणगण
- 3 श्रवणात् चमत्कृतिर्महाराजाधिराजपातिसाहिश्री धकब्बराभि
- 4 धानैः गुर्जरदेशात् दिल्लीमंडले सबहुमानमाकार्य धर्मोपदेशा
- 5 कर्णनपूर्वकं पुस्तकभंडारसमर्पण डाबराभिधानमहासरो मत्स्यबं
- 6 धनिवारण प्रतिवर्ष षण्मासिकामारिप्रवर्तन सर्वदा श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थो
- 7 दकाभिधानकरनिवर्तनं जिजिआभिधानकरकर्तन निजसकलदेशे दा

* Continued from p 210 of Vol. III.

- 8 णमृतस्वमोचनम् सदैव बंदग्रहण (?) निवारणं । सत्यादि धर्मकृत्यानि सकल
- 9 लोके प्रतीतानि कृतानि [प्रकटितं ?] श्रीशत्रुंजयसकलदेशसंघुतकृत
- 10 यात्राणां भाद्रपदशुद्धैकादशीदिने जातनिर्वाणातां शरीरसंस्कारस्नानासन
- 11 फलितसहकारः एवं श्रीहीरविजयसूरीश्वराणां प्रतिदिन दिव्यवाचनाद्
- 12 श्रवणदीपदर्शनादिके (?) जयपताकः स्तूपसहिताः पादुकाः कारिता
- 13 मेधेन भार्या लाडकीप्रमुखकुटुंबयुतेन प्रतिष्ठिताश्च तपागच्छाधिराजैः भ-
- 14 ञ्जरकश्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः ओं । श्रीविमलहर्षगणि ओं । श्रीकल्याण
- 15 विजयगणि ओं । श्रीसोमविजयगणिभिः प्रणता भव्यजनैः पूज्यमानाश्चि
- 16 रं भवंतु ॥ लिखिता प्रशस्तिः पद्माणदगणिना श्रीउन्नतनगरे शुभ भवतु ॥

SATUNJAYA

No. 108]

v s. 1652

[1595

Thus inscription is engraved round a pair of pādūkās in a small temple to the west of Ādiśvara Bhagavān temple. It was once edited by Dr. BUHLER in the *Epi. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 59 (No XIII).

Text

ओं स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६५२ वर्षे मार्गे वदि २ सोमवासरे पुण्यनक्षत्रे निष्प्रतिमसंवेगवैराग्य
निःस्पृहतादिगुणरंजितेन साहिश्रीअकबरनरेंद्रेण प्रतिवर्ष षाण्मासिकसकलजंतुजात
भयदानप्रवर्त्तनसर्वकालीनगवादिवधनिवर्त्तनजीजिआदिकरमोचनमुंडका
मिधानकरमोचनपूर्वकश्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थसमर्पणादिपुरस्सरं प्रदत्तबहु २ मानानां नानादे
शीयसंघसमुदायेन सह श्रीशत्रुंजये कृतयात्राणां जगद्विख्यातमहिमपात्राणां सं १६५१ व
र्षे भाद्र सितैकादश्यां उन्नतदुर्गे अनशनपूर्वकं महोत्सवेन साधितोत्तमार्थानां तपागच्छाधिराजभट्ट
श्रीहीरविजयसूरीणां पादुकाः कारिताः स्तभतीर्थीय सं उदयकरणेन प्रभ
श्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः । महोपाध्याय श्रीकल्याणविजयगणयः य धनविजय
-णिभ्यां स-प्रणमंति ॥ एताश्च भ .
...राध्यमानाश्चिरं
नंदतु ॥ श्रीः ॥

HAMPAR

No. 109]

v s. 1656

[4-2-1599.

Hāmpur is a small village in the Rājāsītāpur mahal of the Dhrāngdhra State. In the temple of Bhīḍa Bhanjana Mahādeva to the east of an old well, the following inscription is found engraved below the inscription of v.s 1588 noted above. The inscribed portion measures 2'-5" in length and 6" in breadth

It records that Umābai and her sons belonging to the Solanki family caused the temple of Śiva in Hāmpar to be built on Sunday, the fifth day of the dark half of Māgha in v.s 1656 when MAHĀRĀNĀ CANDRASENJI was ruling (at Halvad).

Though the wording of the record shows that the temple was built (newly) it was in fact repaired by the lady. For just above this are two

records of v.s. 1588 which speak of the repairs of the temple in that year. It seems therefore that the temple was once more repaired in v.s. 1655 by Umābai.

Text

- 1 संवत् १६५५ वर्षे माघमासे कृष्णपक्षे ५ रवौ
- 2 महाराणा श्रीचंद्रसेनजी श्रीहामपोर । सोलंकी दासा भार्या वा
- 3 इ उमा सोलंकी रात जसा तथा देभा जीवा तथा पूजा तथा ढाला
- 4 देहेरीप्रासाद कीधो श्रीः

DHRANGDHRA

No. 110]

v.s. 1657

[28-4-1601.

This inscription is inscribed on a stone slab bearing the representations of the sun and the moon above the inscribed portion. It is preserved in the Huzur Office at Dhrāngdhra. The inscription measures 1'-8" in height and 13" in breadth and is broken in two parts in the fifth line. It records that on Tuesday the 5th of the bright half of Vaiśākha of v.s. 1657 the king (of Dhrāngdhra) granted 95 acres of land in the village *Pimariyādi* to one Prāgji of the Nanduvāna family at the suggestion of Rao Bhārmalji.

The king Rāo Bhārmalji is probably the Cutch king of the name who ruled from v.s. 1642-1688. But his relation with the Zālā king is not exactly known.

Text

- 1 राओ श्रीभारामलजी
- 2 वचनात मोजे पीमरिय
- 3 डी ? ग्रामे नंदुआणा पी
- 4 तावर तस्य पुत्र अंबाजी
- 5त्र प्रागजी
- 6 ९५ अकरे आ राजाने आ
- 7 पी शेठोहमल जेसंग वा
- 8 ल आपि पुत्रपौत्रा हक आ
- 9 पो आंब-राक आपि संव
- 10 त १६५७ वर्षे वईशष सू
- 11 द ७ भौमे आपि सही आपि
- 12 बाई श्रीकमाजी आपी

KONDHA

No 111]

v.s. 1663

[1-5-1607.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab built in a niche of the Kon-dheśvara Mahādeva temple to the east of the village Kondha at a distance of fourteen miles to the south-west of Dhrāngdhra.

The inscription, which is very useful for the history of the Zālā rulers of Zālāvād opens with the date, Thursday, the fifteenth day of the bright half

of Vaiśākha of v.s. 1663 or Śaka 1529 Then after an invocation to Gaṇeśa, the goddess of speech and the ancient preceptors, the poet goes on to describe the Zalla i.e., Zālā family. The first king mentioned is Ranamalla, from whom by his wife Līlādevī, Śatruśālya was born. His son by his wife Mīnālādevī was Jita. The latter's son was Ranavīra, whose son was Bhīma. The latter had by his wife Primalādevī a son named Vāgha, whose son was Rājadhara. Rājadhara's son by his wife Ahīkarādevī was Rāṇa, i.e. Rāṇiga. Rāṇa's son was Varasimha, who by his wife Amṛtādevī had a son named Bhīma. The latter by his wife Kāśmīrādevī had a son named Udayasimha, whose son by Līlādevī was Kalyāṇa. In the reign of this king, who belonged to the Zālā family, which was one of the thirty-six royal families, Kāśmīrdevī, wife of Mahārāṇā Bhīma, (and grandmother of the king Kalyāṇa), caused the temple of Kuhundheśvara Mahādeva to be built in the year 1663 of the Vikrama era. Kāśmīrdevī was also called Vihīnabai and was the daughter of the Jādeja king Muḥuṭa, son of Meheramana and grandson of Raṇamalla.

The Halvad inscription of v.s. 1583 published above gives the genealogy of the rulers of Zālāvād from Ranmalla to Rāṇigade, together with the names of their queens. This inscription gives the same genealogy. But after the king Rāṇiga names of four successive rulers are given, who are not found in the main line which was continued with the king Mānasimhaḥ, the son of Rāṇiga by his wife Kalyāṇadevī. This inscription thus shows that Rāṇiga had another son named Varasimha from whom another line ran in which Kalyāṇa was born. The ruler in the main line at the time of this inscription was Candrasimhaḥ, whose name is not mentioned in this record probably because Kalyāṇa was more or less an independent ruler.

The name Kuhundheśvara of the Mahādeva seems to have been given after the name Kondha of the village, where the inscription was found, or it may be that the village was called Kondha after the name of the Mahādeva.

Text

- 1 ओं नमः श्रीमहागणपतये ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीर्जयो मंगलमभ्युदयश्च ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीममृपविक्रमा
- 2 कैसमयातीत संवत् १६६३ वर्षे शाके १५२९ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायने (जे) वसंतऋतौ
महामांगल्यप्रदे वैशाख (ख) मासे
- 3 शुक्लपक्षे पूर्णमास्यां तिथौ भृगुदिने विशाखा (खा) नक्षत्रे वरीयानयोगे शुभकरणे एव
पंचांगशुद्धौ ॥ गणेशमाद्यमी
- 4 श्रीं निरं गुरुन् परा [गमान्] । प्रणम्य सम्यगीरयेद्य इत्युवंशमुत्तम ॥ १ ॥ अगरोय
गुणालि-मवशेष-मगमावनिभृत्कुला
- 5 वतसोऽसमभूजगतीशवदिता [तो ?] रणमल्लो-तटिनिखात [यू ?] प. ॥ २ ॥..... मे
रणमल्लादजनि श्रीशत्रुशाल्यः ॥ त्रिभु [वन ?]
- 6 भूपशरण्यां पादयुग्मः । कुलके [गा] हिनीव लीलदेवी ॥ ३ ॥ मीणलदेव्यां कुलना ...
श्रीशत्रुशाल्यस्थित आवि... स्थानो...
- 7 करीद्रकुमो नरदेवसिंहः ॥ ४ ॥ भूपभूषणमणी रणवीरः शौर्यैश्वर्यविलया... देव्यां । सम्भ-
भूव जितराजजिताख्यो वर्तिनी कुलविभूषितमेकः ॥ ५ ॥ राण

- 8 श्रीरणवीर भूपवनिता भीमं... नामतः प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालपंकज... भूषा... [धौरेयः ?]
सुषुवे प्रतापतपनः संशोषिताः सागरा मन्ये यदिपुत्रं द
- 9 भूपवनितानेत्रावुधि. पूरिताः ॥ ६ ॥ प्रीमल्लदेव्यां किल भीमभूपो वाघाभिधः... स्तदा
सीत् ॥ रणागणे गर्जति वाघराजे यस्मिन् द्विषे(षा)णा गिरिकंदरा
- 10 शाः ? ॥ ७ ॥ वाघभूपवनिता सुषुवे त राणराजधरसंज्ञ मथाद्रः (?) यत्प्रतापतपना-
दिनवन्ही मुचतो न गिरिराजसमुद्र ॥ ८ ॥ रणाभिधानस्तनयो
- 11 बभूवाहंकारदेव्यां नृपवाघसूनोः ॥ अवाप्य भूपं पृथिवी प्रभु य धामिद्रः.. जहाय
नित्यं ॥ ९ ॥ आसीद्राणरणाभिधा[च्च] वरसिंहः
- 12 श्रोत्रियाणा वरः शौर्यौदार्यविवेकधैर्यनिलयो भूपालभूषामणिः ॥ योग याश्रयति क्षितिक्षिदु-
चिताचारैर्नियोगं वरन् । जेवता जननी
- 13 तदेव जगति क्षावावतीर्णो वृषः ? ॥ १० ॥ कपालीहरीगोत्रभिद्रज्रहस्तः कलंकीनिशेशो र...
दश्च ॥ फःणीक्षान्वये कालकूटिन्ययासौ कथ कल्प
- 14 वृक्षैः सदोपौर्वदोषः ॥ ११ ॥ तस्माद्भूवामृतदेविकायां भीमोरिसार्थं कृतनामधेयः ।
मन्ये महीमंडलमंडनाय कामोवतीर्णो वरसिंहदे
- 15 वः ॥ १२ ॥ कश्मीरदे सुत प्राप भीमादुदयसिंहकं । यस्मादजीजनल्लीलादेवी
कल्याणभूपति ॥ १३ ॥ अकारयद्रूपतिराजिरात्रे ? कश्मीर
- 16 देवी कुहदेशसन्न ॥ कल्याणराणे जयतीशतुष्टयै श्रीविक्रमाद्रामरसांगचंद्रे ॥ १४ ॥ रण-
मल्लतनूजमिहिरामणात्मजसुतमुहु
- 17 टप्रभुनदिनी ॥ कुलपद्मे .. करिका ? व्यरचयत् शिववासमनुत्तमं ॥ १५ ॥ य उभयकुल-
मुक्त्यै...
- 18 -दुरमुदार... स्य. वानं तदुभयकुलमेतद्ब्रह्मवद्भावमेति ॥ १६ ॥
- 19 षट्त्रिंशद्राजकुलमध्यात्. . . धीशमहाद्ब्रह्मवशोद्भवमहाराणश्रीकल्याणजीविजयराज्ये
महारा
- 20 णश्रीभीमधर्मपत्नी.. द्रवशोद्भवजाडेजाश्रीमुहुटपुत्रीबाईश्रीविहिनबाई एकोत्तरश
- 21 तत्कुलो. प्रीतये कुहुटेश्वरप्रसाद. कारापितः ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥ श्री. ॥ त्रिवाङ्गिवंश
- 22

JAMNAGAR

No 112]

v.s. 1666

[18-4-1610

This inscription is found in the Nāgeshvara temple at Jamnagar

It records that NĀKUBAI, wife of Kumāra Śrī JASAVANTSIMHJI, son of Mahārāja Jām Śrī ŚATRUŚALYAJI made a grant of four 'parajas' (?) of land in the village Galapādar to the temple of Nāgesvara on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s 1666 The land was purchased from Mak-vānā Mahiā for 1680 'Mahamudi' coins.

Another inscription dated v.s 1670 Vaiśākha Sud 11 Bhauma found in the same place states that 'Bai Nākubai purchased some more lands and bestowed them upon the Nagesvara temple A third inscription dated v.s 1670 Magasir Sudi 2 Gurau says that a *deri* was built there by Damodar Gora for 520 koris.

Text

- 1 संवत् १६६६ वरषे वई[शा]ष सूद ५ दिने माहाराजा श्रीजाम
- 2 श्रीसन्नसल तस्य कुमार श्रीजसवंत तस्य मीराषोरन (?) कीआ
- 3 तस्य भार्या बाई नाकु श्रीनागेस्वरने प्रसादे भोमी पराज (?)
- 4 ४ मोजे गलपादरमधे आपी सही आचद्राअरक आपी
- 5 अे सीवनी भोमी हीदुआणे गायि त्रकाणे सुअरः ॥ बहुभी
- 6 वसुधा दत्ता राजभी सगरादिभि यस्य यस्य यदा भूमी
- 7 तस्य तस्य तदा फल । मकआणा महीआनी धरती लीधी वेचाती
- 8 ममुदी १६८० माटे लीधी गारास वधि धर्मादा
- 9 ...शि आपी शुभं भवतु० श्रीः ॥

GĀLĀ

No. 113]

v.s 1668

[23-2-1612.

Gālā is a village at a distance of eight miles to the east from Dhrangdhra. In a niche in the left hand wall of the Jain temple there is fixed a stone slab containing the following inscription. The stone is broken into two pieces but the loss caused thereby is very little. The writing portion measures 15½" by 11½".

The record opens with an invocation to Sarvajña, which shows that it is a Jain record. Then the date is given which is the second day of the bright half of Phālguna of v.s 1668 or Śaka 15[33]. Then the name of the emperor of Delhi, whose name is missing but who must be Jehangir, also called SALIM as in the next inscription, is given followed by the name CANDRASENJI who was evidently the Zālā ruler of Zālāvāḍ. Then follows a succession list of Jain Ācāryas, which is thus—Sudharmasvāmī—Ānandavimalasūri—Vijayasenasūri—Hiravijayasūri, (who was honoured with the epithet Jagadguru by the Emperor Akbar), Vijayasenasūri. Under instructions from this last Ācārya Mehetā Dharmadāsa and his brothers, residents of the town Gālā in Zālāvāḍ, and belonging to the Śrīmālī community and Vṛiddha Śākhā, caused the temple of Pārśvanātha to be built, on the abovementioned date.

Though Gālā is an insignificant village now there is no doubt that it was once a flourishing town even upto the time of the present inscription. For an inscription of v.s 1193 belonging to the reign of the powerful Caulukya sovereign Siddharāja Jaisimha and two inscriptions of v.s. 1201 and 1249 of Kumārapāla and Bhīma II respectively are found in a ruined temple outside the village (See JBBRAS. XXV p 322 and Poona Orientalist Vol. I, p 40 and Vol. II, p 44).

Text

- 1 ...। श्रीसर्वज्ञ[ाय नमः] ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीविक्रमात् [सं]वत् १६६८ वर्षे शाके १५
- 2 ३३ प्रवर्त्तमाने । उत्तर[ायने (ने) गते श्रीसूर्ये फाल्गुन[मासे] शुक्लपक्षे द्वितीयातिथौ
- 3 उत्तरभद्रपदनक्षत्रे शुक्लनाम्नियोगे शुभलभे । विजितानेकक्षितिपालभूपाल पातशा

- 4 हि श्री ६ [सेलिम*]शाहि विजयिनि राज्ये । त...नृपति श्री ६ चंद्रशेनजी
 5 विज...[प्र]सादतः । श्रीमन्महावीरती[र्था]धिराजपट्टे श्रीसुधर्मस्वामि तत्परं
 6 -यात्-मत्तपागणगगनांगणनलो मणिश्रीमदानदविमलसूरि तत्पट्टे श्री ६
 7 विज[यदा]नसूरिपट्टे पातशाहि श्रीअकबरप्रदत्त जगद्गुरुबिरुदधारक श्री ६
 8 [हीरविज]यसूरिपट्टेदयाचलभानुमा-भट्टारक श्री ६ विजयसेनसूरिश्वराणानुपदे
 9 ...झालावाडीदेशे गालाग्रामवास्तव्यश्रीश्रीमालिङ्गातौ शृद्धशाखायां मं.
 10 ...भार्या वीरादे सुत मं० चद्ररा भार्या कनकादे सुत मं. अषई भार्या नवरंगदे
 11 ...मं धर्मदास भार्या धर्मादे मं. धर्मदास लघु भ्रातृ मं. गिरा भार्या जिमणादे । म.
 12 ...कर्णजी सुत इद्रजी लघु भ्रातृ वाल्हा । म० इद्रजी भार्या संपूरां प्रभु
 13वे परिवारयुतेन मं अपईनाम्ना श्रीपार्श्वदेवप्रासादः कारितः
 14श्रीबोधजीसुतगोविदजीसुत सिंघजी बालोजीः ॥ श्रीकुण-
 15 पुरवास्तव्य सूत्रधार लाका लषीत श्रीरस्तु ॥

DĀDAR

No 114]

vs 1669.

[12-2-1613.

This inscription is found in a Śiva temple in the village, Dādar, under Navānagar State It measures 2'-1" by 9"

It opens with the date, Friday, the third day of the bright half of Phālguna in v.s. 1669 and refers to the rule of the emperor *Salim Shah* and of his feudatory (Mahāmandlika) Jām *Śatruśalya*. On this date Sadāśiva, son of Thākūr Khīmā and his wife Karamāde caused a Śiva temple to be built

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः [१*] संवत् १६
 2 ६९ वर्षे फाल्गुनमासे शुक्ल
 3 पक्षे तृतीया शुक्रवासरे
 4 पातसाह श्रीशलमसाह
 5 विज्ये राज्ये माहामंडली
 6 क गोब्राह्मणप्रतिपालक
 7 जामश्री सन्नसलजी
 8 राज्ये ॥ नंदवाणाज्ञाती
 9 य शांडलिश गोत्रे ठाक
 10 र भीमा भार्या बा० कर
 11 मादे तस्य सुत सदाशी
 12 व सेवक प्रसाद कृताय [१*]
 13 ठा० । वाशा भार्या बा०
 14 [कु]डादे । भ्रातृ ठा० व [जा]
 15 ठा० । विष्णुदास । वाशा
 16 सुत माहादेव ॥ सदा

* Or perhaps Jehangir.

- 5 नः । निर्माति जलधौ नित्यमुन्मज्जननिमज्जने । ५ युग्मं बभूवुः श्रीमहावीरपट्टानुकमभूषणाः ।
श्रीअंचलगणा
- 6 तीशा भार्यरक्षितसूरयः । ६ तत्पट्टपकजादित्याः सूरिश्रीजयसिंहकाः । श्रीधर्ममैघोषसूरीत्रा
महेन्द्रात्सिंहसूरयः ।
- 7 । ७ श्रीसिंहप्रभसूरीशः सूरयोऽजितसिंहशः । श्रीमदेवेंद्रसूरीकाः श्रीधर्मप्रभसूरयः । ८
श्रीसिंहतिलकाह्वाश्च श्रीम
- 8 हैद्रप्रभाभिधाः । श्रीमतो मेखुगाख्या बभूवुः सूरयस्ततः ॥ ९ समप्रगुणसंपूर्णाः सूरिश्रीजय-
कीर्तयः । तत्पदेथ सुसाधुश्री
- 9 जयकेशरिसूरयः श्रीसिद्धातसमुद्राख्यसूरयो भूरिकीर्तयः । भावसागरसूरीद्रस्ततोऽभूवन्
गणाधिपाः ॥ श्री
- 10 सङ्गुणनिधानाख्यसूरयस्तत्पदेभवन् । युगप्रधानाः श्रीमंतः सूरिश्रीधर्ममूर्तयः । १२ तत्पट्टो-
दयशैलाग्रप्रोद्यत्तरणिसं-
- 11 निभाः जयति सूरिराजः श्री । युजः कल्याणसागराः । १३ श्रीनव्यनगरे वास्युपकैराज्ञाति-
भूषणः । इभ्यः श्रीह
- 12 रपालाह् वसीलालणगोत्रकः । १४ हरीयाख्योऽथ तत्पुत्रः सिंहनामा तदंगजः । उदेसीत्यथ
तत्पुत्र पर्वताङ्गस्त
- 13 तोऽभवत् । १५ वच्छनामाऽथ तत्पत्नी चाभूद्वाछलदेविका । तत्कुक्षिमानसे हसतुल्योऽथाऽ
मरसंज्ञकः । १६ लिंग
- 14 देवीति तत्पत्नी तदौरस्याद्यो वराः । जयति श्रीवर्द्धमानचापसीपद्मसिंहकाः । १७ अतः
परं विशेषतः साहिवर्द्धमान
- 15 साहिपद्मसिंहयोर्वर्णनम् । गांभीर्येण समुद्राभौ दानेन धनदोपमौ । श्रद्धालुगुणसंपूर्णौ
बोधिना श्रेणिकौ
- 16 पमौ । १८ प्राप्तश्रीयामभूपालसमाजबहुलादरौ । मंत्रिश्रीवर्द्धमानश्रीपद्मसिंहौ सहोदरौ । १९
महेला वर्द्ध
- 17 मानस्य । वन्नादेवीति विश्रुता । तदगजाद्युभौ ख्यातौ । वीराख्यविजपालकौ । २०
वर्णिनी पद्मसिंहस्य । रत्नगर्भा
- 18 सुजाणदे । श्रीपालकुरपालङ्गरेणमल्लास्तदगजाः । २१ एवं स्वतत्रयुक्ताभ्या । मनल्योत्सव
पूर्वकम् । साहिश्रीवर्द्धमानश्री
- 19 पद्मसीभ्यां प्रधारात् । २२ प्रागुक्तवत्सरे रम्ये । माधवाज्जुनपक्षके । रोहिणीभृतीयायां
बुधवासरसंयुजि
- 20 । २३ श्रीशान्तिनाथ सुख्यनां । जिनानां चतुस्तरा । द्विशतीः प्रतिमा ह्यथा । भारिताश्च
प्रतिष्ठिताः । २४ । युग्मम् ।
- 21 पुनर्निजबहुद्रव्य । सफलीकरणकृते । श्रीनव्यनगरेऽकारि प्रासादः शैलसंनिभः । २५ द्वास-
प्ततिजिनौ
- 22 कोभि । व्वेष्टितश्च चतुर्मुखैः । कैलाशपर्वतोत्तुगैरष्टाभिः शोभितोऽसित । २६ युग्मम् ।
साहिश्री
- 23 पद्मसिहेनाऽकारि शत्रुजयोपरि । उत्तुंगतोरणः श्रीमान् । प्रासादः शिखरोन्नतः । २७ यं
दृष्ट्वा भविकाः स

24 वें । चितयति स्वचेतसि । उच्चैर्भूतः किमेषोद्वि । ईश्यतेऽभ्रंलिहो यतः । २८ येन श्रीतीर्थ-
राजोय राजते सा

25 वतंसकः । प्रतिमाः स्थापितास्तत्र श्रीश्रेयांससुखाऽर्हताम् । २९

ŚATRUNJAYA

No 118]

v s 1675

[16-4-1619

This inscription is engraved on the round *pādukās* in a small temple in the north-west of the Kharataravasi Tunk. It was once edited by Dr BÜHLER in the *Epi. Ind* Vol. II, p 60 (No XV)

Text

सं १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ तिथौ शुक्रवारे* सुरत्राणनूरदीनजहांगीर सवाईविजयिराज्ये । श्री
अहम्मदाबादवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयलघुशाखाप्रदीपक स माईआ भार्या नाकू पुत्र संजोगो भार्या
जसमादे

पुत्ररत्न सकलसुश्रवककर्तव्यताकरणविहितयत्न सं सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्र संघपति रूपजीकेन
भार्या

जेठी पुत्र चि उदयवत बाई कोडिकुअरिप्रमुखसारपरिवारसहितेन स्वयकारितसप्राकारेश्री
विमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारकश्रीयुगादिदेवप्रतिष्ठायां श्रीआदिनाथपादुके
परमप्रमोदाय

कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते च श्रीवृहत्खरतरगछाधिराज श्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिशिरस्तिलकैः ॥ प्रणमति भुवन-
कीर्तिगणिः ॥

MĀTHAK

No. 119]

vs 1677.

[4-1-1621.

This inscription is engraved on one of the two *pāthās* standing in a *deri* situated in the north-west boundary of the village Māthak in the Caradvā mahāl of the Dhrāngdhīrā State The inscribed portion measures 16" by 14½".

It records the death of Kumāra Śrī *Bhojarājaji*, son of Mahārānā Śrī *Candrasenji* and his queen *Bhagatābai* coming from the *Paramāra* family, on Thursday the seventh *tīthi* of the dark half of Pauṣa in v.s. 1677 or Śaka 1542 Thereupon *Bhōjarāja's* wife named *Vhālibai*, daughter of *Cāvdā Ratanji* and his wife *Kanakabai*, became a *Sati*.

Kathiawad Gazetteer (p. 426) gives names of only six sons of Mahārānā Candrasenji, but this inscription states that he had a seventh son by his wife born in the Paramāra family. *Bhojarāja* died in the lifetime of his father.

* There are six more inscriptions engraved on different places on the hill which are of the same date, refer to the rule of Akbar and record the same kind of Jain endowments.

Text

- 1 स्वस्त श्रीमंनृपविक्रमाऽर्कसम
- 2 यातीत संवत १६७७ वर्षे श्रीशालि
- 3 बाहननृपतिशाके १५४२ प्रवत
- 4 माने उत्तरांगते [श्रीसू]ये शीशी
- 5 रक्तु महामागल्यव्रतप्रद
- 6 मासोत्तमपोषमासे कृष्णपक्षे
- 7 ७ सप्तम्या पुण्यतिथौ गुरुदि
- 8 न ॥ माहाराण श्रीचंद्रसेनजीवि
- 9 जयराज्ये तस्य भार्या परमा
- 10 र बाई श्रीभगतांबाई तस्य
- 11 सुत कुअर श्रीभोजराज देव
- 12 लोक प्राप्ता चाओडा श्रीरतन
- 13 जीग्रहे भार्या बाई श्रीकनकबाई
- 14 तस्य सुता चाओडी बाईश्रीवाहालबा
- 15 ई साहागमन कीधू देवलोकप्राप्तिरस्तु

VĀNKĀNER

No. 120]

vs 1679

[31-3-1623

This inscription is engraved on one of the two *pālās* standing side by side near the temple of Mahālakṣmī in Vānkāner. The right hand *pālā*, which contains this inscription, has a male figure evidently of Rānā Sartānī, whose death is recorded therein, and the left hand *pālā* has the female figure, evidently of the queen.

It records the death of Mahākumāra Śrī Sultānī (Sartānī), son of Mahākumāra Śrī Prithvirājī, son Mahārānā Śrī Candrasenī, son of Mahārānā Śrī Raisimhī, son of Mahārānā Śrī Mānī, on Monday, the 10th day of the bright half of Caitra in vs 1679 or Śaka 1545. Thereupon Mahākumāra Saratānī's wife named Prānavatibai, daughter of the Rāthod king Kalyānamalla, son of Nārāyandāsa, of Idargadh, became a *Satī*.

This inscription is important as it records the death of Sultānī, founder of the ruling family of Vānkāner, Mānī, Raisimhī and Candrasenī were the rulers in the main line of the Zālās ruling at Halvad. Candrasenī's son Prithvirājī by his queen from Bhādli, was the rightful heir to the throne being the eldest. But his step brothers Āskaranī and Amarasimhī desirous of supplanting him called in the aid of the Ahmedabad Subadar and imprisoned Prithvirāj. He was taken to Ahmedabad, where he died. His son Sultānī with the aid of the Jam conquered the paraganā of Vānkāner from the Mahias and Bābnias and founded the line. In 1623 A.D. when he was starting for Idar to fetch his wife he was attacked by the Halvad force, and was slain fighting valiantly.

Kalyāṇamalla, the father-in-law of Sultānji was the fourth son of Nārāyandās, who succeeded Arjundās on the *Gadi* of Idar.

Text

- 1 स्वस्ति श्रीमंनृपविक्रमार्कसमयाती[त]
- 2 संवत् १६७९ वर्षे श्रीशालीवाहननृपाल
- 3 शाके १५४५ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायन
- 4 [ग]ते श्रीसूर्ये वसंतऋतौ माहामांग
- 5 [ल्य]प्रद मासोत्तम चैत्र सुदि १० सोमे
- 6 महाराणश्रीमानजीसुत महाराणश्री
- 7 रायशंघजीसुत महाराणश्रीचंद्रसेन
- 8 जीसुत महाकुअरश्रीप्रथीराजजीसु
- 9 तमहाकुअरश्रीशरतानजी...
- 10 ...दिवागत पाम्या ॥ गृहे भार्या राठ
- 11 डय बाई श्रीप्राणावंती बाईये सह
- 12 गमन कीधू। गढ ईडर रायश्री
- 13 नारायणदासजी सुत रायश्री
- 14 कल्याणमल्लजीनी पुत्री प्रण
- 15 वती बाई माहाकूर सरतानजी साथि
- 16 स्वरग पधर। गजधर रीडा सूत राम
- 17 जीअे देहरी करी तथा गजधर रूपा सुत भीमा

KĀLĀVAD

No 121.]

v s. 1682.

[20-9-1625.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the Śiva temple near the Sitalā Mātā's temple in Kālāvad, which is a walled town in the Navānagar State at a distance of 28 miles to the south-east of Jamnagar. The inscribed portion measures 17½" by 10½".

It opens with the date, *viz.* Tuesday, the 14th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada in v.s. 1682 or Śaka 1547 and refers to the victorious rule of *Mahājām Lākḥāji* born of the *Yadu* family and of *Jām Vibhāji*, the brother, and heir apparent of the former, when a Brāhmana Upādyaia named Vāsāni belonging to the Nandvānā community caused to be made, in company with several members of his family, a temple of Śiva and Viṣṇu and one of Hanumān the god of celebrates. The inscription then gives a verse wishing long life to the temples, followed by the date expressed again in words.

As we know that Ranmalji succeeded Jām Lākḥāji (see p. 570 of Kathiawad Gazetteer) to the gadi the mention in our inscription of Lākḥāji's brother Jām Vibhāji as his heir apparent is to be considered merely as a

formal way of speaking that the king was looking after the State business in consultation with his brother.

Text

- 1 स्वस्ति श्रीर्जयो मंगलाभ्युदयश्च ॥ श्रीमन्पुत्रविक्रमार्कसमयातीत संवत् १६८२ वर्षे शाके
१५४७ प्र
- 2 वर्तमाने दक्षिणायने शरदृतौ भाद्रपदकृष्णपक्षे चतुर्दश्यां तिथौ घटी २६ भौमवासरे उत्त
- 3 राफाल्युनी घटी ३८ ब्रह्मन्नाम्नि योगे घटी ५७ शकुनिकरणे घटी २६ एवं पचांगशुद्धौ
श्रीमद्यदु
- 4 वशोद्भवमहाजामश्रीलाषाजीविजयराज्ये तस्य भ्राता कुमारपदे श्रीविभाजीवीजय
राज्ये नदवा
- 5 गान्धातीय गौतमश्रविकुलोद्भव उपाध्यायश्रीदासा तत्सुत उपाध्याय श्रील्लणा तस्य भार्या
बाई पद्मा तत्सुत खो
- 6 खा तथा भूदर तथा बाई मेही तथा पीतांबर खोखात्मजवासुदेव भूदरात्मजकृष्णदा
- 7 स तथा लक्ष्मीदास एवंविध पुत्रपौत्रवान् उपाध्याय वासणि श्रीविष्णुशिवानी अज्ञाथ
- 8 की श्रीब्रह्मचारीश्वरतुं तथा श्री हनुमाननु प्रासाद सपूर्ण कीधु सपूर्ण करि नि श्रीविष्णु
- 9 शिवना चरण पामा ॥ श्रीगणेशगोत्रदेव्योः प्रसादात् पुण्यादं दीर्घमायुरस्तु गृहे वृद्धिशता
- 10 नि भवतु । उत्तरे कर्मण्यनिर्विघ्नमस्तु ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ सूत्रधार सदाफलकर्ता ?
- 11 प्रासादनु नाम राज्यदः (?) ॥ सकलवारिधिभिः सहिता धरा क्षितिधरैरखिलैश्च विराजते
- 12 गगनमंडलमत्र रवीन्दुमज्जयति तावदय हि विराजते ॥ १ ॥ संवत् नेत्रगजेरसेन्दुस
- 13 हिते मासे नभस्ये सिते चांत्ये रिक्ततिथौ, कुजेन सहितेन तत्तरे ह्यादिमे ॥
- 14 योगे ब्रह्मसमाह्वये च करणे ह्याद्ये स्थिरे राज्यद प्रासादं च शिवस्य पूर्णभे
- 15 करोच्छ्रीवासणाख्यो द्विजः ॥ २ ॥ ब्रह्मचारीश्वरस्यास्य प्रासादस्य च
- 16 रक्षिता ॥ यो हि स्वर्गं प्रयात्वत्र यो नरकं यात्वरक्षिता ॥ ३ ॥

KUĀ

No 122]

v. s 1682

[26-11-1625

This inscription is taken from one of the *pālīs* standing in a line in the compound of the Śiva mandir, which is behind the masjid in the town Kuā, also called Kankāvṭi in the Dhrāṅgdhrā State.

It records the death in a fight while protecting cows, of Zālā Gopālji, son of Surājī, son of Lākhāji on Saturday, the seventh day of the bright half of Māgasar in v.s. 1682. The deceased was only a Grasia of the ruling family of the Zālās of Dhrāṅgdhrā

Text

संवत् १६८२ वरषे मागसर
सद ७ सनै झाला श्रीलाषाजी सू
त सूरजी सूत गोपालजी गा
बिनी वाहारे स्वरगी थिआ

ŚATRUNJAYA

No. 123]

v.s. 1683.

[30-1-1626

This inscription is fixed in a niche in a temple in the Vimalavasin' Tuahuk on the left hand between the Vāghānapola and Hāthi-pola. It was first edited by Dr. BÜHLER in the *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 68 (No XXVIII).

Text

- 1 संवत् १६८३ वर्षे । पातिसाहजिह्वागिरश्रीसलेमसाहभूमडलाखंडलविजयरा[ज्ये] ॥
- 2 श्रीचक्रेश्वरी नमः । ओं । महोपाध्याय श्री ५ श्रीहेममूर्तिगणिसद्गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्री
- 3 ओं नमः । स्वस्ति श्रीः शिवशकरोपि गणमान् सर्वज्ञशत्रुजयः । शर्वः शंभुरधीश्वरश्च
भग[वा]
- 4 न् गौरो वृषांको मृडः । गंगोमापतिरस्तकामविकृतिः सिद्धैः कृताऽतिस्तुतो । रुद्रो यो न परं
श्रियै स
- 5 जिनपः श्रीनाभिभूरस्तु मे ॥ १ उद्यच्छ्रीरजः कलंकरहितः संतापदोषाऽपहः । सौम्यः
प्राप्तस-
- 6 याऽमितकलः सुश्रीमृगांकोऽव्ययः गौरानोमृतसूरपास्तकलुषो जैवातुकः प्राणिनां । चन्द्रः
[कर्म]
- 7 जयत्यहो जिनपति. श्रीनैश्वसेनिर्महान् । २ त्यक्त्वा राजीमतीं यः स्वनिहितहृदयानेक-
पत्नीः...
- 8 पां । सिद्धिर्लौ भूरिरक्तामपि बहु चक्रमेऽनेकपत्नीमपीश. । लोके ख्यातस्तथापि स्फुरदति-
शय[वान्]
- 9 ब्रह्मचारीति नाम्ना । स श्रीनेमिजिनंद्रो दिशतु शिवसुख मातृतां योगिनाथः । ३ चंच-
च्छारं चंद्रचार*
- 10 दनश्रेयोविनिर्यद्वच. । पीयूषौघनिषेकतो विषधरेणापि प्रपेदे-द्रुत । देवत्वं सुकृतैकलभ्य[म]
- 11 तुलं यस्यानुकपानिधेः । स श्रीपार्श्वजिनेषितास्तु सततं विघ्नाच्छिदे सात्वतां । ४ यस्य
श्रीवरशासनं
- 12 क्षितिलले मार्तण्डबिंबायते । यद्वाक्यं भवसिंधुतारणविधौ पोतायते देहिनां । यद्व्यानं[भु]
- 13 विपापपंकदलने गंगाबुधारायते । श्रीसिद्धार्थनरेंद्रनदनजिनः सोस्तु श्रिये सर्वदा ॥ ५...
संवत् १६८३ वर्षे मार्गे सुदि त्रयोदशी तिथौ सोमवासरे श्री
चंद्रप्रभस्वामीजिनमदिरजीर्णोद्धारः कारितः ।

HALVAD

No 124]

v s 1683

[11-5-1626

This inscription is copied from a pillar of a *deri* to the east of the Bhavānu Mātā's temple in Halvad.

The inscription records that Mahārānā Candrasenji, son of Mahārānā Raisimhji, and grandson of Mahārānā Mānji died on Thursday, the tenth of

* The Jain Paṭṭāvali is given in the intervening lines.

the dark half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1683 and a *deri* in his honour was built by Mahārāṇā Amarasīrīhji.

The rulers mentioned in the record belong to the Zālā family of Halvad

Text

- 1 संवत् १६८३ वरषे
- 2 वइशाख वद १० ग
- 3 रवासर महारां
- 4 ण श्रीमानंजीसूत
- 5 माहाराण=श्री रासं
- 6 घजी सूत माहाराण
- 7 श्रीचंद्रसनजी हरी
- 8 सण पांमा तेनी देरी
- 9 माहाराणा श्रीअमर
- 10 संघतीअ करावी
- 11 गतघर रामजीअ
- 12 देरी करावी

(To be Continued)

POST-VYASARĀYA COMMENTATORS (NON-POLEMICAL)

By

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI ŚARMA, Annamalainagar.

1.—RAGHŪTTAMA TĪRTHA (1557-96)

We turn now to the host of influential commentators, who have, in their own way, contributed to the growth and spread of the Dvaita Vedānta and its literature. Their number is much greater as already observed, than that of the polemical writers noticed in the preceding section. While the latter worked so hard to make Dvaita Vedānta known as a powerful limb of Indian Philosophy, the commentators now to be mentioned played an equally valuable part in making the works of Madhva and his early followers, better known and understood within the fold of the Ācārya and kindling popular interest therein by writing lucid commentaries and glosses on the works of their predecessors, and rendering them less tiresome and more easily assimilable. One such early writer was Raghūttama Tīrtha.

Raghūttama is one of the honoured Saints of the Madhva calendar. Nothing is known about his parentage or early life, save that he was recruited to the Sannyāsa-āśrama directly from his Brahmācaryāśrama. He succeeded to the Pontificate of the Uttarādi Mutt in 1557-8, which he occupied for thirty-nine years till his death in the cyclic year of Manmatha. He was thus a close contemporary of Vijayīndra and Vādīrāja. He was obviously a Kannaḍa-speaking Deśastha¹-Brahman of Bombay-Karnatak and possibly a native of the Bijāpur district.

Raghūttama is said to have studied for some years after his ordination under a learned Pundit of the name of Varadarājācārya² at Maṇūr³. The

1. I use the term "Deśastha" in its true, original and only correct sense of an inhabitant of the Desh as opposed to the Konkan—in which sense it is invariably used and understood in the Bombay Presidency—whence it came to the South. It has *absolutely no linguistic connotation but only a geographical one*. There is thus no justification for the loose and altogether vicious use of the term in the Madras Province now, to denote only a Mahrāṭṭi speaking person. This was due originally to sheer ignorance of facts which has lately developed into a desire to monopolise the term, on the part especially of most of those Mādhyā Brahmins who now speak a debased Mahrāṭṭi in the South but whose original mother-tongue at the time of their migration from the North (in the 17-18th centuries) was demonstrably Kannaḍa. From Raghūttama down to present Pontiff Satyādhyāna Tīrtha, the Svāmīs of the Uttarādi Mutt have *without exception* been recruited from the Kannaḍa-speaking "Deśastha" Brahmin families of Bombay-Karnatak.

2. This Pundit was the first of the Ādya family of scholars, whose descendants now enjoy "first honours" at the Uttarādi Mutt. For the works attributed to Varadāchārya see Appendix III.

3. A village on the southern bank of the Bhīmā river, on the Nizam's border of the Inḍi taluq of the Bijāpur district, which I was able to visit on 11-1-38.

Pundit's treatment of his disciple seems to have terminated the studies rather abruptly.

Tradition ascribes to Raghūttama certain innovations in the Mutt routine and additions to Pontifical paraphernalia. He seems to have spent the latter part of his life at his Mutt on the S. Pennār at Tirukoilūr (South Arcot Dt.) where he passed away and where his mortal remains lie entombed. To this day special reverence is paid to his memory and hundreds visit his tomb at Tirukoilūr. He was a scholar of great weight and taught many disciples among whom were (1) Rāmācārya, the author of the *Taranginī* and (2) Vedēsa Bhikṣu a prolific commentator.

Works.

Raghūttama's works are seven in number. They are all of them extant though only two have so far been printed. They are all in the nature of commentaries on the earlier works of the system. "Bhāva-bodha" is the general title of a majority of his works and Raghūttama himself is usually called "Bhāvabodhācārya" or "Bhāvabodhakāra"

(1) *Viṣṇutattvanirṇaya-Tikā-Bhāvabodha* (m)

This (Mysore O. L. C 1906) is Raghūttama's gloss on the VTN-commentary of Jayatīrtha, in about 1200 granthas. The author quotes from the *Pramāṇa Paddhati* of Jayatīrtha and culls pratīkas regularly from the original commentary of Jayatīrtha.

(2) *Tattvaparakāśikā-Bhāvabodha* (m)

This is a super-commentary on the TP of Jayatīrtha, which is preserved both at Mysore (O. L. C 323) and at Madras (O. L. R. No 878). It is a voluminous commentary running to nearly 8100 granthas. The gloss is quoted and criticised by Jagannātha Tīrtha in his *Bhāsyadīpikā*.⁴ The author quotes also the passages of the *Nyāyavivaraṇa* commented upon by Jayatīrtha in his TP without introducing the actual words thereof, and from the *Candrikā*.^{4a}

(3) *Nyāyavivaraṇa-Tikā* (p)

This direct commentary on the *Nyāyavivaraṇa* of Madhva, in the continuation of Jayatīrtha's commentary on the same from B. S. 1, 3, 1 onwards has been printed and published from Udipi.

(4) *Nyāya-ratna-sambandha-Dīpikā* (m)

A Ms. of this is preserved in the Mysore O. L. (C 1557). It runs to some 1200 granthas and is in the nature of a commentary on the AV showing at the same time, the inter-connection between the words of Madhva and the

4. See *Bhāsyadīpikā* (Madras) p. 237 and *Bhāvabodha* 1, 1, 3, and p. 438 and *Bhāvabodha* 11, 1, 18.

4a. See 1, 2 p. 48b (MS).

sūtras of Bādarāyana It also indicates the Pūrvapakṣa and Siddhāntanyāyas involved at each step The scope of the work is thus indicated .

अनुव्याख्योक्तयुक्तीना भाष्याधिकरणेष्वलम् ।

जयमुन्युक्तमाश्रित्य वक्ष्ये श्रुतिसमुद्भूतम् ॥

(5) *Vivaranoddhāra* (m)

This is a gloss on those passages of the *Nyāyavivaraṇa* which have been commented upon by Jayatīrtha in his *TP* without introducing the actual words thereof, into the body of his text ⁵ A Ms. is preserved at the Tanjore Palace Library (XIV 7841).

(6) *Brhadāranyakopaniṣad-Bhāṣya-Tīkā* (p)

Raghūttama's *magnum opus* is his commentary on the *Brhadāranyaka Bhāṣya* of Madhva, in 9000 granthas, published as early as the year 1907. He gives both the "bhāṣyārtha," and the Khandārtha of the Upaniṣad i.e., to say, he has commented upon the bhāṣya of Madhva as well as upon the passages of Upaniṣad itself, independently and in a connected way The most striking feature of the commentary is the large number of quotations from the *Brhadāranyaka Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara which Raghūttama gives in order to contrast the interpretations of his school with those of the Advaita which are sometimes criticised by him (P 41) —

Bhāvabodha

Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on Brh. Up.
(Ānandāśrama edn)

P	7	.	.	.	P	20
	10	..	.	.		33
	12 b	.	.	.		35
	12	.	.	..		35
	14	.	.	.		37
	35 b	.	.	.		127
	35 b	.	.	.		129
	36 b	.	.	.		145
	39	.	.	.		148
	207	..	.	.		479
	274 b	.	.	.		630

He has incorporated into his work many passages from the commentaries of Jayatīrtha on the *Kathālakṣaṇa* (see Raghūttama, pp 199-200), AV (see R 308 and *Sudhā* 115 b) and the *Īśa Up* (see R p 348) He makes an interesting reference to the views of his teacher Raghuvarya Tīrtha on the interpretation of the term "गोष्ठ" (Brh iii, 1, p 166, line 17) गोष्ठे यज्ञवाटसमीप इति स्वामिनः

5. See the colophon इति श्रीमज्जयतीर्थचरण प्रदर्शित-तत्त्वप्रकाशिकागत-न्यायविवरणोद्धार

| Vide also the remarks of Rāghavendra in his *TP-Bhāvadīpa* 25, lines 22-23, 11 4, 13, p 233 (Bombay) The editor of the T. P. L. Catalogue has not properly understood the scope of this work of Raghūttama.

(7) *Gitābhāṣya-Prameyadīpikā Bhāvabodha* (m)

This is the author's gloss on *Jayātīrtha's* commentary on the *Gitābhāṣya* of Madhva. A Ms. is preserved of this work in the Mysore O. L. (116 Nāgarī) and extracts from the gloss have been given in Pandit T. R. Kṛṣṇācārya's edn of the *Gitābhāṣya-Bhāvaratnakośa* of Sumatīndra Tīrtha

2 —VEDEŚA BHIKṢU (C. 1570-1620)

Vedeśa Bhikṣu describes himself in his works, as a disciple of both Raghūttama and his successor Veda-vyāsatīrtha. The latter has been confounded with the famous author of the *Nym* by KEITH⁶ and AUFRECHT⁷. But a careful scrutiny of the introductory verses and colophons to the works of Vedeśa would make it clear that he had nothing to do with Vyāsatīrtha of *Nym* fame :

1. रघूत्तमगुरुप्रोक्तो भावो जयमुनेरिह ।
वेदेशभिक्षुणा बालबोधायामतयेरितः । (Kathālakṣaṇa gloss)
2. सत्कान्तःकरणान् रघूत्तमयतीनानम्य ; विद्यागुरुन् वेदव्यासयतींश्च.....॥
(Gloss on *Pramāṇapaddhati*)
3. इति श्रीमच्छान्दोग्यभाष्यस्य टीकायां वेदव्यासतीर्थपूज्यपादशिष्यवेदेशभिक्षुविरचितायां
× × × (Colophon to the c on *Chān. Up. bhāṣya*)
4. गुरुरघूत्तमयोगिमुनिशिक्षितो जयमुनेरभिसन्धिरयं मम ।
प्रकटितोऽलवबोधहृदम्बुजस्थितरसापतितृप्तिमभीप्सता ॥
(Gloss on *Tattvodyota-ṭīkā*)

Nothing is however known about the personal history of Vedeśa. The epithet Bhikṣu taken up by him shows that he was a Sannyāsin. Like his teacher Raghūttama and Vedavyāsa, he too was doubtless a Kannaḍa-speaking Deśastha Brahmin. He lies entombed at Manūr, where Raghūttama himself and his predecessors are known to have prosecuted their studies earlier. He has nine works to his credit which are all of them illuminating commentaries, some on the Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas of Madhva and the rest on a few of Jayātīrtha's works. All save three of his works have been printed.

(1) *Tattvodyota-Pañcīkā-Gloss* (Tippana) (p)⁸

This is a gloss on Jayātīrtha's c. on the *Td.* of Madhva, running to 1650 granthas. It throws fresh light on many pages of the original. Vedeśa quotes several times from earlier commentaries in the field⁹ and sometimes criticises them¹⁰. He has quoted also from the *Samkṣepa-Śārīraka*¹¹ (1,167)

6 MILL Mss 90 (Bodlien Cat. p. 62, Col 2)

7 *Catalogue Cat*, p 619

8 Bombay 1898 and Belgaum

9 Pp. 11, lines 10, 22, 17, 10-12, 23, 13-14, 24, 4, 25, 14, 40, 5-10, 43-4.

10. P. 8, lines 7-11, p. 13, 7-15, 16, 24-26

11. P. 39, 4.

and the *Saptapadārthī* of Śivāditya and also possibly a commentary thereon¹²

Similar glosses on (2) Jayatīrtha's commentaries on the *PL* and the (3) *VTN* have been attributed to Vedeśa but so far, no Mss of these have been brought to light (4) The gloss on the *KL* has been published (1900)

(5-8) *Glosses on the Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas*

Vedeśa has commented on four of the Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas of Madhva, the *Āitareya*, *Chāndogya*, *Kaṭha* and *Taṭavakāra* (p)

The first is available only in Mss.¹³ That on the *Chāndogya* entitled "*Padārthakaumudī* (p) is the biggest running to 6000 granthas. The gloss on the *Kaṭha* (Bombay 1905) quotes from and criticises the bhāṣya of Śamkara on this Up¹⁴ These references are valuable not only for comparative study of the two rival bhāṣyas but also for establishing the genuineness of the c ascribed to Śamkara. The author gives both the Bhāṣyārtha and the Khandārtha of the Upaniṣad

(9) *Pramāṇapaddhati-Vyākhyā* (p) D.

In the course of this gloss on the *Pramāṇapaddhati* of Jayatīrtha, in 1400 granthas, Vedeśa is found to quote nearly seven times¹⁵ from Vijayīndra Tīrtha's commentary on the *Pramāṇapaddhati* and criticise it thrice¹⁶ He refers also to another commentary on the original (pp. 40 and 131) which is yet to be identified

Vedeśa's works are all of them well-written and afford valuable help in understanding the originals. He has every right then to be regarded as one of the leading commentators of the Dvaita school

3—VIŚVEŚVARA TĪRTHA (C 1600)

There is reason to identify Viśveśvara Tīrtha, the author of a commentary on the *Āitareya-Bhāṣya* of Madhva, with the fourteenth Svāmī of the Pejāvar

12 तच्च 'प्राक्संबद्धस्वाभावविरहूपत्वम्' इति । प्राक् संबद्धस्वाभावः प्रागभावः तद्विरहश्च प्रव्वंसः तत्स्वरूपत्ववर्तमानत्वमिति तत्तत्प्रकारार्थः । (39, 7)

13 Hanumantacar, Pejavar Mutt, 219, Tulu, palmleaf.

14 P 3, 6-19, 1, 1, 20, P 8, 8, 9, 1, 2, P 17, 28; 36, 11, 18; 41, 11.

15 (a) केचित्तु—'आकाङ्क्षादेर्दोषाभावात्वेनोपयोगाभावाल्लक्षणान्तरमाह, इत्याहुः (iii, 1), (b) केचित्तु—'ननु पक्षाभासस्यानुमितिप्रतिबन्धकत्ववदता तस्य हेत्वाभासत्वमवश्याभ्युपेयम् । अनुमिते. हेत्वाभासमात्रप्रतिबद्धत्वनियमादित्यत आह—साधनमिति । तथा च तयोरेव नियमभङ्ग इति भावः' इत्याहुः ॥ (ii, 78) (c) केचित्तु—हेतुसमानाधिकरणप्रतियोगिविरोद्धयभावप्रतियोगिसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्य इत्यर्थः अतो न नियमस्य व्याप्तिर्वेन आत्माश्रयाशङ्का' इत्याहुः । अत्र व्यधिकरणे नदीपूरादौ अव्याप्तिः कथं परिहरणीयेति चिन्त्यम् ॥ (iii, 1) (d) 'रश्मिद्वारे' त्यस्य तत्तदिन्द्रियैकदेशद्वारेत्यर्थ इति केचित् (P. 102 cf. Vij. p. 148)

16 (a) एतेन तदपि निरस्तं यत्केनचिदुक्तम्—'तथा तथा प्रतिपन्नत्वमज्ञात्वापि विप्रतिपत्ति-वाक्यस्थपदैः कोट्युपस्थितौ सत्या, मानसशयासंभवात् कथमेतत् । नहि साधारणो धर्म एवात्र नास्तीति ब्रूमः, येन तदुपन्यासः सार्थकः; किं तु, तदा तस्यापरामर्श एवेति ॥ P. 66 Cf. Vij. p. 65 (b) ii, 1 and (c) Vedeśa P. 122, 14-17.

Mutt of Uḍipi He was presumably a contemporary and disciple of Vādirāja Svāmin of the Sode Mutt¹⁷ That he was considerably later than Jayatīrtha is proved not only by the existence of an epitome of the latter's *Nyāyasudhā* by Viśveśvara (Pejāvar Mutt Mss 330, Nagari Palm-leaf) but by the striking resemblance which the fourth introductory verse in his *Āitareya*-gloss (Mysore O. L. C. 1048) bears to the second one of Jayatīrtha's NS¹⁸. —

Cf.

नान्नायार्थविचारणे कुशलिनो नो शब्दवारानिवौ
 ज्ञाता न्यायविचारदूरमतयः शीक्षानिरुक्तातिगाः ।
 अप्येव सुरवर्यदैशिकमहाचार्यप्रसादान्महा-
 भाष्यार्थग्रं गाय भाष्याविवृतौ यत्न वयं कुर्महे ॥ (Viśveśvara)
 न शब्दाब्धा गाढा न च निगमचर्चासु चतुरा
 न च न्याये प्रौढा न च विदितवेद्याऽपि वयम् ।
 परं श्रीमत्. (Jayatīrtha)

Viśveśvara does not refer to any earlier commentary on the *Āitareya-bhāṣya* His is a clear and forcible style and his explanations are always brief and to the point. His commentary is therefore eminently readable, though for some inscrutable reason it has fallen into complete oblivion. More than three Mss of it are available in the T.P.L

4—YADUPATI ĀCĀRYA (c 1580-1630).

Yadupati alias Yādava Ācārya, was a distinguished pupil of Vedeśa Bhikṣu¹⁹ He wrote several commentaries on the earlier works of his school the chief of which is the one on the NS called Yādupatyā after the author The commentary is very popular in Pandit circles

Yadupati was a Kannada speaking Deśastha²⁰ Brahman of Yekkundi in the Saundatti taluq of the Belgaum district His descendants are said to be

17 This is supported by one of the scribe's verses in the Ms of Vādirāja's *Gurvarthadīpikā* (Mys C-1057). —

यद्वादिराजयतिर्वर्यसुसंप्रसन्न × × हयास्यसुशिष्यसङ्घे ।

तस्याङ्घ्रिपङ्कजपरागविचित्रित श्रीविश्वेशतीर्थयतिराङ् भवतु प्रसन्नः ॥

18. Needless to point out that KEITH (introd to *Āt Aranyaka*, Oxford p. 12) is wrong in making Viśveśvara a contemporary and immediate disciple of Madhva himself¹ Viśveśvara also imitates Jayatīrtha's phrase अन्यैरन्यथा व्याख्यातानि... । (TP introd) in his *Āt* gloss

19. Cf इति श्रीमद्वेदेशतीर्थ पूज्यपादशिष्येण यदुपतिना विरचितायां सुधाटिप्पण्याम्.॥ (colophon)

वेदेशतीर्थगुरुमानमकजसंस्थ ×× (gloss on TS)

In his c on the *Sudhā*, Yadupati mentions the gloss of his teacher Vedeśa on the *Pramāṇapaddhati*. शिष्ट अस्मदाराध्य श्रीवेदेशगुरुकृतायां पद्धतिव्याख्यायां द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

(iii, 2, p 292b)

It will be remembered that Vedeśa was merely a "Bḍi-sannyāsi" ('stray' disciple) and was not the Pontiff of any Mutt

20 Vide f n 1 ante for the proper significance of this term that is being so systematically misused in the South.

living The *SK* gives his father's name at Yādappayya (p 182) It further states that Yadupati's elder brother Rāmappa received sanniyāsa from Vedavyāsa Tīrtha and that he subsequently became his brother's teacher in Vedānta This teacher was presumably the same as Vedeśa Bhikṣu the distinguished commentator and acknowledged Guru of Yadupati The latter was thus a contemporary of Vidyādhīśa Tīrtha of the Uttarādi Mutt

Not only was Yadupati a distinguished scholar himself, but a trainer of equally able disciples. Among his pupils may be mentioned (1) Bīdara-hallī Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha, (2) Śarkarā Śrīnivāsa and (3) Umarjī Tirumalā-cārya, who have made lasting contributions to the philosophical literature of the Dvaita

WORKS

Nine works of Yadupati are available of which only two have been printed His (1) gloss on the *Tattvasamkhyāna* in 300 granthas, is preserved at the T P L, whilst his (2) gloss on the *Tattvodyota* is available at the Mysore O. L. (C7)

(3) *Nyāyasudhā-Tippaṇi*. (p) D

As already observed, the c on the NS. is the most important work of Yadupati It is an adequate c on the original bearing the stamp of scholarship and originality on every page The author shows himself deeply versed in the grammatical learning of his days which he brings to the support of the interpretations of his school. His com is distinctly anterior to that of Rāghavendra Swāmin and perhaps also that of Vidyādhīśa He tries to overthrow the objection raised by some critics (presumably Appayya Dīkṣita) alleging misrepresentation of the Mīmāṃsaka view in the *AV* 1, 1, 1 by pointing out that the author of the *AV*, has in view the followers of the Prābhākara school of Mīmāṃsā, who do hold the view attributed to them by Madhva :

अत्र कश्चिदाह—‘भावनाभेदेनैव वाक्यभेदस्य दृष्टत्वात्, प्रकृते च वाक्यभावनाया एकत्वात् नानान्तरवाक्यभेदोऽङ्गीकृत’ इति । तत्तुच्छम् । न हीदं भाट्टान् प्रत्यापाद्यते ; किन्तु, प्राभाकरान् । तैग्वये भिन्ने वाक्य भिद्यत एव इत्यङ्गीकृतत्वात् । यथाहुः—“अन्वितपदात्मकं हि वाक्यं तत्र कथं नान्वये भिन्ने भिद्येतेति ” । अतो न कश्चित् क्षुद्रोपद्रव इति ॥ (1, 1, 1. p 71)²¹

Yadupati quotes also from a number of earlier commentators on the NS (i, 1, 1, p 79 ; i, 1, 1, p 7, 1, 4, p 152 ; and i, 1, p 37 and 43) as well as from a c. on *Saṃksepasāhīraka* (40)

As an instance of Yadupati's alertness may be mentioned his interesting remarks on the Uṇādi Sūtra अदिभूम्यां डुतच् (V, I) quoted by Jayatīrtha in his NS, (i, 4, p 228, Bombay) in support of Madhva's interpretation of the term “मायामात्रम्” which is sought to be

21 This objection has been met by a number of other commentators also like Vidyādhīśa and Vijayindra.

derived from two roots मृद् and मृज्. The point is that अदि भुक् भुक् is the reading generally accepted and found in the printed texts of the *Unādi Sūtras*. Yadupati is aware of this for he quotes from one of the commentaries on the *Unādi Sūtras* (presumably Śvetavana's · vide Madras Uni. Skt. Series, VII, pt i, p 210 text B.) ; but points out at the same time that the reading given by Jayatīrtha is the more ancient and genuine one, being found in some Mss and certain commentaries also. It is however unknown to both Nārāyana and Śvetavana and probably the same was the case with Ujjvaladatta. It is however very unlikely that the reading quoted by Jayatīrtha is a myth for he is a scrupulously honest and very careful writer. Yadupati's remarks are faithfully echoed by Keśavācārya.

Yadupati wrote two works on the *Bhāgavata-Prasthāna* (4) a c on the *Bhāgavata-Tātparyā* of Madhva of which Mss. are preserved at Udipi and in the Mysore O. L. (B. 194 B 200).²² His c. on (5) chapters I-IX, of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has been printed and published from Dharwar. The Mysore O. L. (C 1866) has a Ms. of his (6) c. on the *Yamaka-Bhārata*. His minor works are four (7) a c. on the *Sadācārasmṛti* and three Stotras (8) *Viṣṇu-stotra*, (9) *Vedavyāsastotra or Gadya*, and (10) a *Karāvalambana Stotra* in 30 verses (S. M. p 104-12).

5—SUDHĪNDRA TĪRTHA (1596-1623).

In Sudhīndra Tīrtha, the disciple and successor of Vijayīndra Tīrtha, we have a different personality altogether from those to whom we have hitherto been accustomed. For one in his position, Sudhīndra was a person of peculiar tastes and equipment. He is one of the few writers in Dvaita Literature who have cared to look beyond their noses into realms other than those of Theology and Metaphysics. Kāvya and Alankāra seem to have been the forté of Sudhīndra on both of which he has left us works of real merit, which stand out like oases in a dreary desert of theological writings. The Dvaitins have often been accused of a lack of interest in anything but their own faith and nothing proves the truth of this accusation so well as the fact that posterity has allowed to sink into oblivion even the few works of purely literary interest left by writers like Trivikrama Paṇḍita, Vijayīndra, Sudhīndra and Sumatīndra.

DATE

As already mentioned Sudhīndra was the successor of Vijayīndra and the Guru of Rāghavendra Svāmī, on the pīṭha of his Mutt. The *Rāghavendra Vijaya* of Nārāyana speaks of him as having been honoured with a Ratanābhīṣeka, by the Vijayanagara King Venkatapatirāya.²³ He is also reported in the same work, to have enjoyed the patronage of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore. He died in 1623 at Ānegondi on the banks of the Tungabhadra and his mortal remains lie entombed at Navabrmdāvana alongside the tomb of Vyāsārāya.

²² The MSS available cover but the first five Skandhas.

²³ Vide also the S. M. (p, 308), verse 8, of Vāḍīndra's *Gurugunastava*.

WORKS

Besides two works on *Alamkāra* and a drama, tradition ascribes to Sudhīndra a c. on the *Tarkatāṇḍava*, entitled *Yuktiratnāvalī*²⁴ This is corroborated by Nārāyaṇa who mentions in his biography of Rāghavendra (VII. 49-50), (1) a c. on the *Tarkatāṇḍava*, (2) com on II and XI Skandhas of the *Bhāgavata* and a drama, probably the same as *Subhadrā-Dharmajaya*.—

व्याख्याव्याजातर्कनृत्तस्य मद्य रत्नस्थानं निर्ममे श्रीसुधीन्द्रः ।

व्यासेनोक्तं व्याकरोद्यद्वितीयस्कन्धं प्रायो दुर्गमैकादशं च ॥

× × × नाटकं चित्रगद्यम् ॥

(1) *Alamkāramañjarī* (m)

This is a manual of *Śabda-Alamkāras*,²⁵ by Sudhīndra of which we have a palm-leaf MS in the Tanjore P. L. (no. 5129-30). One of the later successors of Sudhīndra, Sumatīndra, wrote a commentary on this work. The commentary is known by the name of *Madhu-dhārā* (alias *Alamkāramañjarī vyākhyā*). Both the commentary and its original are preserved at the T.P.L. But the Editor of the Descriptive Catalogue of the T.P.L. has, in ascribing the *Alamkāramañjarīvyākhyā* to Sudhīndra, *confounded the author of the original with the commentator*. The commentator himself refers to Sudhīndra as the author of the original and speaks of himself as the author of the commentary *Madhudhārā* on it :

श्रीमत्सुमतीन्द्रयतीन्द्रः व्यतनीदनीयसीमसीमगुणाम् ।

व्याख्यां मधुधाराख्यां विवृतालङ्कारमञ्जरीहृदयाम् ॥

× × × अत्रेदानीं तत्रभवान् सुधीन्द्र इति कवीन्द्रः × ×

× × × मञ्जलमाचरति × × × (p. 2972, T. P. L. Cat).

Sudhīndra deals with bandhas etc., and many passages from this work are quoted by Sumatīndra in his c. on the *Usāharana*. It would appear from these quotations that Sudhīndra's illustrative verses were in commemoration of the greatness of his Guru Vijayīndra²⁶ An express statement to the effect is also made by Sudhīndra in one of the introductory verses.—

अधिकृत्यास्यदाचार्यान् विजयीन्द्रयतीश्वरान् ।

प्रवृत्तेयमनुग्राह्या मून्र्नालङ्कारमञ्जरी ॥

(4) *Alamkāra-Nikāṣa* (m)²⁷

This is a treatise on *Arthālamkāras* (like *Upamā*, *Rūpaka*, *Drṣṭānta*, *Vīṣeṣa* etc.) by the same author, composed most probably as a complement to

24 GVL Cat

25 इति × × × शब्दालङ्कारमञ्जरी व्याख्यान समाप्तम् ॥ (MS)

26 यथा—'विजयीन्द्रवर्य.' इत्यलङ्कारमञ्जर्याम् ।

एतदर्थस्तु मदीय मधुधारायां द्रष्टव्यः (p. 324, Udipi)

27 Madras O. L. Cat No 129776 (Grantha MS) It is the same work as is wrongly entered as "*Alamkāra-nikāṣa*" of "Sudhendra", by OPPERT 4797 (Catalogue

the *Alamkāramañjarī* and as a set off to the *Kuvalayānanda* of Appayya Dīkṣita. The author is called "Kavi-kanthīrava" on the title page of the Ms. The work runs to 2706 granthas and contains verses as well as prose explanations of them. The author wields a fine alliterative style. He says that the work is meant for the use of earnest students of Alamkāraśāstra.

अलङ्कारशास्त्रभ्यासेच्छनामत्यन्तोपकाराय सुधीन्द्रयोगिविरचितालङ्कारनिकषाख्योऽय ग्रन्थः ॥

(5) *Sāhitya-Sāmrāṇya* (m.)

AUFRECHT notices a work of this name (Rice 288) ascribed to Sumatīndra Tīrtha. The Catalogue of the Gopal Vilas Library (of the late Dewan Bahadur R. RAGHUNĀTHA RAU) at Kumbakonam, ascribes it to Sudhīndra. Another Ms. of the work is reported from the Rāghavendra Svāmī Mutt library at Nāñjangūd (Mysore Arch. Rep. 1917, p. 17) and (wrongly ?) attributed to Sujanendra Tīrtha. There is yet another *Sāhityasāmrāṇya* (alias *Raghunātha-Bhūpālīya*) by Kṛṣṇa Dīkṣita or Yajvan (AUFRECHT 1, 486 and Madras T. C. 659d).

(6) *Subhadrā-Parnaya* (m.)

A damaged fragment of a drama of this name, ascribed to Sudhīndra, is preserved at the Madras O. L. (Vol. XXI, D. C. No. 12729). The Ms. (which is in Nandināgiri) runs to 124 pages of 6 lines each and contains some two Acts.

तदन्तेवासिना सुधीन्द्रयतीन्द्रेण विरचितं ॥ × × ×

आर्य—मयेदानीं वलयद्वयनिर्गतवर्णैरवगतं सुभद्रापरिणयनाटकमिति ।

A Vidūṣaka Tumburu, Nārada, Satyabhāmā and Arjuna are some of the characters that figure in the play which contains passages in Prākṛt also.

INDOLOGY IN CURRENT LITERATURE

- ASVOI*—Annals of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati
AUM—The Allahabad University Magazine, Allahabad
BRV—Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute
BV—Bhāratiya Vidyā, Bombay
IHQ—Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta, Vol. xvi, No. 1, March 1940
IAOS—Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 60, 1 March, 1940, Vol. 60, 2 June, 1940
IAU—Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. ix, No. 3, June 1940
JBORS—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, Vol. xxxvi, part 1, March 1940, Vol. xxvi, part 2, June 1940
JIH—Journal of Indian History, Madras, Vol. xiv, part 1, April 1940
JSHS—Journal of the Sind Historical Society, Vol. iv, No. 3, March 1940
JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland—London, 1940, parts ii & iii, April and July
JUB—Journal of the University of Bombay, Bombay, Vol. ix (New Series), part 2, September 1940, Vol. ix (New Series), part 1, July 1940
JUPHS—The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society
PO—Poona Orientalist, Poona, Vol. v, No. 1, April 1940
PQ—Philosophical Quarterly, Amalner, Jan 1940, Vol. xv, No. 4, July 1940, Vol. xvi, No. 2.
QJMS—Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, Vol. xxxi, No. 1, July 1940, Vol. xxx, No. 3, January 1940, Vol. xxx, No. 4, January 1940

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NOTES OF THE MONTH

It is indeed a matter of satisfaction that the Progress Report of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Andheri for the period covering November 1939 to October 1940 records, despite the conditions of war, a steady progress towards its main objectives. During recent years the need of studying our ancient culture dispassionately in a scientific manner has been realized more and more and the coming into existence more or less simultaneously of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan in Bombay, the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in Poona, Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute at Tirupati, and the two schemes of research in Gujarati and Kannada antiquities respectively at Ahmedabad and Dharwar, is a welcome augury of this movement. We trust that the conjoint and collaborative efforts of these institutions, when co-ordinated according to plan, will achieve a worthy object and place before the scientific world a synthetic and analytic study of the different phases of Indian Culture

During the year under report the Bhavan has not only supervised the activities of its constituent institutes like the Shri Mumbadevi Sanskrit Pathasala, but carried on independent research. The English and Hindi-Gujarati journals *Bhāratiya Vidyā* published under its auspices have already made a mark on the scholarly world. The Bharatiya Vidya Series has been inaugurated by publishing *Visuddhimagga* under the editorship of that well-known Pāli scholar Professor Dharmanand KOSAMBI, whose text in Roman script is in print but not yet published in the Harvard Oriental Series Extension Lectures which form part of the general activities of the Bhavan have been very popular, and some of these have been printed in the Bhavan's journals.

Now that the foundation stone of the permanent headquarters of the Bhavan has been laid we trust that the Bhavan will grow from strength to strength and bring laurels to indological studies and research.

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The University Phonetics Association of the Mysore University is to be congratulated on its new publication. *The Bulletin of Phonetic Studies*, the first issue of which we have just received for October 1940. First founded in November 1938 the Association has been carrying on sure but silent work before launching upon its publishing activities. While Phonetics as a science has made great progress in the West, and was indeed one of the early sciences developed in India as witnessed in the *Prātisākhya*s, recent years have seen its decadence in India. It is therefore a matter for congratulation that the Mysore University is taking a lead in these matters. We are hopeful that the Phonetics Department of the Punjab University started by Mr. FIRTH, the Linguistics departments of the Calcutta University and the Deccan College Research Institute will now co-operate with the Mysore University in bringing up the scientific study of Phonetics to a high level of efficiency.

This inaugural issue of the *Bulletin of Phonetic Studies* contains the following papers: Foreword (1), Report of the Activities of the University Phonetics Association by B S KESAVAN, Secretary (2-4), Phonetics and the teaching of English by Prof W G EAGLETON, the President (5-10), English as the Kannadiga speaks it by T. N SREEKANTAIYA (11-19), and the Vedic Circumflex by N Sivarama SASTRY (20-31). The *Bulletin* is neatly printed by the Wesley Press and Publishing

House of Mysore, and is priced moderately at Re 1 per issue. Full Membership of the Association is open to the staffs of the Mysore University institutions. Associate Membership is open to all other persons interested in Phonetics at an annual subscription of As 8 only. Members receive the copies of the *Bulletin* gratis.

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According to Circular Letter No. 2 issued by the Hon. Secretary of the Fourth (Lahore) Session of the Indian History Congress, the session will assemble at Lahore on Monday the 16th December 1940, and will continue its meetings on the two following days. Two excursions to Taxila and Harappa have been arranged on Wednesday the 18th, and there is a possibility of organising another one to Mohenjodaro if more than twenty members express their desire to go there.

The subscription for membership is five rupees (Rs 5) and should be sent to the Hon. Secretary, Professor J. F. BRUCE, M.A., University Hall, Lahore.

We take this opportunity of wishing the Congress every success in its manifold activities.

REVIEW

Kamsavahō of Rāmapānīvāda, Edited, with Introduction, Sanskrit Chāyā with foot notes, Index of verses, Glossary of words, English Translation, Notes and Index of Proper Names, by Dr. A. N. UPADHYE. Crown pp. 42+51+38+5+35+31+47+2.

To a student of Indian linguistics, the importance of the study of Prākṛt works produced by scholars belonging to districts where Non-Indo-Aryan languages are spoken, cannot be overestimated, inasmuch as it may throw considerable light on the development and practice of the language in a different environment. Such a study may be calculated to be even helpful in accounting for points of phonological and semantic interests unrecorded in the literature of its homeland. The Prākṛt works of such an erudite scholar as Rāmapānīvāda, no doubt, deserve to be brought to light, and Professor UPADHYE has to be congratulated for his laudable efforts in bringing out an excellent edition of *Kamsavahō*, hitherto known to scholars only through catalogues and manuscript libraries.

Professor UPADHYE's Translation and Critical Notes are characterised by earnestness and precision. The Editor will be seen to have handled admirably the limited material that has been made available to him in the matter of the constitution of the text. The observations on the Prākṛt dialect of *Kamsavahō* evince Dr. UPADHYE's elaborate and scientific knowledge of the phonology and structure of the Middle Indian tongues.

It may, however, be pointed out that much of the details about Rāmapānīvāda set forth by the Editor in the Introduction appears to be a medley of incidents and facts connected with the lives and activities of two different poets, namely Rāmapānīvāda and the great Malayālam poet Kuṭṭiāṇ Nambyār. The confusion seems to have arisen from the Editor's relying to the full, upon the information furnished by Messrs. Mahākavi Ullūr S. Parameswara Iyer and M. R. Balakrishna Warrier, who cling steadfastly to the view that the two poets are identical. Their opinion is based upon disconnected traditional accounts of little historical value and is wholly unsupported by internal evidences of any kind. In an article contributed by me on the subject to the Malayālam Journal *Sahridaya*, I have shown that the

Sanskrit passages occurring in Kuñjan Nambyār's productions are, for the most part, defective and impossible, on that score, of being attributed to a Sanskrit Scholar of such a thoroughness as the author of *Rāghaviya* or *Sitārāghava*. Further, the Prākṛt used by Kuñjan Nambyār in one of his works has also been pointed out by me as being quite different from the one employed by Rāmapānīvāda. The substitution of Sanskrit *s*, *ś* and *ṣ* by *ś* and of Sanskrit *ṛ* by *ḷ* as *śālila-* (Sk *śarīra-*), *maśina-* (Sk. *maśna-*) *mānuśa-* (Sk *mānusa-*), *dōśa-* (Sk *dōṣa-*), *śōh-* (Sk *śauri-*) and *vīla-* (Sk *vīra-*) is a regular feature of the Prākṛt of Kuñjan Nambyār while Rāmapānīvāda's Prākṛt very seldom exhibits a change in this direction. Besides, Kuñjan Nambyār's works form social satires and are replete with side-splitting humour whereas Rāmapānīvāda's works are characterised by dignity and a high level of seriousness. I am sure if Dr UPADHYE had cared to make a comparative study of the two authors on the lines indicated, he would have arrived at the same conclusion.

As regards the Editor's observation concerning the Chāyā on page 50 of the Introduction, I do not see my way to believe, as the Editor thinks, that the Chāyā takes some liberty with the verbal forms of the text. The fact that the forms of the Present are substituted by those of the Imperfect and Perfect, is itself sufficient proof to show that the Present forms of the text are used in the sense of the Past. If the poet had only wanted to convey the idea of the Present, he would never employ the Past form of the verb in the Chāyā. The Present forms given as footnotes under the Chāyā, I am afraid, do not serve, therefore, any useful purpose. I may also draw attention to a similar extensive usage of the Present in the Prākṛt poem *Sauricarita* by Śrīkanṭha (Travancore University O. Mss. Library, Trivandrum, No. L. 105). See leaf No 12 front side commentary '*pasavāḥ prāsūta*' under the verse beginning with *Khaḷakhalam*, leaf No 12 back, commentary '*vaddai ēvamēvañca avardhata*' under the verse beginning with *Aha sō vaamahānam*; and leaf No 14 back, commentary '*na namdai na anandayat*' under the verse beginning with *tassa kīvā*. It will thus be seen that it is not so much the question of the Chāyā not according with the text that deserves notice, as the grammatical problem. The sanction of Prākṛt grammarians for such a usage is a matter to be investigated, and perhaps Dr UPADHYE is the fittest person to enlighten us on the point.

A word has to be said on the diacritical marks adopted by the Editor in transliterating the Prākṛt words. So long as Prākṛt distinguishes between short and long *ṛ* and short and long *ṃ*, I am inclined to think that it will be more scientific to differentiate these in writing. Where there is only long *ṛ* and long *ṃ* as in Sanskrit, there may not arise any occasion for confusion. Nevertheless, even in Sanskrit, to be more scientific, one ought to use the diacritical marks indicating length for *ṛ* and *ṃ* as *ē* and *ō*. But to write *acchera* (p 35 Introduction) and *pekkha* (p 46 Introduction) using the same *e*, and *moha* (p 35 Introduction) and *kocana* (p 36 Introduction) using the same *o* does not seem to be desirable. That *अच्छेर* and *मोह* are to be pronounced with long *ṛ* and long *ṃ* is obvious from the lines *aho kimacchēramnam samuggaē* (I, 10) and *ganē bāla-dinēsa-mōha-mohā* (II, 45).

The appearance of the book is fascinating. May it have the success it so richly deserves!

CAKRAVARTIN

By

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, Madras.

Recently I had occasion to examine the rôle of the conception of *Cakravartin* in ancient Indian thought and to point out that Kautilya gave a practical turn to this quasi-mythical conception by adumbrating the idea of the *Cakravarti ksetram* confined to India proper. The idea of *Cakravartin* had, one may well believe, a long history¹ and was the complex result of the coming together of many lines of thought, not all of them exclusively Indian in origin. To distinguish clearly these different lines from one another and to trace the early stages of their evolution or to determine the steps by which the final result was attained may not be easy with the limited data at our disposal. But some attempt may be made to gather the important texts bearing on this interesting conception and see how far they serve to elucidate the antiquity and the origin of a few at least of the different elements that have gone into its make-up.

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* ch. 57 (Ānandāśrama edn.) has a striking passage on cakravartins whom it assigns to the Tretā Yuga, and we may well start with this :

prajāyante tatah sūrah āyusmanto mahābalāh
nyastadanda-mahābhāgāh yajvāno brahmavādinah (64)
padmapatrāyatākṣāśca prthūraskāh susaṁhitah
simhāntakā mahāsattvāh mattamātāṅga-gāminah (65)
mahādhanurdharāścaiva tretāyām cakravartinah
sarvalakṣaṇa sampannāḥ nyagrodha-parimaṇḍalāh (66)

* * * * *
cakram ratho manurbhāryā nidhiraśvā gajastathā
saptātusayaratnāni sarvesām cakravartinām (68)
cakram ratho manih khadgam dhanūratnam ca pañcamam
keturnidhisca saptate prānahināh prakīrtitāh (69)
bhāryā purohitaścaiva senānī-rathakrt ca yah
mantryaśvah kalabhaścaiva prāninah samprakīrtitāh (70)
ratnānyetāni divyāni samsiddhāni mahātmanām
mantryaśvah kalabhaścaiva prāninah samprakīrtitāh (70)
viśnoramśena jāyante prthivyām cakravartinah
manvantaresu sarveṣu atītānāgatesu vai
bhūtabhavyāni yāniha vartamānāni yāni ca
tretāyugādisvekatra jāyante cakravartinah (73)

1. See JACOBI on *Cakravartin* in ERE; and s. v. *Cakkavartī* in *Abhidhāna-rājendra*.

bhadrānimāni yesām vai bhavantīha mahīkṣitām
adbhutām ca catvāri balam dharmah sukham dhanam
(74)

anyonyasyā'virodhena prāpyante vai nrpaḥ samam
artho dharmasā kāmasā yaśo vijaya eva ca (75)
aiśvaryenānimādyena prabhuśaktyā tathaiva ca

annena tapasā caiva rśinabhibhavanti ca
balena tapasā caiva devadānava mānusaḥ (76)

laksanaścāpi jāyante śarīrasthair-amānusaḥ
keśāsthītā lalāṭornā jīhvā cāsyapramārjaṇī
tāmraprabhoṣṭhadantosthāḥ śrīvatsāścordhvaromaśāḥ (77)

nyagrodhapaṇināḥśāśca simhaskandhās-sumehanāḥ
gaṇendragatayaścaiva mahāhanava eva ca (78)

pādayoś-cakra-matsyau tu śankha-padmau tu hastayoh
pañcāśīti-sahasrāni te bhavantyajarā nrpāḥ (79)

asangā gatayas-tesām catasraś-cakravartinām
antarikṣe samudre ca pātāle parvatesu ca (80)²

This long passage, one of the most comprehensive known to me, is easily seen to fall into several distinct parts which are assembled together rather loosely. The first three verses (64-66) are quite a general description of the appearance and attainments of the Cakravartins of the Tretā Yuga, who are also called mahādhanurdharas, a term we shall come across in another text. The four next (68-71) give a description of the *ratnas* (jewels) of the Cakravartin, and this description first enumerates seven ratnas, and then gives another list of fourteen, grouped into seven live and seven inanimate ratnas. Verses 72-76 deal clearly with one distinct aspect of the Cakravarti idea. Here the emphasis is on the parallel between the protective functions exercised by the Emperor in the State and by Viṣṇu in Cosmos, and the index of successful monarchy is found in *adbhutām*, *aiśvarya*, *prabhuśakti*, and the monarch is exalted above the sages, gods and men. Yet another idea, that of the Cakravartin as Mahāpurusa with distinguishing marks on his body, forms the subject of verses 77-79, and the bodily marks are named which remind one strongly of similar statements in Buddhist and Jain works. Lastly, verse 80 gives expression to the miraculous potency of the Cakravartin's car to travel freely everywhere, on water and air as well as on land, without experiencing the difficulties felt by the vehicles of ordinary mortals.

2 Cf *Brahmānda* II 29, 69-88 and *Matsya* 142, 62-73. These passages are identical with the verses cited above, with variations due generally to copyists' errors. I have not felt it necessary to detail these casual variations in reading which are of no value—*Jālahastā* e.g. occurs as *Tālahastā* in the other texts. So far as I can judge the *Vāyu* text of this passage is the best and most comprehensive.

For *tāmraprabhoṣṭhadantosthāḥ* which seems obviously corrupt, Br has *tāmraprabhoṣṭhanetrāśca*, and *Matsya* gives the whole line as *śyāmaprabhāś caturdaśaśrāḥ suvamśāścordhvaretasah*, in which the second half is a bad surmise of a scribe at his wit's end.

The Puranic lists of Cakravartins have been collected and discussed by PARGITER in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*,³ and the lists of monarchs who performed the Rājasūya⁴ and Āśvamedha⁵ given in the *Brāhmanas* are well known. There is also a list of *mahādhanurdharāścakravartinah* in the Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad⁶, it begins with Sudyumna and ends with Bharata-*prabhrtayah* showing that the list is only illustrative and not exhaustive. Most of the names in these lists are mere names to us, though we have a considerable number of legends centering round some of these names, particularly that of Bharata. The attempts so far made to treat them as historical and to determine the order of their succession cannot be taken to have succeeded.

The tradition relating to the *ratnas* is equally ancient, perhaps even older. We have the *ratninām havīmsī*, special offerings made in the houses of the *ratnins* in the course of the Rājasūya.⁷ There are several lists of these *ratnins* which are collected and discussed in the *Vedic Index*, it will be noticed that these lists vary considerably, though all of them refer to 'people of the royal entourage' as the authors of the *Index* put it, and all lists name many more than seven persons. It is a question however what exactly is the relation between the terms *ratna* and *ratnin*. It is tempting to accept the *prima facie* view that they were identical as KEITH does,⁸ and to suppose that the lists of *ratnins* that have come down to us belong to a period when the number of *ratnas* had not yet been defined, and on this view, it may even be argued that *ratna* originally meant, as pointed out in the *Vedic Index*, not a jewel in particular, but a precious object, and that in relation to the king the term was applied to the most valued members of his entourage. When later the meaning of *ratna* as jewel came into vogue, it would seem, the application of the term in relation to the king was extended to some highly valued inanimate treasures, and the grouping of the *ratnas* into live *ratnas* and lifeless *ratnas* was begun. But this is certainly not the whole story. For the standardised account of the 'seven jewels' of the emperor seems indeed to go back to a great antiquity. The *Brhad-devatā*, c. 400 B.C. according to MACDONELL, contains this verse —

Cakram ratho manu-bhāryā bhūmīśvo gajastathā
etāni sapta ratnāni sarvesām cakravartinām V 123

Notice that this verse gives *bhūmī* in the place of *madhū* of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* verse No. 68 above. MACDONELL has pointed out⁹ that the śloka is meant to explain *sapta ratna* in RV vi, 74.1, which reads

3 pp 39-40

4 *At Br* viii, 21-3

5 *Sat Br* xiii 5.4, *Sānk Śr. Sū* xvi 9

6 I 5

7 MACDONELL and KEITH *Vedic Index*, ii, 199-201. It may be noted that *Tānd Br* xiv, 1.4 mentions 'eight *vīras*' who uphold the kingdom, *rāstram samudyacchanti*,—cf. councils of 'eight ministers' *aṣṭapradhāna* of later times.

8 *Rel and Phil of the Veda*, p. 341

9 *Brhad-devatā*, Tr p. 198

Somārudrā dhārayethāmasuryam pra vāmīstayo'ramaśnuvantu
dame dame sapta ratnā dadhānā śam no bhūtam dvīpade śam catuṣpade

Likewise the second half of RV v 15 reads

dame dame sapta ratnā dadhāno'gnirhotā nisādā yajīyān

In these verses Rudra-Agni is said to endow each household with the seven *ratnas*. What these seven *ratnas* given to each household by Rudra-Agni were, we have apparently no means of elucidating now. The explanation of Śaunaka given in the verse from the *Brhad-devatā* is obviously a relatively late one and can hardly be accepted as explaining the *sapta ratna* of every house. This explanation moreover is not given at RV v, 15 where it occurs first but at vi, 74, because at this point it serves as a convenient introduction to the story of an emperor which follows in the *Brhad-devatā*. Sāyana's comment at v, 15 reads *dame dame tattadyāgrhe sapta ratnā ramanīyāḥ sapta yūālāḥ dadhānāḥ dhārayamānāḥ athavā yajamānebhyaḥ saptaavidhāni ratnāni dadhānāḥ*. Thus he interprets the expression alternatively as 'the seven beautiful flames' of Agni, or the seven precious things given to the sacrificer by him. In dealing with the similar passage at vi, 74 he definitely attributes the *sapta ratna* to the gods addressed in the hymn, Soma and Rudra, and says : *api ca yuvām sapta ratnā ratnāni dadhānā dhārayantaḥ*. Among modern commentators LUDWIG¹⁰ interprets the phrase to mean 'sieben freuden,' i.e., seven pleasures or gratifications, and says in his notes. according to GRASSMAN, he (Agni) had seven treasures, but the seven treasures are however only one treasure. GRASSMAN in his *Wörterbuch* suggests that *ratna* is connected with *rā* and means a thing presented, which is also the view held by the authors of of the St Petersburg Lexicon where RV. v. 15 is cited. GRASSMAN's translation of the phrase in both the contexts is quite straight and assumes that the gods invoked presented the seven treasures to each householder : In Jeder Hause sieben schätze schenkend sass Agni meder als der beste opfner (v 15). In Jedes Haus legt eure sieben schätze, seid uns zum Heil, den Menschen und den Thieren¹¹

Śaunaka's verse is thus the earliest clear reference to the 'seven jewels' of the Cakravartin, but the expression *Sapta-ratna* is Vedic. It has often been suggested that the idea of groups of seven is traceable in the last resort to Babylon, and that in the recurrence of this figure in Indian ideology we must recognise evidence of Babylonian influence on Indo-Aryan thought¹². In the number of days in the week, of holy *ṛsis*, of lokas, of the walls (*prākāra*) surrounding a large temple and so on, the number seven does play a conspicuous part, and there is reason to think that this feature was really of Semitic origin. It is not impossible that the *sapta ratna* of the Rg Veda is another such instance, for the earliest contacts between Indo-Germanic peoples

10 No 341

11 GRASSMAN *Rig Veda*, 1, pp 161 and 300

12 KIRFEL, *Die Kosmographie Der Inder*, p 32

and the Semites have been traced ¹³ to the middle of the second millennium B.C.

Before leaving the significance of the jewels and their number, seven, we may note that PRZYLUSKI has argued that not only this number, but the entire notion of the Cakravartin is to be traced to Babylon. Buddhist descriptions of the residence of the Cakravartin represent the town as surrounded by seven enclosures of different colours at the centre of which stands the royal palace. These walls enclose a park containing trees entirely made up of precious substances. One recognises in such accounts the seven walls of Egbatana, comparable to the stages of the Babylonian Zikḡurat and the image of the Garden of Eden. The notion of Cakravartin, inexplicable in India cut up into a multitude of petty kingdoms subject to local rājas, had its origin in Babylon where the king was a universal sovereign conceived in the image of God.

The first historical empire in India was that of the Mauryas and there are clear traces of Persian influences on the imperial polity and organisation of the Mauryas. PRZYLUSKI's line of thought seeks to trace these influences to their ultimate origins and I think that, in general, there is much to be said in its favour ¹⁴.

If the 'seven jewels' mark the preeminence of the emperor after he becomes one, a number of physical characteristics mark him off even at his birth as a *mahāpurusa* distinct from other men. The idea of the *mahāpurusa* and his rôle in the world's economy has been worked out with tedious elaboration by the Buddhist schools in their canonical works, and the comprehensive elucidation of these texts by BURNOUR in Appendix VIII of *Lotus de la Bonne Loi* is well worth studying for any one who seeks a clear and authoritative presentation of the details on this extensive subject, for besides the thirty-two *lakṣanas*, we have also eighty *anuvyañjanas* or secondary marks of beauty, making a total of 112 physical characteristics of the *mahāpurusa*. Hindu thought accepts some of these characteristics and employs them apparently in a haphazard way in the descriptions of avatāras, heroes and emperors, but does not seem to have ever attained the systematic thorough-

13 FEIST, *Kultur, Austreibung und Herkunft der Indo-Germanen*, p. 410

14 I have not read the article on *La ville du Cakravartin, Influence babylonienne sur la civilisation de l'Inde* (1927), but depend on its abstract given at p. 500 of BEFEO, Vol. 34. I may make two observations here. First, the seven enclosures of diverse colours are not confined to Buddhist accounts in India, but are known to Brahmanical literature, particularly of a tāntric variety. I would mention the description of Lalitāpura, the abode of the Devī Lalitā, in *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* IV, 31-34-80. Secondly, PRZYLUSKI may be right to derive Egbatana from Assyrian, *bitānu*, *bitūnu*, meaning 'palace' with the prefix *hag-*. But I doubt very much the connections he seeks to establish between this group and Potali, Potala, Potalaka on the one side, and Patala, Pāṭaliputra on the other, as well as Patna, Patana, pattana, and paṭṭana. It is well known that Pāṭali in the name Pāṭaliputra (*pura*) is often taken to be either the flower of that name whence Kusumapura, a fairly early name for the city, or a goddess so designated.

ness of Buddhist scripture¹⁵ The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* for instance in narrating the birth of so celebrated an emperor as Prthu is just content to say,¹⁶

haste tu dakṣiṇe cakram dṛṣṭvā tasya pītāmahah
Viṣṇor-amśam Prthum matvā paritosam param yayau
Viṣṇucakram kare cūnam sarveṣām cakravartinām
bhavatyavyāhato yasya prabhāvastridaśairapi

The verses from the *Vāyu Purāṇa* cited above, on the other hand, employ many expressions which are identical or closely similar to the *lakṣanas* or *anuvyañjanas* of Buddhist literature, and it may be interesting to trace these here, giving references to BURNOUF's discussion of the terms themselves or their counterparts.¹⁷

<i>Padmapatrāyatāksāh</i> —cf.	A 57 Viśālanetrah A. 58 Nilakuvalayadalasadṛṣa- nayanah.
<i>Susamhitāh</i> —cf	A. 28. Susamāhitagātrāh. A. 29. Suvibhaktagātrāh.
<i>Mattamātangagāmīnah</i> —cf.	A. 39 Nāgavilambitagatīh. A. 40 Simhavikrāntagatīh A 41. Vṛṣabhavikrāntagatīh. A. 42. Hamsavikrāntah
<i>Nyagrodhaparimaṇḍalāh</i> —	L 20 Nyagrodhaparimaṇḍalah.
<i>Keśāsthītā</i> —	L 1 Uṣṇīṣaśīrṣakah.

I take this term *Keśāsthītā* from the variant reading given in Ānand. ed of the *Vāyu*. The body of the text has *Keśāsthitā* which will go with *lalātorṇā* that follows, but make no intelligible sense. As may be expected, the *Matsya* and *Brahmānda* offer no help. *Matsya* has *Keśāh sthitāh* and Br improves it into *Keśāh snūgdhāh*. In elucidating the term *uṣṇīṣaśīrṣakah* BURNOUF considered several alternative explanations in the light of the various authorities cited by him and came ultimately to the conclusion that, as indicated by his Tibetan authorities, the term meant that the mahāpuruṣa's head is crowned by a protuberance of the skull—"sa tete est couronnée par une protubérance (du crane)" This interpretation has found universal acceptance since, and is supported by the Buddha sculptures. It seems to me that *Keśāsthītā* also means exactly this, literally it can be rendered

15 Citations from works on Sāmudrikālaksana are found in Lexicons like the *Sabdakalpādruma*. There are some published works of this class and many mss. Varāhamihira's *Brhatsamhitā* ch 69 on Pañcamahāpurusalakṣanam seems to stand by itself. Lakṣanas are also treated of in medical works like the recently published *Kāśyapaśamhitā*

16 I 13, 45-46

17 In the following list L = Lakṣana, A = Anuvyañjana.

'having a bone in the midst of the hair on the head', and this is the reason why I have suggested this as the correct reading.

It may be noted further that as in the Lalitavistara account of the Buddha, this figures as the first of the Laksanas in a deliberate enumeration of superhuman physical traits of the cakravartin following the statement .

lakṣanaścā'pi jāyante śarīrasthair-amānuṣaiḥ

so that the position of the attribute furnishes some reason for seeing in it an equivalent of *usmīśāstraskatā*.

Lalātorṇā—

L 4 ūrnā bhruvor-madhye jātā
hīmarajata prakāśā.

Jihvā cāsyapramārjanī—

L 12. prabhūta-tanuḥjivah

Tāmrāprabhoṣṭhadantosthāḥ—

Br has Tāmrāprabhoṣṭha netrāś-
ca, which seems better.
A 17 bimbosthaḥ, *Dharmapradīpikā*
having rattotṭhatā.

Śrīvatsāḥ—

A 80 śrīvatsa - svastika - nandya-
varta-varḍhamāna-samsthānaveśaḥ

Ūrdhvaromaśāḥ—

L 22 Ūrdhvhāgrā - 'bhūpradakṣiṇā-
vartaromā, for which *Dharma-
pradīpikā* has uddhaggaḷomo.

Ājānubāhavaḥ—

L 18 sthithā 'navanatapralambā-
bāhuḥ BURNOUR cites the *Dharma-
pradīpikā* as saying here tṭhita-
kova anonamanto ubhohi pāṇita-
lehi jaunukāni parimasati parima-
jjati.
Also A. 22, paralambabāhuḥ.

Jālahastāḥ—

L. 30 Jālāṅgulihastapādah.

Vr̥ṣāṅkitāḥ—

A. 37. has r̥ṣabhavat-samantaprāsi-
dikah, a term by no means clear,
and not a close parallel either.

Nyagrodhaparimāṇāḥ—

This is a repetition in the Purāṇa,
see above

Simhaskandhāḥ—

L 19 Simhapūrvārdhakāyah.

Sumehaṇāḥ—

L 23. Kośopagatavastiguhyah

Gajendragatayah—

See under Mattamātangagāminah
above.

ness of Buddhist scripture.¹⁵ The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* for instance in narrating the birth of so celebrated an emperor as Pṛthu is just content to say .¹⁶

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<i>Nyagrodhapaṇimāṇḍalāḥ</i> —	L. 20. Nyagrodhapaṇimāṇḍalāḥ.
<i>Keśāsthītā</i> —	L. 1. Uṣṇīṣaśīrṣakah.

I take this term *Keśāsthītā* from the variant reading given in Ānand. ed of the *Vāyu*. The body of the text, has *Keśāsthītā* which will go with *lalāṭornā* that follows, but make no intelligible sense. As may be expected, the *Matsya* and *Brahmānda* offer no help. *Matsya* has *Keśāḥ sthitāḥ* and Br improves it into *Keśāḥ snigdhaḥ*. In elucidating the term *uṣṇīṣaśīrṣakah* BURNOUF considered several alternative explanations in the light of the various authorities cited by him and came ultimately to the conclusion that, as indicated by his Tibetan authorities, the term meant that the mahāpurusa's head is crowned by a protuberance of the skull—"sa tete est couronnée par une protubérance (du crane)". This interpretation has found universal acceptance since, and is supported by the Buddha sculptures. It seems to me that *Keśāsthītā* also means exactly this; literally it can be rendered .

15 Citations from works on Sāmudrikālakṣana are found in Lexicons like the *Śabdakalpādruma*. There are some published works of this class and many mss. Varāhamihira's *Brhatsamhitā* ch. 69 on Pañcamahāpuruṣalakṣanam seems to stand by itself. Lakṣanas are also treated of in medical works like the recently published *Kāśyapasaṃhitā*.

16 I. 13. 45-46

17 In the following list L = Lakṣana, A = Anuvyañjana.

'having a bone in the midst of the hair on the head', and this is the reason why I have suggested this as the correct reading

It may be noted further that as in the Lalitavistara account of the Buddha, this figures as the first of the Lakṣanas in a deliberate enumeration of superhuman physical traits of the cakravartin following the statement

lakṣanaścā'pi jāyante śarīrasthair-amānusaṃ

so that the position of the attribute furnishes some reason for seeing in it an equivalent of *uṣṇīṣaśīraskatā*.

Lalātorṇā—

L. 4 *ūṃṇā bhruvor-madhye jātā himarajata prakāśā*.

Jihvā cāsyapramāṇjanī—

L. 12. *prabhūta-tanujihvaḥ*.

Tāmraprabhoṣṭhadantosthāḥ—

Br. has *Tāmraprabhoṣṭha netrāś-ca*, which seems better.

A. 17. *bimbosthaḥ, Dharmapradīpikā* having *rattoṭṭhatā*.

Śrīvatsāḥ—

A. 80 *śrīvatsa - svastika - nandya-varta-vardhamāna-samsthānaveśah*.

Ūrdhvaromaśāḥ—

L. 22 *Ūrdhvhvāgrā - 'bhipradakṣiṇā-vartaromā*, for which *Dharmapradīpikā* has *uddhaggaḷomo*.

Ājānubāhavaḥ—

L. 18 *sthithā 'navanatapralambā-bāhuḥ* BURNOUF cites the *Dharmapradīpikā* as saying here ' *ṭhita-kova anonamanto ubhoḥi pāṇita-lehi jaunukāni parimasati parimajjati*

Also A. 22, *paralambabāhuḥ*.

Jālahastāḥ—

L. 30. *Jālāṅgulihastapādaḥ*.

Vṛṣāṅkitāḥ—

A. 37. has *ṛṣabhavat-samantaprāsīdikah*, a term by no means clear, and not a close parallel either.

Nyagrodhapariṇāhāḥ—

This is a repetition in the *Purāṇa*, see above.

Simhaskandhāḥ—

L. 19 *Simhapūrvārdhakāyaḥ*.

Sumehāṇāḥ—

L. 23. *Kośopagatavastiguhyaḥ*.

Gajendragatayaḥ—

See under *Mattamātāṅgagāminah* above.

Mahāhanavaḥ—

A. 13. Simhahanuh.

*Pādayoścakra-matsyau, hastayoh
śankha-padmau—*

A. 31. Adhah karma talayoścakre
jāte citre arcīṣmatī prabhāsvare'
site sahasrāre sanemike sanābhike.

This detailed comparison of the Purāṇa text with the Buddhist texts shows that in spite of the differences noticed between them we may well believe that they give only different versions of more or less the same set of ideas that prevailed upon the subject. The Puranic list is selective and gives only a part of the attributes as may be seen by turning to the full lists discussed by BURNOUR. But there is little room to doubt the identity of the ideal of mahāpuruṣa entertained by both the sets of texts; and it must be confessed that a person who possessed the attributes listed by these texts may not exactly tally with notions of manly beauty current among us to-day. And it is curious to note that the commentary on the Mahāpadāna sūttanta explains the traits of long fingers and toes with the remark. 'And all four, fingers and toes, are of equal length, like a monkey's'.¹⁸ It is clear that we do not possess the key at present to the satisfactory elucidation of the conventional ideal of a mahāpuruṣa. BURNOUR indeed wrote. 'The reader acquainted with the principal productions of Brahmanical literature will recognise here for the first time the sort of beauty that Indians attributed to their heroes. . . . The description of the characteristic traits of a great man (Mahāpuruṣa), as the Buddhists conceive him, has been carried out according to the ideal type of beauty imagined by Indian poets. I add that these traits that we shall find scattered in the productions of Brahmanic literature are exactly those that according to the best informed observers of our time still exist among the highest ranks of the Indian population.'¹⁹ I am somewhat sceptical of any one being able to demonstrate that these ideal traits are drawn from life, and feel more at one with BURNOUR when he says that there is here a medley of traits belonging to both the sexes, perhaps we might add 'and to some animals', that seems shocking to us.

However that may be, this type became among Buddhists the external sign of the most perfect wisdom or of unlimited power. Such a mahāpuruṣa would become either a Buddha or a Cakravartin, and there is no third alternative. 'to one so endowed two careers lie open and none other', *dve gatī bhavato na tṛtiyā*²⁰ If he renounces domestic life, he becomes Buddha; if he lives the life of the House, he becomes Lord of the Wheel, a righteous Lord of the Right, ruler of the four quarters, conqueror, guardian of the people's good, owner of the Seven Treasures. His do these seven treasures become, to wit, the Wheel treasure, the Elephant treasure, the Horse treasure, the Gem treasure, the Woman treasure, the Steward treasure, the Eldest Son treasure making seven'.

18 Cited by RHYS DAVIDS. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 14, n. 4

19 *Lotus*, pp. 618-19

20 *Dialogues*, II, p. 13, *Lotus*, BURNOUR, pp. 580-1.

The enumeration of the seven treasures varies in different accounts, though the Buddhist books adhere to the details in the conventional text just cited from the Mahāpadāna sūta. Our Purāṇa text gives an alternative account of fourteen treasures, falling in two groups of seven each. The genesis of these texts and the exact course of their development can no longer be traced; it will be noticed, however, that some of these treasures like Horse, Elephant, Mani, and even Woman, recall the legend of the churning of the ocean for nectar—*amṛtamathana*, in the course of which they issued one after another from the sea before *amṛta* was secured; others like the steward, purohita and so on clearly recall the *ratnams* of the Vedic period.

It is also of some interest to note in this connection that in the Royal Terrace at Angkor Thom there was discovered by M. MARCHAL in 1916 a curious image in high relief of a horse with five heads, very imposing by its dimensions. The debris of another horse not less imposing and with seven heads was discovered near the same monument in 1917. The sculpture of the five-headed horse is reproduced in pl. XXI of the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* (Vol. XXVIII), and no apology is needed for reproducing here (in translation) the accompanying description of the sculpture by M. GOLOUBEV and his discussion of its significance.

"The giant horse which is in the middle of it, shows its front, very much shortened, its chest swelled and full of assurance, on its fore limbs whose massive forms remind us of the legs of an elephant. The central head is a little bigger than the others. The ornaments of the animal are similar to those worn by gods and kings. They comprise a conical *mukūṣam* surrounded by three lotus-form circles, a large pendant necklace, and a double pair of bracelets around the legs. Besides, each bridle is taken up to the eyes and at the point where in certain idols a frontal eye is shown, a flower with four petals is fixed to the forelock which sprawls like a palm-leaf. One more detail which merits our attention for a moment is added to these: on the top of each head, two locks of hair are rolled around the ears and passed through two gold rings, ornamented with pearls, above which is a little pointed horn. The significance of this detail is not clear to us. It does not appear to be borrowed, nor is it the customary ornament of the Khmer idols, nor does it belong to those horses, which are seen on the bas-reliefs of Angkor. But it is perhaps only a simple fancy of the sculptor, suggested by some coiffure of the period.

"What myth is recalled by this curious representation, and what is the name of the mysterious horse? What may appear beyond doubt is the fact that we have before us not a theme of ordinary decoration, but a scene of adoration, and the hero is manifestly a horse of king *Cakravartin*, an *aśvaratna*. The latter receives all the honours due to his high rank. The triple parasols shade his heads, to the right and left. Dancers accompany him, and some demons with menacing looks, armed with the staff (*daṇḍa*) clear his road paved with lotus from all intruders. And crouching between his fore hoofs,

armed with a scraper is seen a horseman, one who doubtless gathers the ambrosial drug of this sacred beast"^{20a}.

If this interpretation of the equine sculpture of Añkor Thom is correct, we have evidence of the prevalence of the conceptions of the Cakravartin and his attributes in the kingdom of Kamboja in the tenth century A.D. And in fact evidence dating from a time several centuries earlier is seen to point to the same conclusion. PELLIO²¹ has drawn attention to an interesting fragment preserved from the writings of two Chinese ambassadors who visited Fu-nan, the predecessor of the Kambojan kingdom, about 245-50 A.D. This fragment²² from the description of foreign countries by one of the ambassadors K'ang T'ai by name, reads: 'They say in the foreign countries under heaven that there are three affluences, the abundance of men in China, that of jewels in Ta-ts'in, and that of horses among the Yue-tche'. To understand the significance of this text, the reader must recall a similar passage in the celebrated work of Hsuen Tsang which contains a comprehensive review of some legendary notions of cosmography and polity that seem to have a direct bearing on the subject of our study: Says Hsuen Tsang:²³

"In the ocean, resting on a golden disk, is the mountain Sumeru composed of four precious substances; along its middle the sun and moon revolve and on it the Devas sojourn

"Around the Sumeru mountain are seven mountains and seven seas and the water of the seas between the mountains has the 'eight virtues': outside the seven Gold Mountains is the Salt Sea. In the sea (or ocean) there are, speaking summarily, four habitable islands, viz P'i-t'i-ha Island in the east, Chan-pu Island in the south, Ku-t'o-ni in the west, and Kou-lo Island in the north. The influence of a Gold-wheel king extends over these four islands, a Silver-wheel king rules over all except the north one, a Copper-wheel king rules over the South and East Islands, and an Iron-wheel king bears sway only over Chan-pu island. When a "wheel-king" is about to arise a gold, silver, copper or iron wheel, according to the Karma of the man, appears for him in the air and gives him his title while indicating the extent of his dominion"

Here we see clearly the Buddhist conception of the earth as made up of Four islands in the four quarters and of the universal cakravartin and his lesser compeers. The pilgrim then describes the Anavatapta lake in the centre of Jambudvīpa as he puts it, which should be regarded, as WATERS observes, 'as a thing of fairy land, as in the Earthly Paradise or Garden of Eden'. This lake is adorned with precious metals and substances on its sides, and four great rivers flow out of it, one on each side through the mouth of a specified animal. The whole description may be tabulated thus:

20a BEFEO, xxviii, p. 230 and plate opposite

21 La Théorie des Quatre fils du Ciel, TP. xxii (1923), pp. 97-125

22 Ibid., p. 122

23 I follow WATERS *On Yuan Chwang*, i, pp. 31 ff

East	South	West	North
Silver	Gold	Lapislazuli	Crystal
Ox	Elephant	Horse	Lion
Ganges	Indus	Oxus	Sitā
S E. sea	S W. sea	N W. sea	N. E. sea

The pilgrim next speaks of the Four Lords (sovereigns) who divide Jambudvīpa in the absence of a Cakravarti over that island. The facts given here may be shown thus :

South (India)	West	North	East (China)
Elephant lord	Lord of Precious substances	Horse-lord	Man-lord

Though Hiuen-Tsang's account gives the names only of the Southern and Eastern kingdoms, we get the names of the remaining from another contemporary account cited by PELLIOU in a note at the end of his memoir on the Four Sons of Heaven. One of Hiuen-Tsang's assistants who aided him in his literary work after his return from India was Tao-Suan, and he says (c. 664-67 A.D.) explicitly that the Western kingdom over which the lord of precious substances ruled was Persia, and the Northern kingdom of the lord of horses was called Hien-Yun (i.e. Huung-nu, here Turcs, etc.)²⁴

It will be seen that the theory of the four sovereigns is founded rather more in the facts of history and geography than the mystical conceptions of the Anavatapta lake and Cakravartin, still there are some elements in common between them. In his interesting paper *Le Symbolisme du Pilier de Sarnath*,²⁵ PRZYLUCKI considers the relation between these theories and observes : 'The myth of the lake Anavatapta and the four rivers supposes a division of space in four parts. The theory of the four sovereigns rests on an analogous basis. The two tetrads must have reacted on each other'.²⁶ 'The chances of contamination were very great between the series of the four symbolic animals (of the lake) and those of the four sovereigns : the two series had the horse and the elephant in common and both took up particular directions in space. We can understand, in such conditions, that man, the attribute of one of the sovereigns, could take the place of one of the symbolic animals.'²⁷

However that may be, K'ang T'ai and Hiuen Tsang are doubtless speaking of one and the same thing though at a great interval and with many differences, the most important of them being the omission of India with its elephants. Well might PELLIOU ask : 'Did India figure in this narrative originally and K'ang T'ai misunderstand what he heard? Or did India originate

24 TP. xxii, p. 125.

25 *Etudes d'Orientalisme* ii, pp. 481-91.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 495

27. *Ibid.*, p. 498.

this saying on its three neighbouring empires leaving herself out of the reckoning' ?²⁸

But this tradition of the four kings occurs in all its fulness in a Chinese work of 392 A.D. This work *Che eul yeou king*, a short resume of the mythical genealogy, the youth and the first twelve years of the ministration of the Buddha Śākyamuni, was rendered into Chinese by a monk from central Asia, Kālodaka by name²⁹ In a sort of Appendix to this work we read

"In Yen-feon-li (Jambudvīpa) there are sixteen great kingdoms, with 84,000 walled towns, there are eight kings and Four Sons of Heaven. In the east there is the son of Heaven of the Tsin (=China), there the population is prosperous. In the South, there is the son of Heaven of the kingdom of T'ien-tchou (India), the land there produces many renowned elephants. In the west there is the son of the kingdom of Ta-ts'in (Eastern Mediterranean), this land abounds in gold, silver, jewels, jade. In the North-West there is the Son of Heaven of the Yue-tche (Indo-Scythians); the land there produces many excellent horses"

The sixteen mahājanapadas of India of the Buddha's time and the eight kings who partook of his relics are well known. But the account of the Four Sons of Heaven was not so well-known until PELLIOU drew attention to it, and pointed out at the same time that this tradition was repeated by the Emperor of China to the Arab merchant Ibn Wahab about 872-5 A.D. as recorded by Abu Zayd Hasan³⁰ The tradition is thus traceable to fairly early Buddhist sources of Indian origin, it has also had a long career in India in subsequent times when it underwent many modifications as its original significance was forgotten. When the titles Gajapati, Aśvapati and Narapati occur in the literature and epigraphy of the period or among the titles of Maharāna Kumbha as

gaja-nara-turaṅgādhiśa-rājat-tritaya-toḍaramallena

we see how far we have moved from the ideas underlying the text of Kālodaka cited above³¹ And it is worth noting that the earliest account of this tradition so far traced is that of K'ang T'ai who heard of it in the third century A.D. in Fu-nan, 'one more indication' as PELLIOU puts it 'of the active exchange of ideas, legends and beliefs as well as products between Western Asia and the Far East by way of the Indian ocean' ³²

28. TP xxii, p. 123

29. PELLIOU, *ibid.*, pp. 96-7

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-8

31. Colophon to Rana Kumbha's Commentary in *Gita Govinda*. I owe this reference to Dr C. K. RAJA. LASSEN cites recent traditions connecting the notions of aśvapati etc. with the break-up of Pāṇḍava empire JA. II, 27-8

32. PELLIOU adds that K'ang T'ai also met an envoy from India who brought to the king of Fu-nan four horses of the country of Yue-tche. He also suggests that K'ang T'ai himself might have been of Sogdian origin and travelled to Fu-nan by way of India and the Sea—*ib.*, pp. 123-4.

There is an important passage in the *Kathā sarit sāgara* on the mythical king Vikramāditya which deserves to be reproduced here :

Vikramāditya ity āsīd rājā Pātaliputrake | |
 tasyābhūtām abhipretā mittre Hayapatimrpaḥ |
 rājā Gajapatiścobhau bahvaśvagajasādhanaū | |
 śatrur Narapatir bhūri-pādatas-tasya cābhavat |
 mānino Narasimhākhyah Pratisthāneśvaro balī | |

PRZYLUŚKI who cites this in his paper on the Sarnath pillar notes that only three kings appear here and suggests that the Ratnapati was perhaps forgotten after the titles of the king came to be connected with the traditional divisions of the Indian army into corps of chariots, elephants, horse and infantry.

We have thus a long history of the ideas relating to monarchy and imperial rule, in which fact and fancy, religious symbolism and material conditions obtaining in different lands, acted and reacted on one another, and old ideas took new shapes as old associations were forgotten and new ones came to be entertained. There was in general a tendency to substitute the known and the familiar for the mystic and recondite whenever the latter was not correctly understood. But he would be a bold man who would attempt to trace in any detail the various steps in this complicated process. We may trace the beginnings and study the affiliations of ideas, get cross-sections at particular points where the evidence is favourable to this; we can see something of the final result. As for the actual history of it all, we have not the material for hazarding even intelligent guesses at the truth.

To return once more to our basic text. Some of the Purāṇic expressions employed of the cakravarti attribute to him other amenities and capacities. Thus the vague sentence *bhadrāṇimāni tesām vai bhavantīha mahīksitām*, these kings will have here these auspicious things, may contain a reference to the *aṣṭa-mangalas*, eight auspicious things, of which again different lists are given by different authorities. Again, the four *adbhutas* and the *animādi aiśvaryas* and so on, take us to yet another sphere, viz., that of a *siddha* who has accumulated miraculous powers by the successful practice of *yoga*. And the statement that the *cakravartins* excel the *ṛṣis* by their *tapas* need cause no surprise after the description of their eminence in so many directions.

One of the most interesting among the relatively late references to the *Cakravarti* tradition occurs in a Tamil Jaina work, of about the thirteenth century A.D., the *Jivasambodhanai*, which is being edited by my friend and colleague in the Tamil department of the University, Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI. The work is in the form of *Veṇḇā* verses connected by a running commentary, generally written in prose, but occasionally in verse also. Both text and commentary are evidently the work of one author, as the text taken by itself often gives no intelligible meaning without the connecting links furnished by the prose passages. Now verses 65-70 of the opening section of this

work contain an elaborate account of Sagara and his imperial attributes, and I give below a detailed analysis of the verses and the intervening commentary :

65. Sagara, a famous 'wheel-king' of Ayodhyā, in the Bharata Kṣetra of Jambudvīpa divided into separate regions by the seven Kulaparvatas

Com. Sagara was Ṣaṭkhandādhīpati. The term Sakalacakravartī is explained thus. 'one who rules a crore of grāmas is a *makutavardhana*; the suzerain of 500 makutavardhanas is an *Adhi (ka) rājan*, of 1000 a *mahārāja*, of 2000 an *ardhamandalika*, of 4000 a *maṇḍalika*, of 8000 a *mahāmaṇḍalika*, of 16,000 an *ardhacakravartī* or *vāsudeva*, and of 32,000 a *sakalacakravartī*'. And such was Sagara who had 96,000 queens, 360 cooks, 360 physicians, three and a half crores of *bandhus* (relatives), besides 16,000 ganabaddhadevas who acted as his body guards

66. Elephant, lion, āli (a fabulous animal), king-kite, moon, fish, poison (?), makara, lotus, śivan, conch, peacock, and pitcher were put on his banners

Com : Besides these a bherī, mrdang, throne, stars, fly-whisks, pañca-mahāśabdās and other innumerable insignia of royalty were also there

67. Possessor of the inexhaustible *nava-nidhis*, measuring at the least eight yojanas in height, twelve in length and nine in breadth

68. The names of the nine nidhis (1) vaṇḍōgai, (2) mānōgai, (3) piṇḍagaligai, (4) padumai, (5) śaṅgai, (6) vēśaṅgai, (7) Kālai, (8) mākālai, (9) sarvarada (na)m, (Sarvaratham).

Com : details in verse of the powers of each of the nidhis, thus—(1) will yield food-grains, cardamom, pepper etc; (2) arms of war including bodily armour; (3) ornaments for men, women, horses, elephants and chariots; (4) textiles, fly-whisks etc; (5) cool wind, sandal paste, scented water, shade etc.; (6) instruments of music; (7) speech, letters and astrology; (8) agriculture, trade and the arts; and (9) precious stones of all sorts and the seven kinds of metals. All these *nidhis* are at the beck and call of the cakravartī

69. The fourteen *ratnas* named—first the seven live ones viz, horse, elephant, carpenter (cf. rathakṛt in the Purāṇa list), woman (bhāryā of the Purāṇa), commander, kāvalan or bhandārī (i.e. treasurer who takes the place of mantri of the Purāṇic list) and astrologer (cf. Purohit of the Purāṇa); then the seven non-living ones (this list differs considerably from that of the Purāṇa) viz, kākani, cakra, leather, cūlāmaṇi, danda, umbrella and sword.

Com : description mostly in verse, of the nature and use of each of these ratnas in order. Only the peculiarities need be noted here: The 'horse' (mā) is not the ordinary horse, but a fabulous animal of the emerald hue which roams over the entire field of battle simultaneously meeting all opposition of the fighting units put in the field by the enemy, the carpenter is really an architect of great capacity who could plan and execute all types of buildings and towns; the Kākani gives out bright light like the sun and the moon; the leather spreads itself over water at the king's command for a distance of 48

kādams ; cūlāmaṇi is a protection against poisons and magic , the daṇḍa levels the ground perfectly.

70 He is unrivalled in his wealth, beauty of form, courage, strength, and the glory of being guarded by Devas.

Com . 84 lakhs of auspicious elephants (bhadrastā), same number of chariots of war, 18 crores of horse, 84 crores of infantry and other paraphernalia attended on Sagara

Perhaps the attribution of so much puissance to a mythical ruler like Sagara in a late scriptural work of the Jainas should cause no surprise when it is recalled that in a much earlier work of the Bauddhas, the *Mahāvamsa*, which professes to be a historical chronicle, we find the Mauryan emperor Aśoka already endowed with the power to command the services of the devas and nāgas, birds and beasts for the fulfilment of the daily routine of his life.³³ When exactly this practice began of endowing cakravartins with miraculous powers, it is not easy to determine now ; but as has been pointed out by PRZYLUŚKI, it is necessary to guard ourselves against the notion that this was always so. 'In the beginning', he says,³⁴ 'the Cakravartin was without doubt a king more powerful than his neighbours, exercising his power over an extensive but still limited territory. Then this real notion was transported in the domain of legend ; they imagined fabulous kings, masters of the universe, commanding all kinds of creatures'. PRZYLUŚKI then proceeds to use this conclusion as a canon of criticism for dating his texts on Asoka, holding that a text which admits any defeat or discomfiture for the Emperor must be taken to date from a relatively earlier period when the conception of the unlimited power of the Cakravartin had not yet come into vogue. But there seems to be room to doubt the validity of both parts of PRZYLUŚKI's thesis—that regarding the relation between historical fact and quasi-religious theory, as also that about the priority of certain texts to others on the score of their accepting limits to the power of the emperor. The relative chronology of literary texts is always a difficult problem, and the undoubtedly early character of some of the texts we have considered in the course of this paper and others which may be easily produced, may well raise a doubt if PRZYLUŚKI's ground here is as sure as he seems to have thought.

33. *Mahāvamsa*, V 23-33.

34. *La légende de l'Empereur Asoka*, p. 102.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MALAYĀLAM PROSE WRITTEN BY CHRISTIANS

By

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Ernakulam.

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I INTRODUCTION.

The discovery and the publication within the last two decades of a number of ancient Malayālam prose manuscripts have revealed the existence of quite a respectable prose literature for Mal. in the earlier stages of its history. The publication of these works [*Dūtavākyam*, based on a 14th century Ms. ; *Brahmāṇḍapurānam gadyam*, based on a 15th century Ms. ; *Bhāgavatam bhāṣa*, based on Late Mal. Mss. ; *Uttararāmāyaṇam gadyam*, based on two Mss, one of which is a 16th century Ms] has dispelled once for all the impression that the only prose compositions that existed in Kēraḷa prior to Kōyiltamburāṇ's "Akbar" (early 19th century) were only a few commentariēs written in pedestrian prose besides the so-called "gadya" of the campus, which "gadya" is after all only thinly concealed "padya" in Dravidian metres.

The early prose works that have been unearthed within recent years are not devoid of literary beauty and artistic excellence. Here and there in these works, one comes across passages of rare vigour and appeal, though side by side with such brilliant patches the old *clichés* also abound.

All these prose works appear to have been written by scholars who wished to popularise religious and puranic lore among the masses who were not acquainted with Sanskrit. The influence of tradition on these authors was so strong that the language employed by them cannot be said to represent the actual colloquials of the respective periods, though colloquial elements exist also in varying proportions in the different texts.

The recently published prose work called "Varttamāṇappustagam" written by an eighteenth-century Malayāli Christian, is however written in a language that is nearer allied to the colloquial speech of the author. The

author, Pārēmmākkal Tōmā-k-kattanār, gives in this work a graphic and circumstantial picture of the itinerary and experiences of Kariyāṭṭi Yauseppu Malpān who, accompanied by the author himself, undertook a journey to Rome primarily with the object of memorialising the Pope regarding the need for freeing the Catholic Syrian diocese of Malabar from the domination of European missionaries and for conferring on the Kērala Syrians autonomy in the government of their own religious affairs. This Malpān appears to have been a man of such extraordinary independence and firmness of purpose that defeats or temporary reverses did not daunt him in pursuing his self-imposed task of liberating the Malaṅgara Syrian community from the domination of European missionaries. Tōmā-k-kattanār, the author of the Varttamānapputtagam, who practically acted as the Secretary, shared his chief's hatred of European missionaries, as is shown by his powerful indictment of their "tyranny" in Malabar.—The book is written in a very vigorous style and it bears the stamp of sincerity on every page. The language used in the work is based on the colloquial current at the period in the regions occupied by the Syrian Christians (viz North Travancore and South Cochin).

The colloquial that was studied by some of the European missionaries who came to Kērala during this period was this same colloquial of the Catholic Syrian community. The language used in the eighteenth-century Samkṣēpavēdārtham which has been proved to have been written by an Italian Carmelite friar who knew Mal fairly well and who got the work printed in Rome in 1772 after getting the Mal. types cast in Rome itself, is (except for some peculiarities of syntax) fundamentally the same as the speech of the Catholic Syrians of the time.

Thus Carmelite friar also wrote a Latin work called "Alphabetum grandonico-malabaricum" dealing with the letters of the Mal. alphabet (Ārya Eḷuttu) and their sound-values (so far as he could observe them). This book contains a Preface (written by J. C. Amadutius) followed by eleven chapters (besides a Prologus) written by Peanius himself. In the Preface, Amadutius deals in general terms with Malabar and Christianity, offers a few observations on Kērala literature, mentions the names of the Mss. of religious and secular works of European missionaries and Indian priests, kept in the archives of Italy and other parts of Europe, and concludes with a brief discussion of the question of Kērala and St Thomas, the apostle. In the Prologus, Peanius treats about a variety of topics, in the treatment of some of which he makes mistakes¹. The Prologus is followed by eleven chapters dealing consecutively with the following :—vowels, simple consonants, consonants embodying superscripts and subscripts denoting vowels, conjunct

1. For instance, Peanius attempts to distinguish what he calls "Grandonic" from "Sanscrudonic", though he is forced to admit that the distinction is only one of script employed in the writing of works.

Again, in the course of a few very superficial observations on Mal. grammar, Peanius wrongly equates the genitive case to the dvītiya, the dative to the tṛtiya, the accusative to the caturthi, and so on.

consonants, consonantal geminates, absolute consonantal finals, different consonantal groupings, correct pronunciation of consonants, "letters" wanting in Malayāḷam, shapes of Mal. numerals, and a few extracts from Mal. religious writings.

I have also referred, in the course of the following pages, to a Mal. translation of the four gospels, printed at the Courier Press in Bombay in 1810, which contains numerous words and forms that are similar to those met with in *Varttan-āṇappuṣaḷam* and *Samkōē avēdārtham*. This translation, I am told, was made by a Jacobite Syrian Rambān of Central Travancore at the instance of Buchanan. The rendering is said to have been made directly from the Syriac Bible. Though many old Mal. words, forms and usages are used, there are also peculiar corruptions, strange constructions (due to the influence of the syntax of Syriac, I am told) and artificial transmutations that definitely betray the interference of non-Malayāḷis. The full circumstances in which the translation was printed in Bombay might perhaps explain these artificialities. Notwithstanding these defects, I find in this translation a number of old words and forms identical with, or very similar to, those used in *Vartt.* and *Samksēpavēdārtham*.

Another Christian work of this period, a few passages from which have been extracted by Dr. P. J. THOMAS in his book on the "Christian Literature of Kērala", is a Mal. rendering of the rules, injunctions and prohibitions, issued by the Synod of Diampier; the Mal. translation is said to have been made in the 17th century(?) by one Cākkō-k-kattāṇār. So far as I can judge from the extracts supplied by Dr. THOMAS, the language of the Mal. rendering is very much the same as that of other 17th and 18th century Christian compositions.

Here I must refer also to two dictionaries of this period (roughly speaking) which were composed by Christians and which may be presumed to embody words and expressions current in the language of the Christians.

The Portuguese-English and English-Portuguese Dictionaries, called by GUNDERT the "Verapoly Dictionaries", are (to cite the words of GUNDERT who has freely utilised the materials of these dictionaries for his own work) "very valuable works compiled by the Portuguese and Italian missionaries of Verapoly, which though completed in 1746 rest upon materials accumulated in the 17th, perhaps even the 16th century, and rank as the oldest monuments extant of European scholarship in India."

No copy of this work is available to-day; but the numerous items cited by GUNDERT in his work sufficiently indicate that the work may have been mainly based on the language of the Christians. It will be seen from the section on vocabulary below that most of the words (from the Christian texts *Vartt.*, *SV* and even *BG*) are represented in the Verapoly Dictionaries.

The other dictionary to which I refer here is the one composed by the Rev. B. BAILEY (of the Church Missionary Society). Though the work was printed in 1846, the materials were collected (as BAILEY observes in the Preface) somewhere about 1816, and so the language should have been

closely allied to that of the 18th century. The title of the book indicates that both literary and colloquial words were incorporated. Though BAILEY was a Protestant missionary, his dictionary contains numerous words that occur in Vartt and in SV e.g. *ceṁmōrtta*, *tiṭṭadi*, *paṭṭāṇṇa*, *camayam*, *caradam*, *jaṁmāṇḍaram*, *hiḍāṇam*, *yāvāṇa*, *vyāpṭi*.

In the following pages I shall discuss the phonetic and palæographic data furnished by Peanius' book "Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum" (abbreviated as P Alph), and also analyse the linguistic peculiarities of the following texts¹ :—

"Saṁkṣēpavēdārtham" (abbreviated hereinafter as SV.)

"Varttamāṇappustagam" (abbreviated hereinafter as Vartt.)

Jacobite Syrian Gospels printed in Bombay in 1811 (abbreviated hereinafter as BG).

Now, the language used in these books (i.e. Varttamāṇappustagam, Saṁkṣēpavēdārtham as also the language discussed and excerpted in Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum) has a number of common linguistic peculiarities (which I have classified below). Whether all these peculiarities were *exclusive* to the dialect spoken by the Kēraḷa Christians of the localities mentioned above during the period under reference is a matter that requires further investigation. *Prima facie* one would expect that the cultural separation of the Kēraḷa Christians from the Hindus, so rigorously enjoined and enforced by the Synod of Udaiyampērūr in 1599 should have brought in its wake the "crystallization", so to say, of a number of linguistic peculiarities in the dialect of this community.

It has to be remembered in this connection that prior to the Synod of Diamper the Christians had unrestricted intellectual contacts with the Hindus, as is shown abundantly by the large number of Hindu usages condemned by the Synod as unworthy of orthodox Catholic Christians.

It is quite possible that the influence of European missionaries and of the increasing popularity of the study of Latin and Portuguese may have contributed to the creation of some syntactic and vocabularial peculiarities in the "learned" dialect; and once such peculiarities arose in the language of learned priests, they may have tended to percolate in some measure to their parish "flocks" whom the priests "fed" and "tended." All this, however, requires to be checked by further investigation along the following directions :—(a) comparison of the features of this speech with those of other communities during the same period, and also with the language spoken today by the Christians of the same localities; and (b) an intensive inquiry into the influence which the syntax and vocabulary of Latin and Portuguese (the two chief European languages popular in Kēraḷa during the period)

1. The reference made, in the chapter on vocabulary, to the Verapoly dictionaries and BAILEY'S Dictionary are indicated respectively by the abbreviations VD and BAILEY enclosed within square brackets.

may have exercised on the language of at least the learned Christian writers of the period.

It is not my intention in these pages to determine to what extent the peculiarities of the language of the texts under reference were exclusive to the Christian community. The materials available are far too scanty to enable me to do this. I have, therefore, chiefly contented myself with discussing the peculiarities of the language when viewed in comparison with the modern standard Mal. colloquial of the Cochin State (i.e. the speech with which I am best acquainted). Here and there in the chapter on vocabulary, I have tried to connect the works with the social and religious life of the Christians.¹

II. PEANIUS' transliteration.

The system of transliteration adopted by PEANIUS for the representation of Mal. sounds through Roman symbols is interesting.

A

In the lists of vowels and consonants, PEANIUS distinguishes the "nomen" of each sound from its "potestas". He attempts to reproduce the names given to the sounds when the letters of the alphabet are taught or reproduced in Kēraja in the orthodox way.

According to this orthodox system of "naming" the letters of the alphabet, the following are some of the values still heard among old Āsān's or preceptors.

(i) Long vowels are "named" *āa*, *īi*, *ūu*, *kāa*, *kīi*, and so on. PEANIUS' transliteration "āā", "kīi" appears to reverse the values. PEANIUS may have mistaken the slight pausal accent of the short final for increased length.

(ii) ī , ī , ī , ī are, according to the orthodox system of naming in Kēraja, *erū*, *erūu*, *elū*, *elūu*. PEANIUS gives "iru", "iruú", "ilu" and "iluú".

(iii) The anusvāra is *am*. PEANIUS has "am".

(iv) The visarga is *ah*. PEANIUS gives "ah" "finalis aspirata"

(v) Consonants when "named" always incorporate *a* : *k* is *ka*, and so on.

(vi) The absolute finals *l*, *ṛ*, *l*, *n*, *ṇ* are "named" *ul* etc, or as *il*, etc today.— PEANIUS gives the following "el", "er", "el" (= *el*),

1. So far as one can say now, the effect of the cultural separation on the language of the 17th and 18th century Kēraja Christians may have made itself felt more in the departments of vocabulary and syntax than in phonology and morphology. In the two latter spheres, the effect of the cultural separation may have been largely to isolate collectively a body of native features originally current in the speech of the entire area.

In vocabulary, new adaptations of old words and the association of new meanings with old words, made in order to convey orthodox Christian religious ideas, may have been unique. In syntax, the influence of foreign speeches (Portuguese and Latin) may have been specially active in two directions (1) non-Dravidian government of cases in learned words, and (2) religious phrases and constructions, literally translated from European languages.

"iz" (= *il*), "en" (= *en*), "en" (= *en*) and "am" ; he gives also "il", "ir", at p. 65 of his book

(vii) *ky*, *cy*, *py*, *vy* are all *kīya*, *cīya*, *pīya*, *vīya*, etc (with a half-long value for *i*) when "named" by Āśāṇ's even to-day—PEANIUS mentions these "names".

(viii) Consonant groups with *r* as the second constituent are evaluated as *kēra* (for *kr*), *pēra* (for *pr*), and so on.—

Similarly *kl*, *pl*, etc. are *kēla*, *pēla*, etc. ; and *kv*, *lv*, *rv*, etc. are *kūva*, etc. PEANIUS mentions them all

(ix) Consonant groups formed of *r* followed by other consonants are "named" *er̥kka* (for *r̥k*), *er̥ppa* (for *r̥p* or *r̥pp*), etc.—PEANIUS has "erkka", etc.

(x) Long consonants like *kk*, *cc*, etc. are *ikka*, *icca*, etc. ; these are also mentioned by PEANIUS—Today *ukka*, *ucca*, etc. are alternative values I have heard.

(xi) PEANIUS gives "inda" for both *nd*, *nḍ*, and *ṇḍ* ; "itta" for both *ṭṭ* and *ṭ* ; and "illa" for both *ll* and *ḷ*. "ippa", "imma", "igna" (for *ññ*), "inga" (for *ṇṇ*) are other transliterations used by PEANIUS.

B

As for the transliterations of the actual values or "power" of the sounds, the system adopted by PEANIUS calls for the following comments.

(i) The length mark is not consistently or uniformly indicated by PEANIUS. The marks of the *accent aigu* and the *accent grave* are often confusedly interchanged

(ii) Apart from the length-marks referred to above, no diacritics or special ligatures are used by PEANIUS, so much so that the same symbol stands for different sounds, as when the symbol "s" stands for *s* and *ṣ* or "t" for *t*, *ṭ*, etc

(iii) The diphthong *ai* is transliterated both as "ai" and as "ei".

(iv) *mṛgam*, etc. (with *r*) are transliterated as "mrugam" "kruva" (with *u* following *r*)

(v) Mal *ṇ* is represented as "ng" though, as I have already observed, there is *no* element of explosion at all in this group. The common transliteration of this Mal. group is even today "ng" when no diacritics are employed ; cf., for instance, the place-name "Āṅgāḍippuram".

(vi) Mal. *c* is represented as "ci" in accordance with the Italian system of representation where the palatal character of *c* is thus distinguished. Similarly, Mal. *j* is "gi"

(vii) Mal *ñ* is transliterated by PEANIUS as "gn", since this symbol-group in Italian has the value of a palatal nasal very much resembling the Mal. sound in phonation.

(viii) The aspirate plosive consonants appear as "kkh" "ggh" "tth", "ddh", etc.—I may say that the Kēraḷa evaluation of aspirated plosives, es-

pecially when deliberately uttered, certainly strikes the hearer as embodying a long or half-long stop element

Unaspirated voiced plosives are also sometimes represented with an *h* following as in "visarggham", "púghikkelláye", etc

(x) The fricative *y* is represented as "j" according to the old Italian method of writing.

(xi) The fricative *ś* is represented as "sci" which is the nearest Italian symbol standing for this fricative.

(xii) *l* is symbolised as "z" by PEANIUS.

(xiii) While "lg" is the transliteration of the group formed of *l* and short *k*, the symbol "lkk" is used when long *kk* follows *l*; similarly "yg", but "ykk".

These symbols used by PEANIUS represent actual pronunciation, just as his "lp" also indicates the voiceless value of *p* in actual speech, even though it is short.

The voicing of the plosive is correctly indicated in "nd" and "yd" (native Dravidian).

It is quite interesting to note that while the Skt. groups "st" and "pt" show voiceless *p*, the representation "kd" for the Skt. group constituted of *k* and *t* (as in *śakti*) shows how in the Malayāli evaluation of this group the *t* was partially voiced in PEANIUS' days just as it is today. *Sakti*, *bhakti* are often heard as *śakkudi*, *bhakkudi* today

(xiv) Though at p 86 PEANIUS has only the symbol "r" to represent *ṛ*, he distinguishes *ṛ* (at p. 72 of his "Alphabet") by representing it as "rr", and in the excerpts given at the end of the book he transliterates *ṛ* as "rr" in instance like *marīamā*, *pozukka*, *pirahha*, etc. At p 86 itself, PEANIUS distinguishes *ṛ* from *ṛ* by the phrase "asperum valde".

III. PALÆOGRAPHY.

Through the efforts of PEANIUS, Mal. types were for the first time cast in the Press of the Propaganda in Rome in 1772, as referred to by Amadutius in his Preface to PEANIUS' "Alphabet". PEANIUS' description of the symbols of the letters of the Mal alphabet in his work is invaluable for the study of eighteenth century Mal. palæography. Many of the symbols are similar to those used today, but there are striking divergencies deserving of notice.—These peculiarities are given below. I also indicate below the resemblances and differences between the symbols given by PEANIUS and those employed in the late 16th century manuscript (now being edited by me in the columns of the *Bulletin of the R. V R Institute*) containing the text of Kuraḷ and a Mal. translation thereof.

1 Long *ē* and long *ō* are not symbolically distinguished from the corresponding short sounds. PEANIUS indeed refers to the existence of symbols for long *ē* and long *ō*, of which the former is like the modern symbol while the latter is represented in two ways, one of which is peculiar in that the length is marked by a loop inside, but PEANIUS points out: "hic scribendi modus ab omnibus constanter non observetur"

In inscriptions and mss of an earlier period, long *ē* and long *ō* were not symbolically marked off from short *e* and short *o*.

The observations of PEANIUS show that in the eighteenth century there already existed symbols for the long sounds, but these were not commonly used. Down till the end of the nineteenth century the old practice of using the same symbol for the long and the short sounds appears to have persisted.

2 The candrakkala symbol introduced today (at the right-hand top of the symbols of the consonants preceding) in order to denote the Malayālam pausal *ə* came into existence only in the nineteenth century when GUNDETT and the Mangalore missionaries suggested the adoption of such a symbol to mark off the *ə* from *u*.

The pausal *ə* is not distinguished by any special symbol in old works ; on the other hand, the practice was to use either the consonantal symbol with the ligature for *u* embodied (as in the oldest mss. and inscriptions), or the consonantal symbol without any ligatures as if the sound *ə* here was a weak accented *a* (as in manuscripts and documents of the Late Old Mal. and New Mal periods).

PEANIUS invariably adopts the latter practice wherever the pausal *ə* occurs ; in non-pausal positions where the sound is more like a close *u*, PEANIUS uses *u* itself as in *kāttu koḷvāṇ*, etc., though not consistently, since there are phrasal units like *valattə bhāgattə* also.

The manuscript of Kural mixes up both the practices (mentioned above) indiscriminately.

3 The symbols used here for *tū* and *rū* differ in the fact that in the former the outward loop on the right is on a much lower level than in the latter.

4. The usual symbol for *kṛ* is different from what is used today, though PEANIUS refers to an alternative symbol corresponding to the one used today.

5 The symbols of *ññ* and *ññ* are distinguished only by the fact that the latter has a loop between the two bends on the extreme right

This is true of the representation in the ms of Kural.

6. Long *cc* is represented in PEANIUS' works by two *c* symbols, one being placed above the other.

In the ms of Kural, the symbol is different : the initial curvature for the symbol for *c* is repeated twice and placed on the same level.

7 In PEANIUS' works the symbol for the absolute finals *r*, *l*, *l*, *ṛ* and *ṛ* are all similar to modern symbols That for *l* alone is old. In the ms. of Kural the symbols mark the transition stage from the practice of the insertion of a circle on the top of the consonantal symbol (as in Tamil even today) to the modern Mal. practice of connecting the end of the consonantal symbol with the dot by means of a line or loop—In the ms. of Kural, already the modern symbols for the absolute finals *l* and *ḷ* (modifications respectively of original symbols for absolute final *t* and *ṭ* of Skt., which developed the respective sound-values of *l* and *ḷ*) are very clearly anticipated ; and the

symbol for final *m* is either an “*aṇusvārappuḷḷi*” as in modern times, or the symbol for *m* with a dot above.

8. The symbols for native internal consonant groups formed of homorganic nasals and plosives were of two types in ancient times in Ārya Eḷuttā:—either the *aṇusvārappuḷḷi* followed by the symbol of the voiceless plosive concerned, or special conjunct symbols in which the ligatures for the nasals and the voiceless plosives are entwined.

Both varieties are to be found for *ṇg* and *mb* in PEANIUS’ works, but for native internal *ṇd*, *ṇj* and *ṇḍ*, only the conjunct symbols are common.

So far as Skt. words are concerned, the internal consonant groups formed of homorganic nasals and voiceless unaspirated plosives are generally represented in either of the two ways mentioned above, particularly for *ṇk*, *ṇc*, *ṇt*; but for consonant groups formed of nasals and voiced plosives (whether simple or aspirated) and of nasals and voiceless aspirated plosives, the former practice alone obtains.

9. The symbol for *ṇḍ* deserves special notice. Both PEANIUS’ representation and that of the ms. of Kuraḷ have two *ṇ* symbols (apparently, with a view to the alveolar plosive being marked off clearly thereby), while in modern representation only one *ṇ*-symbol is embodied.

There is however one difference between the symbol for *ṇḍe* used by PEANIUS and that found in the ms. of Kuraḷ while PEANIUS arranges the symbols in the order of *puḷḷi* (ligature) for *e* followed by the symbol for *ṇ* and then by the two *ṇ*-symbols, in the ms. of Kuraḷ the symbol for *ṇ* is placed first and it is followed by the ligature for *e* and then by the two *ṇ*-symbols. This latter practice is common in the oldest mss.; and this follows the Tamil arrangement of symbols.

10. The symbols for *tru*, *kru*, *ṣru*, *ṣru* have two loops on the right to indicate the incorporation of the vowel *u*. When long *ū* is incorporated, the curvature used for *rū* is added.—The Kuraḷ ms. shows the same symbols.

IV. PHONETICS

Vowels

1. In accented positions, *a* has its “correct” value, as PEANIUS’ transliteration shows; but in unaccented syllables the sound becomes centralised to *ə* and then frontalised in the direction of *e* in the neighbourhood of front consonants —“*ramen*”, “*peretta*”, “*siven*”, “*paler*”, “*putrer*”, etc.

2. The symbols and ligatures denoting *u* stand for (i) fully lip-rounded *u* in accented positions (as for instance in radical positions of words); (ii) as the final of the Mal. tense-finitives; (iii) the centralised *u* which is the actual value (in unaccented positions) of what in writing is represented with the ligatures for *u*; (iii) the lip-spread *uu* occurring in words like *paraññuu*, etc.

PEANIUS uses “*u*” throughout for all these sounds.

3. The “neutral” vowel *ə* occurring in Mal. as the final of certain words and forms is represented in these texts by the symbol of the preceding con-

sonant being shown without any "vocalic" ligatures as if the vowel sound involved here is an unaccented *a* (= *ə*). PEANIUS adopts this practice.

Mal. *ə* is a value which appears in the following other contexts also:—

(i) The value of unaccented *a* in medial positions of words and forms; as already observed above, the *ə* is frontalisied in the direction of *e* in the neighbourhood of palatal consonants, in which case the symbol for transliteration used by PEANIUS is *e*.

(ii) The *a* appearing immediately after initial *y*, *r*, *l*, and voiced plosives of Skt. loans, and after native initial *r* (in *raṇḍə*) and *c* (in a very few words like *cari*-, *cəḷi*) has the value of *ə* or frontalisied *ə* or *e* (the last value being very frequent in the mass-dialects). PEANIUS uses "e"; and the mss. of other texts also show *e* sometimes in the spelling.

(iii) The unaccented *u* in medial unaccented positions and in the neighbourhood of retroflex sounds has often the value of an *ə*, as in colloquial *koḍatta*, *veləṭṭa* and in literary *aṛə-kk*- (< older *aru-kk*-), *kaṛə-kk*- (< older *karu-kk*), *aḷəkkə* (< *aḷukka*), etc. This is not marked off anywhere in the texts under reference.

(iv) The unaccented *o* in the colloquial *ippolə*, *appolə* loses the lip-rounding and tends to become *ə*. This is shown by the spelling indicating *a* (= *ə* in unaccented positions).

(v) The *a* of *allə*, when occurring in unaccented positions, has the value *ə* or *e*. The spellings in the mss. of the texts, and Peanius' transliteration shows *allə* and *ellə*.

PEANIUS consistently uses the spelling "paḍ-" (for modern *paḍ*-) in SV and Alph, but transliterates it (in his Alph.) as "ped." Since the value *paḍ*- had arisen fairly early in Mal, it is possible that PEANIUS followed mere tradition in using the spelling "paḍ-".

4. There is no distinctive anusvāra sound in native Mal. The anusvāra that forms a part of the alphabetical classification of Ārya E'uttə and for which the śūnya symbol is used, has the value of (i) *m* before vowels (in external sandhi), before pauses and before *y*, *r*, *l*, *ś*, *h*, *s*, and (ii) a vargāntya nasal before plosives (both in external and in internal sandhi). In native words, the use of the śūnya symbol in final positions of words or in internal positions (in which latter the use of the symbol is rare today, though in old manuscripts it is sometimes met with) is purely graphic, since the value given to it is that of an *m* or of a vargāntya nasal according as it is followed by the one or the other of the sets of sounds referred to in the above scheme.

PEANIUS observes: "Littera *am* quae nobis consona esset, apud Malabares vocalis habetur, sicut et in Brammhanicis elementis *ang* vocalibus annumeratur."

The reference to the evaluation "ang" of the Brahmins is very interesting. To whom does he refer when he speaks of Brahmins? Elsewhere in the course of the book he refers to the "Brahmin professors of the University of Trichur," and these very probably are Nambūdiri scholars connected

with one or other of the Maṭhas of Trichur. It may however be noted here that the evaluation of the anusvāra by the Nambūdiris when reading or reciting Sanskrit is different from that of the other communities in Malabar. The sound-value given by Nambūdiris for the anusvāra before *r*, *ś*, *s*, *h*, *v* is always that of a nasalized *v* or sometimes almost a labio-dental *m*, as in *saṅvrambham*, *saṅsayam*, *saṅsāram*, *saṅvādam*; before *y* and *l*, nasalized *y* and nasalized *l* are respectively used, as in *sayyuta*, *mallogam*; etc

PEANIUS, curiously enough, classifies the anusvāra symbol among consonants also, and makes the following observations: "Littera o *am* eadem est, ac consona finalis *m* apud Latinos. Sic *sambhramam* metus; *samrambham* superbia"

PEANIUS adds: "In medio tamen dictionis aliquando sonat, ut *n*, quod praesertim accidit, cum invenitur ante litteras *k* and *p*: tunc enim fit *ng*, *nb*; unde *engulum* quamvis; *sangaḍam* afflictio; *sanbatta* divitiae." ¹—These observations suffer from a confusion of ideas. So far as Sanskrit words like *saṅkaṭa-* and *samṭa(ṭa)* are concerned, in the Malayālam representation of these and other similar Sanskrit words, the anusvāra symbol is never given the value of *n*. Before *-k* in internal positions, the value of the anusvāra is always that of the vargāntya *ṅ*; and similarly before *p* the anusvāra is evaluated as *m*.—As for native forms in internal positions, forms like *engil mumbē* which have *ṇ* before the plosives concerned and which are pronounced "correctly" with this *ṇ* by many had also "corrupt" values in the mass-colloquials which convert the *ṇ* to the vargāntya's corresponding to the plosives following. This assimilation of *ṇ* to vargāntya's started very early in Mal as a colloquial feature; and the symbols for original *ṅ* and the *ṅ* < *ṇḡ* and for original *mb* and the *mb* < *ṇb* were either conjunct ligatures or the anusvāra symbol followed by the symbols of the plosives. In "correct" pronunciation, the *ṇ* of *mumbē* is still heard, while in *engil* the modern pronunciation shows only *ṅ*.

The conjunct ligatures for *ṅ* and *mb* used in PEANIUS's time (and today) are actually formed respectively of the symbols for *ṇ* and *k* and of those for *ṇ* and *p*. It is perhaps this fact (along with the alternative values like *mumbē* and *mumbē*) that led PEANIUS to make the unwarranted generalisation that the anusvāra symbol followed by *k* and *p* has the value of *ṇ*.

5. The visarga *h* which appears in the orthodox classification of the sounds of the modern Mal alphabet is correctly explained by PEANIUS as a sound which "cum aliqua levi aspiratione, atque conatu proferatur; illi enim duo circuli quorum alter alteri supereminet in fine additi sunt signum conatus et aspirationis, qua littera pronuntiatur, clara tamen, et aperto voce."

Medially, however, in the common evaluation in Kērala of words like *duḥkham*, *antaḥpuram*, the visarga is evaluated as a mere breath (or as a

¹ Following this wrong rule, in the excerpts at the end of the book, PEANIUS wrongly transliterates *tamburān* as "tamburan", *kumbiḍ-* as "kumbid-" etc.

suspension of voice), and the plosive following is doubled. These facts are noted by PEANIUS : "Si vero in medio dictionis inveniantur dicycli, ut in hac voce *duhkkham* tristitia, denotant ipsi suspensionem vocis in anteriori littera pronuntianda, atque conatum, quo subsequens efferri debet."

The difference between the visarga and the initial and medial *h* of Skt is not of course expressly pointed out by PEANIUS ; but the terms in which he has described the phonation of the visarga, together with the description of *h* as "*h* germanico ore prolatum" show that PEANIUS did note some difference. It may be noted here that in the Kēraḷa evaluation of Skt. loans, initial *h* is partially voiced, intervocal *h* is fully voiced and the final visarga is voiceless.

The question whether the visarga should be classified among vowels or among consonants appears in the days of PEANIUS to have been subject to dispute, as the following observations of his indicate. "Nec video, cur hæc littera inter vocalium numerum a quibusdam non adscribatur, cum inter vocales distincte eam tradant tam Brammhanes magistrī in præclara Universitate Tricciurensi, quam ceteri Grammatici Malabares in ipsorum Scholis *kalari* vulgo dictis, et jure quidem"

6. *ai* and *au* are recognized as diphthongs by PEANIUS : "Quare litteræ *ai*, vel *ci* et *au*, quæ debent exacte proferri, ita utraque vocalis distincte audiatur, potius dicendæ sunt Diphthongi, quam vocales"

The alternative value *ei* for the diphthong *ai* is interesting. The value of *ei* seems to have existed from a very early period for this diphthong ; and it is the existence side by side of both values, that gave rise to forms like '*aidā* for *ceyda* (common in inscriptions and in old Mss.), *maī* for *mey* body', *aidāda* (= *eyd-eyda*) in Uttaraṛām. gadyam.

Among the present texts, Vartt. has *hai* for *hey* and *mai* for *mey*, and SV uses *cai-* for *cey-*.

Consonants

PEANIUS devotes two chapters to the description of consonants ; in one he refers to the absolute consonantal finals of Mal., and in another entitled "De recta pronuntiandi ratione" he tries to indicate some of the sound-attributes of Mal. consonants by comparing them to European sounds known to him. At the outset he says "de earumdem litterarum vi, ac recta pronuntiandi norma aliquid attingamus, potius quam explicemus ; in aliquibus enim Malabaricæ Linguae litterarum sonus Latinis litteris exprimi haudquaquam potest." And at the end of the chapter he again administers the advice : "genuinus enim ipsarum sonus non scriptis sed voce est acquirendus."

This chapter is full of interesting and acute observations which do credit to this eighteenth-century Malabar missionary.

1. Medially *k* is pronounced "like *g*" "as in maghen "filius."

This is a correct description of the intervocal value of the velar stop in Malayālam. It is voiced ; and the area of actual occlusion is slightly reduced, with the result that a fricative phonation immediately precedes and follows

the voiced plosive—Medially, the sound has a clearer fricative element than when it is initial; this is what has misled some European scholars into thinking that medially the sound is a pure fricative

2. "*Kh* pronuntiatur, tamquam duo *kk*, et profertur cum aliquo conatu, et aspiratione." In the attempt to bring out the aspirate element of the sound, the tendency to elongate the stop is common in Kēraḷa

3. PEANIUS adverts to the absolute consonantal final *k* of Skt words, and observes that this is "quoddam *k*, quo solum utuntur in poesi, ac in ipsorum Grandonicis scriptis; ipsius sonus efformatur in interiori gutture."

4. Mal. *ṇ* which PEANIUS wrongly transliterates as *ngh*, is the velar nasal. There is absolutely no explosion in the mouth, but the air is allowed to pass continuously through the nose, the release of stoppage in the mouth being gradual.

PEANIUS says that the sound is pronounced "attracta retrorsum lingua, ita tamen ut *g* vix audiat."

5. Mal. *c* is compared to the Etruscan "*c*" and the transliteration used by him for this sound is "*cī*".

j is "ut *gī* Italicum, leviter tamen in gutture expressum."

ñ, "ut *gn* Italicum, efformatur prope dentes cum aliquo narium ministerio."

This series of sounds in Mal. may be brought out either by the foreblade touching the alveolar region or (what is not very common) the tongue-tip touching the frontier between the alveolar and palatal regions.

6. Though PEANIUS transliterates the retroflex sounds *t̪h*, *d̪*, *ḍh*, *ṇ* without any distinctive diacritics, he has noted the retroflexion of the tongue in the articulation of these sounds. "huius litteræ sonus . . . est autem Europeis admodum difficilis, ac pronuntiatur inversa omnino retrorsum lingua, adeo ut anteriorem palati summitatem attingat"

7. *t* is compared to Latin *t* (as evaluated by Italians and other continentals of Europe), because *t* is in many countries of Europe given the value of a dental in which the area of occlusion is fairly large

PEANIUS evaluates the intervocal sound as *d*; in actual value there is a slight fricative element immediately preceding and following the stop, as a result of the area of contact (for the stop) being reduced in intervocal positions.

8 PEANIUS' description of Mal *ṇ* is inadequate and unsatisfactory. He refers only to one *ṇ* which he compares to a "clear Latin *n*" Perhaps his European ear was unable to detect the difference that actually existed between Mal *blade* dental *ṇ* and the point-contact alveolar *ṇ*.

9. *r* (post-dental) and *ṛ* (palato-cerebral) are, however, distinguished by PEANIUS: "*r*, ut *r*; dulciter tamen, et tenerrime profertur prope dentes, usdem quasi compressis", "*r*, asperum valde, et durum."

10 It is strange to hear PEANIUS observe that Mal *v* is like *b* "aliquando," and to see the initial *v* of words like *vīral* uniformly transliterated in

the "Alphabet" as *b*. I also find in SV sometimes Mal. spellings like *bā* (for *vāy*), *bīsam* (for the Skt loan *viśam*) etc. Perhaps the bilabial value of the Mal *v*, struck his European ear as nearer to *b* than to the labiodental *v* which is so common in European languages.

11. *s* is described thus: "inter *s* et *z* pronuntiatur, inflexa ad palatum lingua cum aliquo sibila."—The reference to the sound being midway between the voiceless [*ʃ*] and its voiced variety means that the sound was partly voiced in the utterance of the speakers. Even to-day this is true of the folk-colloquials. The retroflex nature of the sound is also adverted to by PEANIUS. While he describes *s* as being produced with the tongue turned to the palate, with a certain amount of hiss, he distinguishes *s* as being produced "prope dentes",—a distinction which is quite correct.

12. For *l*, PEANIUS refers to the retroflexion of the tongue.

13. The continuant *l*, the phonation of which is so difficult for non-Malayāls and non-Tamilians, is described thus: "quasi *z* Latinorum, dentibus labisque vix apertis pronuntiatur, retracta tantillum lingua."

The retraction of the tongue is only just indicated; the essential features of the sound are not fully described. In Chapter VI, PEANIUS says that this sound is pronounced "cum aliquo sibilo"; perhaps what he refers to here is the passage of a stream of air, which (it must be stated) never amounts to a hiss because of the large space between the tongue and the mouth-roof.

14. The long voiceless alveolar plosive *ʃ* is only imperfectly described in the following terms: "si vero hæc littera *r* (= *ʃ*) duplicetur, efformatur duplex *tt*, quod effertur compressis quasi dentibus, lingua ipsos impellente."

The alveolar nature of the sound appears to have escaped the notice of PEANIUS.

V. PHONOLOGY.

The changes mentioned below are mostly those characteristic of colloquials. The language of Vartt is largely based upon the colloquial dialect, though there are attempts made here and there to employ literary and rhetorical flourishes. The *saeva indignatio*, however, makes the writer drop the artificial mask in most parts of the book. SV attempts to be literary and dignified, but remains largely "colloquial". The authors of these works were not influenced by the "classical" literary style of Mal—This fact is proved by the use of colloquial phrases and expressions and also by the adoption of phonetic spelling for the following types:—

(a) The Tam.—Mal. evaluation as frontalisised *ə* or as *e*, of the *a* immediately following voiced plosives or *r*, *y*, *l*, *kṣ* (in radical syllables of IA words) is embodied in the spelling of numerous forms like *gerbhūni*, *jēhtu*, *yejamāṇan*, *resi-kk* (Skt. *rasa*), *reññippa*, *ksemi-kk* (Skt. *kṣama*), *kṣeyam*, *behu*, etc.

Native *cari*- and *caḷi* are colloquially evaluated as *cəri*- or *ceri*- and *cəli* or *celi*; the forms are spelt *ceri*- and *celi* in Vartt.

(b) The colloquial change of *i* to *e* and of *u* to *o* when *i* and *u* of initial accented syllables are immediately followed by a short consonant and an open vowel in the next syllable, is embodied in the spelling of words like *herappə*, *korala*, *orakkam*, *colali-k-kāttə*, etc.

(c) The assimilation of voiced plosives to the homorganic nasals in adaptations of Skt. groups *ṅg*, *ṇḍ*, *ṇḍ* is shown in the spelling of forms like *vāṇuccə* (Skt. *vand-*), *caṇṇuraṇ* (Skt. *candra*), *reṇṇupṇə*, *bhaṇṇāram*, *maṇṇapam*.

(d) The change of *r* to *ɾ* is embodied in the spelling of forms like *cuɾuɾi* (Skt. *śruti*), *puɾṭaraṇ*, *attaɾayum* [BG].

(e) PEANIUS' transliterations "ramen" (for *rāman*), "peretta" (for *peraṭṭə*), "kaleni" (for *kaḷari*) show how in spelling the tendency in colloquials for unaccented *a* (= *ə*) to become frontalisised towards *e* was embodied.

VOWELS

1 Both *-allō* and *ellō* (< *allō*) exist side by side

2. In the final syllables of *karaccil*, *cāccil*, *tiḡaccil*, the *i* is derived ultimately from original *a*. The unaccented position together with the neighbourhood on either side of palatal consonants has brought about the change.

3. The lengthening of the final *-a* of Mal. polite imperatives (old optatives), as in *koḷgā*, *ceḷgā*, *eḷukkā*, is common in other 18th century texts

4. (*Kūḍa-p-*) *puṇappuḷ* shows *u* (< *i*) on account of the influence of the bilabial.

5. "Vulgar" colloquialisms like the following in which *i* appears instead of *u* in the neighbourhood of palatal consonants, occur in the texts:—*cimaḍuḷaḷ*, *peṛima*, etc.

oriḱḱal, *iri-ḱḱ*, *pōṛiga*, *taṛiga*, *orimbāḍa*, occur in literary Mal.

6. *Keṭṭō*, *kuṭṭō* (with centralised *i*), *kuṭṭō*, *kittō* are common colloquial variants of the phrasal expletive *kēṭṭō* 'did (you) hear?' used frequently in conversation. Owing to the weakening of the syllable containing *ē*, allegro-forms like the above are common in the colloquials. The spelling *kittō* used in Vartt. stands for one of such colloquial forms

ellāppalum, *ippalum*, *appalə* show the unrounding of the original *o* and the production of a variety of *ə*.

7. *o* is raised to *u* in the forms *kula* (for *kola* 'murder', perhaps under the influence of word *kula* which means 'bunch'), *muḷi* (for *mol* 'statement' 'word'), *puli* (for *poli* 'falsehood')

8 Old *-ai* of verb-bases appears as *-e* in forms like *kuṛeḱḱə*, *ude-ḱḱ*, *are-ccə*, etc

9. Final *ə* [older *u*] has become still further opened out to *a* in forms like the following —*āṇiḱḱa-y-āyir*, *ḱḱuṇṇa*

paṭṭāṇiḱḱa-y-um

bhaṇṇappāḍa-y-um

muṣṅka-y-um

iṇḱaḍappāḍa-y-um

The change is attested by the use of the glide *-y-* before the *samuccaya um*, if the old *ə* had been preserved, then it would have been elided.

This change is not absent in the other colloquials: *paṭṭānīa* [*<paṭṭānīə <paṭṭānīə*], *anna* [*<annə <anṅu*], *ānnaḷa* [*<ānnaḷə <ānṅaḷ u*], *pennala* [*<penṇalə <penṅal(u)*], *vāyppa* [*<vāyppə*]

Some of these forms with *-a* are used in the literary dialect also.

10 Instances of vocalic contractions shown in the spellings are the following, all of which are common in other colloquials also:—

-ōḷum [G] *<-ōḷavum*; *ōlōm*, appears beside *oḷam* already in K Bhāg. and K Bhr.—*ōḷum* is a variant that occurs in SV and Vartt.

<oklēne <okka y-in-e [accusative form]

kālē <kāla-y-e [accusative]

kaḷudē <kaḷud a-v-e [acc.]

pūjāyi <pūja-y-āyi

rakṣillānṇu <rakṣa-y-illānṇu

saṇṇadilla <saṇṇadi-y-illa

ammāguṇṇa <amma-y-āguṇṇa

cemmōritṭa <cemmu-varuttā 'what brings about prosperity' 'religious benediction'.

(To be continued.)

INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD*

By

D. B. DISKALKAR

MÜLI

No. 125]

v. s. 1685

[25-1-1629

Müli is a fourth class state in Zālāvād. The Thakur of the State is a Paramāra Rajput. The following inscription is found in the Sun temple, popularly called Māṇḍavarāi temple in Müli. It is in a good condition and measures 16" by 15".

The first five lines of the record are devoted to the praise of Gaṇapati, Sūrya and other deities. Then follows a verse descriptive of the greatness of the name of Rāma. Then the date is given, viz, Sunday, the 11th day of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1685 or Śaka 1550 the samvatsara being Iśvara, when in the victorious reign of the emperor *Shah Jahan* and of the *paramāra* king *Rāmji*, Gopāla son of Bhagavatidāsa and his wife Amulā of the Nanduanā community caused the temple of Maṇḍaparāya to be made. This is again expressed in a verse.

Text

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरदायै नमः ॥ श्रीपरमगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ॐ नमः परमात्म
- 2 ने नम ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीज्यो मंगलाभ्युदयश्च ॥ यं ब्रह्मवेदांतविदो वदन्ति । परं प्र
- 3 धानं पुरुषं तथान्ये ॥ विश्वाहृतेः कारणमीश्वरं वा । तस्मै नमो विघ्नवि
- 4 नाशनाय ॥ १ ॥ नमः सवित्रे जगदेकचक्षुषे । जगत्प्रसूतिस्थितिना
- 5 शहेतवे ॥ त्रयीमयाय त्रिगुणात्मधारिणे । विरचिनारायणशंक
- 6 रात्मने ॥ २ ॥ कल्याणानां निधानं कलिमलमथनं पावनं पावना
- 7 नां । पाथेयं यन्मुमुक्षोः सपदि परपदप्राप्तये प्रस्थितस्य ॥ विश्वा-
- 8 मस्थानमेक कविवरवचसां योगिनां ध्यानगम्यं । बीजं धर्मद्रुमस्य
- 9 प्रभवतु भवतां भूतये रामनाम ॥ ३ ॥ श्री[म]नृपविक्रमाङ्कसमया
- 10 तीत ॥ संवत् १६८५ वर्षे शाके १५५० प्रवर्त्तमाने शालिवाहनना
- 11 म्नि शकाधिपतौ ॥ ईश्वरनाम्नि संवत्सरे उत्तरायन(ण)गते श्रीसूर्ये
- 12 शिशिरऋतौ महामांगल्यप्रदे मासोत्तमे माघमासे शुक्लपक्षे एका
- 13 दश्यां पुण्यतिथौ रविव्रातरे आर्द्राक्षेत्रे ॥ पातसा[ह]श्रीशाहाजन]
- 14 [अदलश] वाईविजयराज्ये परमारश्रीरामजी वि[जयराज्येनंदु]
- 15 आणाज्ञातीय मादेकाश्रीचेलगृहे भार्या बाई कर्मादे तत्सुत मादे
- 16 का देवा गृहे भार्या बाई लषा[मि]दि तत्सुत मादेका गोपाल गृहे भा
- 17 यो बाई देवकी तत्सुत भगवतीदास गृहे भार्या बाई अमुला नं

- 18 दुआणा गोपाल ए श्रीमडपरायजीनो प्रासाद कराव्यो छे ॥ गोजधर गो
 19 विदुष्ट महादेव । नांदीमुख ज्ञातिकुलावतंसः श्रीचेलनामा द्विजव
 20 र्थ आसीत् ॥ तस्यात्मजो देव इति प्रसिद्धो धरातले देवसमो बभूव ॥ १ ॥
 21 बलदर ॥ रूपमल ॥ मजडो ॥ मंगलं लेषकाना च ॥ कर्तृणां चैव ॥ मंगलं ॥
 22 मंगलं सर्वभूतानां । भूमिभूपतिमंगलं ॥ ध्रुम भवतु कल्याणम ॥ स्तु ॥

GADHAKĀ

No. 126]

v. s. 1687

[15-3-1631

This inscription is copied from one of the *pālās* standing near the Koṭhāri Vāv at Gaḍhakā in the Khambhālā Mahal of the Navanagar State.

The inscription records the death on Tuesday, the eighth of the dark half of Phāgaṇa of v.s. 1687 of Jādejā Hālā Śrī Rāhabhji, in a fight at Gaḍhakā.

Some other *pālās* record the deaths of other warriors on the same date. Hālā Śrī Hardholji was one of them.

Text

- 1 संवत् १६८७ वरष फा
 2 गण व. ८ भम जाडजा
 3 हाला श्री राहभजी ग
 4 दक भमे देवातण पा
 5 मा छे ।

MANGROL

No. 127]

v. s. 1687

[5-5-1631

A bilingual (Persian and Sanskrit) inscription is lying in the Deli of Sadmyā in Lalpura in the fort Māngrol. The Sanskrit version is very much damaged so that it cannot be wholly read. It measures 12½" by 2½".

It opens with the date, Monday (?) the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1687 or Śaka 1552 and refers to the reign of the emperor *Salim Shah*. It then mentions the name of the viceroy appointed over Saurāṣṭra, but unfortunately his name is missing. In the last line are preserved some letters of an imprecatory verse which shows that a grant was made by this inscription.

The Emperor of Delhi at the time of this inscription was Shah Jahan and not Selim Shah which is the other name of Jahangir. Such a mistake is excusable in this distant part of the country.

Text

- 1 ॥ संवत् १६८७ वर्षे शाके १५५२ प्रवर्तमाने...वसंतशुक्लौ महामांगल्यप्रदे
 2 वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे १५ सोमे* अथ श्रीम...पातसाह श्री ७ शलेमशाहविजयरा

* The week day does not agree unless सौम्ये is meant. There was a lunar eclipse when the grant was made.

- 4 જી શ્રીમાહાલિંગાલમ્બે નંદવાળસ વંસે વાંકાળી તસ્ય માર્યા બા સવિરા તસ્ય પુત્ર ૩
પ્રથમ ઠાકર વાછા તસ્ય
- 5 માર્યા બા જસમાદે દોતા બા જીવાદે તસ્ય મૂવ ૩ બા કલ્યાણ તાજ રાવના તા ત્રીકમ ।
તથા માર્દે જવત । તસ્ય
- 6 માર્યા વા જમળદે । તૃતીય માર્દેશ્રીનો કળ્પદાસ તસ્ય માર્યા બા કલ્યાણદે તસ્ય પુત્ર ૪
પ્રથમ નાગોકલ્પના ? ના
- 7 રાયળતાના વરેરતાના મોહનદાસ ત ગોકલ્પના પુત્ર ૩ પ્રતિ માળજી તા મીમજી તાના
લીલાધર તા નારાય
- 8 ન સુ ઓધવજી ઠાકર કળ્પદાસ દુઆમ્બે રાજ્ય શાલા શ્રી ૫ મોકાજી સુત મુપતજીના
દુઆમ્બે શ્રીલ
- 9 ક્ષમીનારાયળનો પ્રાસાદ શિખરબંધ કરાવ્યો છે નંદવાળો કળ્પદાસે કરાવ્યો છે । તસ્ય
માર્યા વા કલ્યાણદે પ્રસા
- 10 દ કરાવ્યો છે શ્રીરળછોડજી દયાળ કરી તે કીધો છે । સંવત્ ૧૬૮૫ વર્ષે વૈશાખ શુદ્ધ
૨ સુહુર્ત કીધુ છે સંવત્ ૧૬
- 11 ૮૮ ના આપાઢ શુદ્ધ ૨ સંપૂર્ણ કીધો છે । મૌજે દુઆમ્બે મોમ્ય પ્રાજાપના ? સેટા ૨
સેટો ૨ પચાસીઆતા માત્ર ઉપરે છે સંટો ?
- 12 વીજો ગમની ડગમળિ મેરે છે । શાલે શ્રી મોકેજીસુત મુપતજીએ અઘાટ પુત્રપૌત્રાદીક
અપ્યો છે કળ્પાર્પળ વુધે
- 13 અપ્યો છે । શ્રીલક્ષ્મીનારાયળને પ્રસાદ મુક્યો છે એજે તાકડ તેને પરમશ્વર પુછે...

HALVAD

No. 132]

v. s 1690

[30-3-1634

This inscription is copied from a *pālā* standing in the sixteen-pillar *deri* to the north-east of Bhavānī Mātā's temple in 'Rājehara' to the east of the town Halvad.

The inscription records the death of Mahārāṇā Āsakarāṇji on Sunday the eleventh of the bright half of Caitra in v.s 1690.

Text

સવત્ ૧૬૯૦ વરષે ચર્દે
ત્ર સુદ ૧૧ રવૈ માહારાં
ળ શ્રીઆસકરળ
જી

JHINJUVĀDĀ

No 133]

v s 1692

[28-2-1636

[6-3-1636

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab built in the *koṭho* near the temple of Rajabai Mātā in Jinjhuṇvādā, which is sixteen miles north of Khārāghodā Railway Station. The inscribed portion measures 3 ft. in length and 1½ ft in breadth.

It records that a ruler—whose name is missing—of the Makavānā family repaired the fort and built the *kotho*, etc at great cost on Sunday, the third of the bright half of Phāgana in v s. 1692

Text

- 1 संवत् १६९[२] वैष फागणमासे सुकलग्ने रवीवामरे वा
- 2 म ब्रह्मवाडा...महास्थाने नरपती राज मकआणा
- 3 वसे रा. माहाराजाअ गढ सम...
- 4 व कृणेनो कोटो पाआमाथी करावो आथमणी रांधनो कोटो
- 5 ...करावो चोगर्द कोटानां थीगडां क
- 6 रावां गढकेडे द्रव घणो घरचो उगमणी रांध ऊची करावी गढ

JĀMANAGAR

No. 134]

v s. 1696

[14-2-1640

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of the image of Sambhavanātha in the Comukha temple opposite the Rājāsā temple in Jāmanagar. In the central part of the inscribed portion is carved a beautiful figure of a galloping horse on which are engraved the letters 'श्री संभवनाथ विग्रह'. The inscribed portion, which is in a good condition measures 34" in length and only 5" in breadth. The poet, who composed this inscription, but who has not given his name, seems to be a learned man.

The record opens with the date, which is Friday, the 31d of the bright half of Phālguna of v s 1696 and refers to the reign of Jām Lākhāji of the *Yadu* family of Navānagar. Then the name of Āryarakṣitasūri is given, who was descended in a regular line of succession from Lord Mahāvīra, in the Ancala gaccha. His successor was Dharmamūrtisūri, who was again succeeded by Kalyānsāgarasūri. Under his instructions Sah Rājasi son of Tejaśi son of Bhojā, son of Hirā, son of Narapāl, son of Samarā, son of Muntā, son of Jāhala, who was the son of Sah Udā of the Nāgada gotra and Uṣakeṣa (i.e. Osvāl) community, caused an image of Sambhavanātha to be set up. In the latter portion of the inscription the qualities of Rājasi are described and an account is given of his family as also of that of his younger brother Sah Nensi.

Text

- 1 संवत् १६९६ वर्षे फाल्गुन सुदि ३ शुक्रे श्रीनव्यनगरे श्रीयदुवंशोत्तंस यामश्री-
लाघाजीविजयिराज्ये श्रीअंचलगच्छे श्रीमहावीरपट्टातुक्कमायातश्रीचक्रेश्वरीदेवीविहित
- 2 प्रसादद्वीकृतनिखिलकुमतिमनोन्मादश्रीविधिपक्षगच्छसंस्थापकसिद्धांतोक्तसन्मार्गप्रकाशकपू-
ज्यश्रीआर्यरक्षितसूरयस्वे(स्ते)षां पट्टातुक्कमेण श्रीजिनशासनप्रधा
- 3 नसाधुक्रियासावधानसकलगुणनिधानपूज्यश्रीधर्ममूर्तिसूरयस्तत्पट्टोदयाचलमलमौलिसमुद्यत्-
प्रद्योतनोपमसंप्रतं विद्यमानयुगप्रधानपूज्यभ० कल्याणसागरसूरी
- 4 श्वरामुपदेशेन श्रीउषकेशज्ञातीनागडागोत्रे सा० ऊदा पुत्र सा० जाहल पु० सा० मुंटा
[पु० सा०] संमरा पु० सा० नरपाल पु० सा० हीरा पु० सा० भोजा पु० सा०
तेजसी पुत्रानेकजनाधारश्रीजिनधर्मदी

- 5 सिकारितानेकजिनागारलेखितज्ञानभांडागारकृपापरावारयशोधवलीकृतसंसारमंडितानेकसत्रा-
गारकातधनप्राप्ति(?) सार श्रीसम्यक्च मूलद्वादशव्रतधारसा० राजसीहेन भार्या
6 श्रीराणादे राजलदे पु० सा० रामसी भा० सिरियादेव्या युतेन सा० राजसी लघुप्रात् सा०
नयणसी भा० प्र[थ]मवरंगदे पु० सा० सोमसीसहितेन द्वि० मोहणदे पु० सा०...
भा० धनादे पु० सा० इरसी पुत्रादिपरि...
7

WADHWAN

No. 135]

v s 1699

[21-4-1642]

This inscription is engraved on a *pāṭiā* called 'Rāthod Māno pālio' (the memorial stone of the Rathod mother), in Wadhwan city. Many of the letters in the record, which measures 1'-8" by 1'-5" are too much weather-worn.

It records that Rājōji's queen, who came from the Rāthod family became a *sati* at the death of her husband on Thursday, the second of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s 1699 or Śaka 1565.

The king Rājōji, mentioned in the inscription was the younger brother of Sultānji mentioned in the Vānkāner inscription of v.s 1679. He founded the Wadhwan house and his brother did the Vānkāner house.

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः स्वस्ति श्रीजयोमग
2 लमभ्युदयश्च सं. १६९९ वरषे शाके १५
3 ६५ (४१) वर्तमाने उत्तरायने गते श्रीसूर्ये वसंत
4 ऋतौ महामांगल्यप्रदमामोत्तम वैशाखमासे
5 शुक्लपक्षे २ गुरुवासरे महाराणा [चद्रसेनजी]
6 तस्य भार्या बाई पु...सुत...[पृथ्वीराजजी]
7 ...जी तस्य भार्या बाई...तस्य सुत
8 श्रीराजोजी.....
9 श्री राजा राठोड श्री...सुत राठोड श्रीइ
10 सवरदासजी तस्य भार्या बाइ हरषबाई तस्य सुता बाई
11 श्रीरामकुअर सागवन कीधा सुभं भवतु क
12 लाणमस्तु जयो मं...

RAJASITHAPUR

No. 136]

v s. 1700

[25-6-1644]

This inscription is engraved on a white marble stone fixed in a niche of the Śiva temple near the temple of Lakshmī-Nārāyana in the town Rājsithāpur, formerly called simply Sithā in the Dhrāngdhra State. The inscription is very incorrectly engraved. It measures 12½" by 20".

It opens with the date, Tuesday, the second day of the bright half of Āśādhā of v.s. 1700 or Śaka 1566 and refers to the rule of the Emperor *Shah Jehan* (of Delhi) and of the king AMARSIMHAJI, son of Mahārāja CANDRA-

SENA of Zālāvād with his capital at Halvad, when Libāḍa Goṛā (?) of Paramāra family at Sīthā caused temples of Visnu, Śiva and Hanumān to be built

The epithet छत्रपति used with Shahajehan in this inscription deserves to be noted. It is well known that Śivaji began to use this epithet just about this time.

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमो श्रीहरीहर नमो स्वरसती
- 2 अनमो ॥ संवत् १७०० वर्षे शाके १५६६
- 3 प्रवर्त्माने उत्तरायने आषाढ सु
- 4 द २ घटीका ६ २५ तदोपरांत द्वितीयाय पुष्य
- 5 तिथि भोमवासुरे पुष्यनक्षत्र घटी ५० २४
- 6 हरिषण नम्रजोग घटीका २५ ३५ ते दन प्रासा
- 7 द सांपुरण श्रीहरीहरन प्रासाद हर्षमतन
- 8 प्रसाद उधार कीर्ध परीआ एकोतरस्य अद्या
- 9 रा (?) छत्रपती पतसाहा श्रीसाहाजान देस
- 10 पती श्रीभोमपालक झालावाड श्रीहलवदे मा
- 11 हाराण श्रीचंद्रसेनना सूत वजराज श्रीअमरसंघजी
- 12 जेहना रजपुत श्रीसीधामां परमारश्रीलीबडसवा
- 13 सुत चदा सुत बीभा सुत लीबडमुंगल सुत हलधर
- 14 ग्रहे भारजा तु अरमेघबाई सुत लीबडजमल संघ
- 15 ना झब अजमल ग्रहे भारजा अभकलहाअना डोडी
- 16 आणी अनवाई सुत चार ४ तेमां लीबडगोई....
- 17 करातु गोईआग्रहे भारजा सुकलना राठड...बा
- 18 ई जलमदे तस पुत्री अमलाबाई द्वीतीए...भार
- 19 जा सीधववालमदे बाई द्वीतीए भारजा चाखडा
- 20 मातु बाई तस पुत्र सबल अरजन समभवतु
- 21 देरान करनार गजधर रामजी आणंद प्रेमाभाई

BEYT

No. 137]

v.s. 1702 ?

[1645-46

This inscription is found near the ruined tank called Juni Sankhatajai in the small island called Beyt Śāṅkhoddhār near Dwarka. It measures about 16" by 11".

In the third line the name Vikramasīṁha is given probably of the king of the place, who fought with the enemies for the protection of women, children and other people. The object of the inscription seems to record the death of a man, who fell in the fight in v.s. 1702 (?).

Text

- 1 संवत् [१७०२] वर्षे...
- 2 ...लकरणे प्रतिब...

- 3 म० श्रीविक्रमसीह...
- 4 ...स्त्रीबालादिप्रजारक्षार्थ
- 5 ...राज० [वीमाणदेव ?]...
- 6 ...घणाणीआ....
- 7 मृतः ॥ शुभं भवतु ।

KHĀRVĀ

No. 138]

v. s. 1715.

[8-5-1659

This inscription is found in a well to the west of the village Khārvā, three miles to the south-east of Dhrol. The inscribed portion measures 1'.5" in length and 1' in breadth.

It records that on Sunday, the thirteenth of the dark half of Vaisākha in v. s. 1715 in the reign of the Jādejā king Janaji, evidently of Dhrol, a well was built in Khārvā a village dedicated to the god Śiva by Bhānji, Gangadāsa and Karama, sons of Patel Ratnā at the total cost of 1250 *koris*.

Text

- 1 संवत् १७१५ वर्षे वैसाख
- 2 वद १३ रवौ जाडेजा श्रीजणजी
- 3 ना राज अवीचलप० रतना स
- 4 त भणज तथा सत गगदास क
- 5 रमण वाव करावो छ सदासी
- 6 वग्राम बाखा क ८२५ क
- 7 डीआ देवराज चण ४२५ षर्वा
- 8 छे १२५० । श्री

SHEKHAPĀT

No. 139]

v. s. 1719

[16-2-1663

These two inscriptions are copied from two *pāḥās*, raised in a *deri* in the village Śekhapāt in the Jamnagar State

Both the inscriptions are of the same date. The first records the death in a fight at ŚEKHAPĀT of Jām RĀJASIMHJI on Monday, the third day of the dark half of Phālguna in v. s. 1719 or (Śaka 1584). The other inscription records the death in the same battle of Kumāra BĀMANIYĀJI, son of Jām RĀJASIMHJI by his wife Cāṇjibai

At the death of Jām Ranmalji in v. s. 1717 without any issue his brother Raisimhji, who was staying at Āmarana succeeded to the *gādi*; but Ranmalji's widow did not like this. Through her brother she invited Kutubuddin, the subā of Ahmedabad to invade Nawanagar. In the fight that ensued Jam Raisimhji was slain as stated in the inscription, and Nawanagar fell into the hands of the subā.

Text

(१)

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः संवत् १७१९
- 2 वर्षे शाके १५८४ प्रवर्तमाने रवि
- 3 उत्तरायने गते श्रीसूर्ये शिशिर
- 4 रक्ता महामांगल्यप्रद मसो
- 5 तम फलमुमासे कृष्णपक्षे तृति
- 6 यां तथौ वारे श्रीसोमवासरे त दि
- 7 ने जामश्री ७ राजसिंहजी रणे
- 8 भूमे शेषपात युधे मृत स्वर्ग प्रा
- 9 तः श्रीशुभं भवतु श्री
- 10 कल्याणमस्तु [!*]

(२)

- 1 श्रीगणेशायनमः संवत् १७१९
- 2 वर्षे शाके १५८४ प्रवर्तमाने र
- 3 वि उत्तरायने गते श्रीसूर्ये शि
- 4 शिरस्तौ महामांगल्यप्रद
- 5 मासोत्तम फाल्गुनमासे क
- 6 ण्णपक्षे त्रतियायां तिथौ श्री
- 7 सोमवासरे तदिने जामश्री ७
- 8 राजसिंहजी तस्य जाई बाई श्री
- 9 चापजी तत्सुत कुअरश्री ५ बाम
- 10 गियाजी रणभूमे युधं कत्वा स्व
- 11 र्ग प्राप्तः श्रीशुभं भवतु ।

BEYT

140]

v.s 1720

[9-1-1664

This inscription is copied from a *pālīā* standing in front of the temple of the new Śankhanārāyana temple in Beyt. It records the death, of Rānā Akherājaji, son of Rānā Sangrāmji, evidently the Vāḍhel Rānā of Aramdā and Beyt, in v.s. 1720 Bhādarava Sud 1

Text

- 1 संवत् १७२० भाद्रवा
- 2 सुद १ राणा संग्रामजी सुत
- 3 राणा आखेराजजी मरण पाम्या

ANINDARĀ

No. 141]

v. s. 1721

[10-5-1665

This inscription is engraved on a white stone built up in the Bhāṇa well in the village Anidarā in its western part, at a distance of 8 miles to the north of Wadhwan. It measures 11" in height and 8½" in breadth.

It records the building of a well in v.s. 1721 (or Śaka 1587) on Wednesday the 6th of the bright half of Jyēṣṭha, by Bhānṇi of the Jhālā family, who was son of Lakhmanji, son of Khetāji, son of Sādālji, son of Asoji, son of Jodhāji. Bhānṇi's mother was Bai Lāchu, daughter of Rāṇā Nāraṇji, son of Bhavānji, son of Monguji, and his wife was Pārvati. His three sons were named Sādālji, Vāghalji, and Hamirji.

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशायनमः स्वस्त श्री जय
- 2 मंगलाम्यदश्री संवत् १७२१ वर
- 3 षे साके १५८७ प्रवर्तमाने उत्त
- 4 रात्रने गते श्रीसूर्य ग्रह
- 5 ऋतौ महामंगल्यप्रदमासो
- 6 तम जषमास सुवलपक्ष अय ष
- 7 छदीन बधवासरे राजक
- 8 लभालीय [श्री]झाला राणा सुत जो
- 9 धाजी सुत आसोजी सुत सादाल
- 10 जी सुत षताजी सुत लषमणजी
- 11 सुत भाणजी भारजा बाई पार
- 12 वती सुत सादलजी तथा वाध
- 13 जी तथा हमीरजी, मसालपक्ष रा
- 14 णा श्रीमंगुजी सुत भवनजी सु
- 15 त नारणजी सुत बाई लाळुबाई
- 16 सुत वाघेल भुआली वाघेला भा
- 17 णजी कुओ संपुरण कर छे
- 18 लखतंग गोकल सलाट दसकत

HALVAD

No. 142]

v.s. 1722

[29-1-1666

This inscription is copied from one of the *pālīs* standing near the thirty-six pillared *deri* in Halvad.

It records the death of Gohel Lākhāji who was son of Āsāji by his wife Potbari and grandson of Gohel Chachāji on the eighth day of the bright half of Āśvina in v.s. 1722, while fighting on behalf of Mahārāṇā Gajasinhji, evidently the Zālā ruler of Halvad, who reigned from 1661 to 1673 A.D.

Text

- 1 सब १७२२ आसा शुद्ध
- 2 ८ दने गोहल छडाजी सु
- 3 त आसाजी भारया
- 4 पोतबाई सुत गो

- 5 हेल लषाजी महाराण
- 6 श्री गजशंघजीने कांमा आ
- 7 वा छ.

MULI

No 143]

v.s 1735

[14-8-1679

This inscribed *pālīa* is standing in the *pādar* of Muli. It records that Pāṭhak Dhanji son of Līlā stabbed himself to death on hearing of the death of Paramāra Visāji, on Thursday, the second of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1735.

This Visāji (or Visoji) is probably the youngest brother of Bhojrāji II, the Paramāra ruler of Mūli (see Kathiawad Gazetteer p. 556).

Text

- 1 स्वस्त श्रीसंवत् १७३५ वर
- 2 वे भ्रावण वद २ गुस्वासरे पा
- 3 ठक लीलासुत पाठक ध
- 4 नजीअे कटारी परमार
- 5 धीसाजीने (?) उवरे गले भा
- 6 जी छे हरीशरण थया
- 7 छे

BEYT

No. 144]

v.s 1738

[31-5-1682

The *pālīa* bearing the following inscription is standing half buried in the ground near Laksmīji's *vakhār* in Beyt Śankhoddhar. It has the sculpture of a king riding on a horse and with a sword in his raised right hand. The saddle, the reins and the ornaments of the horse are very exquisitely carved. Behind the king is standing a servant holding an umbrella over the king's head. The inscribed portion, which measures $16\frac{1}{2}'' \times 15''$ is illegible in the lower portion.

It records the death of Rāṇā Bhīma, most probably a Vāḍhel king, on the fifth day of the bright half Jetha in v.s. 1738.

Text

- 1 : ॥ संवत् १७३८ वर
- 2 वे जेठ शुद्ध ५ दीने रा
- 3 णा श्री ७ भीमजी
- 4 ...श्री: श्री

GAḌHAKĀ

No. 145]

v.s. 1740

[20-10-1683

This inscribed *pālīa* was found in the village Gaḍhakā. It records the death of Sūtār Parbat while fighting against the VĀGHERS in GAḌHAKĀ

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशायनमः संवत् १७४८ व
- 2 षे जेठ सद् ३ सोमे रा श्रीहमीर
- 3 सुत रा श्री जेसा सुत राअ कुअर
- 4 श्रीसबलसंघजी सुत महाराण
- 5 श्रीगजसंघजी सुत कूअर
- 6

HALVAD

No. 150]

v. s. 1749.

[5-5-1693.

This inscription is copied from a *pāli* standing near the thirty-six pillared *deri* at Halvad.

The inscription records that *Gohel Vasāji* son of *Gohel Karanji* by his wife *Jivibai*, and grandson of *Gohel Govindji* was slain in a battle while fighting on behalf of *Mahārānā Javantsimhi*, on the tenth day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* in v.s. 1749.

Mahārānā Javantsimhi was the *Zālā* ruler of Halvad, who ruled from 1683 to 1723 A.D.

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः संवत् १७
- 2 ४९ ना वैशाख शु. १० गोहेल गो
- 3 विदजी सुत करणजी भार्या बा
- 4 ई जीविबाई सुत गोहेल वसा
- 5 जी महाराणा श्रीजसवतसं
- 6 घजीने काम आव्या छे ।

KHAMBHALIA

No 151]

v. s. 1749

[5-5-1693.

This inscription is engraved on a *pāli* raised in one of the *Deris* to the north of the temple of *Khambhanātha Mahādeva* in *Khambhālīā* in the *Nawanagar State*. It records that a *Gugali Brahman* woman named *Lād-bai* became *sati* at the death of her husband, *Šankar Raghunātha* on the 10th day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* in v.s. 1749 (or *śāka* 1615).

Text

- 1 संवत् १७४९ वर्षे शाके १६१५ प्रवर्त
- 2 माने वैशाखमसे शुक्लपक्षे द
- 3 शमी तिथौ गुगलीज्ञातीय जो
- 4 सी रघुनाथसुत शंकर तेणे शिव
- 5 उपर कमलपूजा षाधी छे तेम
- 6 ला (ना) छी लाडवाईए सहगम
- 7 न कीछुं छे ॥...

GOPANĀTHA

No. 152]

v. s. 1750.

[25-6-1694.

This inscription, measuring 7" in length and breadth is found in the well to the north-west of the celebrated temple of Gopanātha in the possession of the Maharaja of Bhavnagar.

The inscription records that a well was built by a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmacārī named Ānanda on Monday, the twelfth of the bright half of Āṣāḍha in v.s. 1750. The political connection of the Maiāthās with the province had not yet begun.

Text

- 1 श्रीसदाशिवाय नमः
- 2 संवत् १७५० वरषे अ
- 3 शाब् सु. १२ सोमवास
- 4 रे दक्षिणी माराष्ट्र
- 5 ब्रह्मचारी आनंद
- 6 विष्णुप्रसादात् गो
- 7 पीनाथ कुपास्थकी वा
- 8 पी संपूर्ण शुभं भवतु

(To be Continued.)

with regard to each part. In relation to the part known there can be no knowledge while in relation to the other part there cannot be the desire to know. This latter desire seems indeed to be inconsistent both with knowledge and with ignorance. The difficulty is persistent and insurmountable, so long as knowledge is conceived as an external relation between a subject and an object. Is knowledge at all possible? Certainly. The self knows itself, it cannot doubt or deny itself, since it is the self of him who doubts or denies. But the self is self-luminous, it is not known as an object to a subject, it is itself knowledge, neither the object nor the subject thereof. Whatever is cognised succeeds in being cognised, only in so far as there is revealed its identity with the intelligence which is knowledge, and this could not be the case, if the object were really independent. It is because object and subject are both abstractions from the one intelligence, it is because both alike are super-impositions on the basic infinite identity, that the knowing relation is at all possible.

A relation exists either between independent terms or between related terms. If they be independent, the relation would require other relations to connect it to the terms; thus there would be infinite regress. If already related, are they related by this same relation? If so there is the defect of self-dependence. If by another relation, with regard to that too our inquiry will arise, leading again to infinite regress. Relation thus presupposes a non-relational substrate. And this substrate must be self-luminous intelligence, since the non-intelligent, as dependent on intelligence for manifestation, cannot be non-relational. Thus the basic reality has to be of the nature of intelligence which accounts for both the existence and manifestation of the non-intelligent, called primal nature or *māyā*. Hence it is that Viṣṇu is said to be more primal than primal nature.

The real, being non-relational, is beginningless and one. What is not a term in a relation cannot be a member of a temporal series. Time is in it, like other relations. If it had a beginning it would be an effect, whereas the causal relation itself is but an appearance superimposed on the real, as will be evident from its failure to be intelligible in the last resort. The causal concept seeks to make change intelligible by discovering the element of identity in the change. It is because of the importance of identity and continuity that the creationist view of the effect as wholly new is condemned by the followers of the Sāṅkhya, Vedānta and allied schools, who maintain that the effect is pre-existent in the cause, requiring only to be manifested and not created. But the advocates of the effect as pre-existent (*satkāryavāda*) do but postpone the difficulty. The effect that is manifested, does it pre-exist as manifest or as non-manifest? Obviously not the former. If it exists as non-manifest, does the manifestation make any difference to the effect or not? If not, it is irrelevant, and an irrelevant factor cannot avail to make a fundamental difference between cause and effect. If it does make a difference, then the manifested effect is not the same as the non-manifested one and there is no justification for treating the effect as pre-existent in the cause. Further, this identity we seek between cause and effect, has it any limits? The effect is something produced, if the cause should be of like nature, should it not also be something produced, i.e. an effect in its turn? If we admit this, we are committed to an unending series of causes and effects, with no chance of an ultimate explanation. If so much identity is not required, why should we not admit as much discreteness between cause and effect as is involved in the creationist's view that the effect, prior to production, is non-existent? Because of these and other such difficulties we hold that the real is beginningless.

It is also one, since for the reasons mentioned it is non-relational, and a plurality is necessarily in a relation at least of separation. The usual dialectic of difference takes the following form. Ultimate plurality is unintelligible, since apart from difference there can be no manifold. Difference cannot be conceived either as an

attribute of the particulars or as their very essence. If particulars A and B are distinct as having difference for their attribute, then we have to admit that, at least in so far as they have this attribute in common, they are identical, i.e., non-different. In other words, the attribute of difference in so far as it is really possessed by the alleged differents, makes them non-different, this is absurd. Further, the quality of difference, is this different or not from the particulars alleged to be different? If not different, we merge the quality in the substance, thus A would be identical with difference-of-A-from-B and B identical with difference-of-B-from-A, A in other words would be identical with B. If the quality is different from the particulars, we have interposed, between the particular and its difference, another difference, this again will be separated from the terms by another quality of difference and so on *ad infinitum*. Nor can difficulties be avoided by treating difference as the essence of the particulars. That whose very nature is difference cannot be *one*; the doctrine of difference as essential cannot therefore allow of the recognition of any unit, not even a primal atom, since this too should fall apart into distinct parts, similarly of its constituents *ad infinitum*; and in the absence of any unit, there can be no manifold either; the very insistence on difference serves to abolish difference.

Multiplicity, however, is not unreal, for it is immediately experienced; and what is unreal, like the barren woman's son, cannot be an object of immediate cognition. Nor can it be real, as we have seen, since it fails to stand analysis. It is experienced, yet it is sublated, what is real, like the self, can never be sublated. Diversity therefore can be neither real nor unreal. It is a product of Nescience (*māyā* or *avidyā*), which obscures the unity and projects a multiplicity.

Such obscuration and projection constitute error; and error refuses to admit of explanation in terms of the real or the unreal. The rope-snake cognition is not of the real; for then the snake should continue to be perceived for all time and by all people, sublation would be impossible. Nor is it of the unreal, since the unreal cannot be immediately apprehended, much less can it cause trepidation and flight. Two possible ways suggest themselves out of this *impasse*. One is to admit the reality of the content of the erroneous cognition, but not as cognised i.e., not here and now. The snake is real enough, but not as I perceive it, in the rope; it will be found in its own appropriate hole, ready to cause not only fear, but more serious damage to those who approach. What fails us in erroneous cognition, then, is not the content, but the mode. If we cognised the snake as in its hole and the silver as in the cash box, instead of perceiving them in the rope and in the nacre, there would be no delusion. Delusion is not the cognition of the unreal (*asat-khyāti*), but the cognition of the real as otherwise than it is (*anyathā khyāti*). Such a view has a good deal to commend it. It does not do violence by asking us to believe in immediate experience of the unreal. It is patently verified in those cases of delusion where there is a transference of properties because of proximity etc., e.g., in the erroneous cognition of a crystal as red, because of the proximity of a China rose, the crystal is 'real, but not as red, and redness is real, but not as a property of the crystal. In such cases, however, both constituents of the delusive cognition—the crystal and the red colour—are present before us, capable of immediate apprehension through sense-contact. But in the apprehension of nacre as silver, silver is not present here and now so as to be perceived; and yet there is immediate (*aparokṣa*) apprehension of the silver; for, we put out our hand to grasp it, and the inducement of such activity is intelligible only in the case of what is immediately apprehended. One may postulate some super-normal mode of sense-contact with even that which is not present. This, however, is an unproved and needless hypothesis. If its possibility be admitted for all, there would be no distinction between cognitions of the present and the not-present; if the capacity be restricted to a few, yogins and the like, the widespread phenomenon of delusion

would still have to be explained. Further, in the case of delusions, like the perception of a double moon, there is not a real second moon to serve as the content. Hence the admission of a real content, so long as it is not real here and now, does not go very far to solve our difficulty. And, if the content be real here and now, the cognition should not be erroneous.

The denial of error and the doctrine that all cognitions are valid constitute the other possibility. In what is called delusion one may distinguish a perceived and a remembered element; the glitter is perceived, the silverness is remembered. Either element is valid in itself and their mere combination cannot result in invalidity. What happens is that in the case of the remembered factor, the fact of its being a memory-impression is forgotten, its memory-ness is lost. We act as if the two factors are on a par, the result is error and confusion in practice (*vyavahāra*), though the cognition, as cognition, is all right. Such a valiant attempt to banish the elusive negative element deserves success, but does not achieve it. There is still the loss of memory-ness to be accounted for. A number of causes may be postulated, e.g., passion, fear, greed, sense-defect, etc.; but the essential feature is still negative, a loss. To what does this negative element correspond in cognition? It will not avail to say that the negation and failure belong only to the realm of practice, not to cognition. We fail when we put out our hand to grasp the silver, but did we apprehend it *as silver* before the activity in question? If not, then, that and other similar acts would be unintelligible, not being prompted by the only adequate cause, *viz*, immediate cognition of the appropriate content. If, on the other hand, there is apprehension *as silver*, the negative element has entered into the cognition itself and coloured it. It can no longer be maintained that, while the cognition is valid, practice alone is faulty. Non-discrimination (*akhyāti*) is not merely a conative but also a cognitive defeat, and we have still to account for this defeat without admitting the reality or the unreality of the content.

Another variety of the last-mentioned view maintains that all cognitions are valid, since all contents are so mixed up in the course of evolution by quantuplication of the elements,* that every object contains in itself in fractions however small the natures of all other things. Where nacre is recognised as silver, the former contains in itself some infinitesimal amount of silver, as relating to this the cognition is valid, though as referring to a larger quantity of silver, it fails us in practice. It is not that the silver-cognition has any unreal content, the content is real though practically inadequate. Here too the negative factor is not suitably accounted for. Our cognition is of silver, not of infinitesimal silver; in the latter case, practical activity would not result. The real content (admitting quantuplication which is only a hypothesis) falls far short of the cognition, and the inadequacy is not merely practical; the negative element enters into the cognition and calls for explanation.

It is because of such difficulties that the advaitin postulates *māyā* or *avidyā* to explain error. Error has a content, but, for the reasons already noted, the content cannot be characterised as real (*sat*) or unreal (*asat*). Nor can it be a combination of the two, as that is self-contradictory. The content is *māyā*, which, not being exclusively determinable as real or unreal or real-and-unreal, is said to be imponderable, indeterminable (*anirvācya*), and spoken of as a cave.

* A process wherein each of the five elements is divided into two parts, and one of the parts subdivided into four, before there is intermixture and the production of the things as we know them, thus, one half of the earth-element combines with an eighth each of water, air, fire and ether before there results what we know as earth, similarly, one half of the water-element combines with an eighth each of earth, air, fire and ether, and so on. As a result, every object of cognition has in its composition fractional elements of all other objects, hence no cognition can wholly fail of its content.

II

ātmāmburāśau nikhilo 'pi loko magno 'pi nā 'cāmati ne 'ksate ca |
āścaryam etan mṛga-tṛṣṇikābhe bhavāmburāśau ramate mṛṣai 'va¹ ||

III

garbha-gr̥ha-vāsa-sambhava-janma-jarā-maraṇa-viprayogā-'bdhau |
jagad ālokyā nimagnam prāha gurum prāñjaliḥ śiṣyaḥ² ||

IV

tvam sāṅga-veda-vettā bhetṭā³ saṃśaya-gaṇasya rta-vaktā⁴ |
saṃsārā-'ṛṇava-taraṇa-praśnam⁵ prcchāmy aham bhagavan ||

II

The entire world (of conscious beings), though plunged in the ocean of Self, sips it not, nor even glances at it; (yet) it delights but delusively in the mirage-presented waters of migratory existence; lo! mysterious is this.

III

Seeing the world sunk in the ocean, consisting of entry into the womb, birth, old age, death and parting, a certain disciple (desirous of knowing the real, approached and) said thus to a preceptor, with folded hands

IV

Thou art the knower of the Vedas together with their aṅgas, the destroyer of the host of doubts (about the sense of the Scriptures), and the expounder

This nescience is collectively one; but each individual empirical self (jīva) has his own limiting adjunct, that is to say, his particular bit of nescience. Else when one slept all would sleep; and on the release of one, there would be universal release. Hence the reference in the verse to 'caves' in the plural.

The self-luminous single intelligence that is the substrate of diversity and the inner ruler of the apparently finite and multiple jīvas, is here addressed as Viṣṇu, since it is all-pervasive, because of this pervasiveness it is ever present; hence the appropriateness of appealing to Viṣṇu as the sole refuge.

II

The first verse states the nature of the Self, the second verse that of matter or the non-self (Prakṛti). It is thus indicated that what is commenced here is the inquiry for discriminating puruṣa from prakṛti. The terminology and approach are characteristic of the Sāṅkhya system. Hence the plausibility of the ascription of the work to Patañjali.

III

This verse indicates the qualifications of the disciple—that through merit and study he should have learnt to distinguish the permanent from the impermanent, know that the apparent worldly pleasures do but occasion misery, turn away from them, desire to know the real Self alone, and possess the Scripturally declared qualifications of self-restraint, contentment, capacity to bear up against physical ills, desire for release &c. Such a one looks for a preceptor in a jīvan-mukta, and approaching him in the prescribed manner asks as follows.

1. This and the preceding verse are not found in *B*, *P* or *V*; nor does *K* have any verse to correspond to this.

2. This is the first verse in *P*.

3 *P*: chettā (v. 2)

4. *P*: ṛtam vaktā (v. 2)

5. *P*: taraṇam praśnam (v. 2)

V

dirge 'smin samsāre saṃsarataḥ kasya kena sambandhaḥ |
karma śubhā-'śubha-phaladam¹ anubhavati (nu)² gatā-'gatair iha kaḥ ||

VI

karma-guṇa-jāla-baddho jīvaḥ saṃsarati kośakāra iva |
mohā-'ndhakāra-gahanāt tasya katham bandhanān mokṣaḥ ||

VII

guṇa-puruṣa-vibhāga-jñe dharmā-'dharmau na bandhakau³
bhavataḥ |
iti gadita-pūrva-vākyaḥ prakṛtiṃ puruṣam ca me brūhi⁴ ||

of the Truth. To thee, O, revered one, I put this question relating to crossing over the ocean of migratory existence

V—VII

For him who migrates in this limitless samsāra (migratory existence), whereby is there relation thereto? Who is it that by passing and repassing here (in these three worlds) experiences the karma that gives fruit, auspicious and inauspicious? Who is the jīva that migrates (as some say) bound in the aggregate of karma and guṇa (sattva, etc.), like a silkworm ['spider' says the commentary] in a cocoon [web?] made of filaments of its own creation? How, for him, is there release from bondage which is difficult to overcome, being of the nature of the intense darkness of delusion? For him who knows the distinction between puruṣa and the guṇas, how is it that merit and demerit are not causes of bondage? Along with (the answers to) these questions, tell me about prakṛti and puruṣa.

IV

The 'angas' are the well-known subsidiary disciplines, viz, Phonetics, Liturgy, Grammar, Prosody, Etymology and Astronomy. The "Truth" is the real Self expounded in the entire Vedānta and denoted by terms like Bhagavān and Brahman

V—VII

The Self is self-luminous intelligence; it is pervasive and infinite. What is it then that is subject to transmigration? Self-certitude belongs to my existence, while it is my own self that appears to be bound to suffering. How is this intelligible? If the suffering be said to be an appearance due to māyā that is constituted of the guṇas (strands, constituents) sattva, rajas and tamas, how is one to account for the association of the self with māyā? It may be set down to karma, i.e. the activity of the Self, and its consequences proximate and remote, patent and latent. But why should the perfect Self act at all? It has no needs to satisfy, no motives to prompt, no desires to fulfil. Activity must be due to avidyā, while the association with avidyā has itself to be accounted for by activity (karma). Assuming that the association has somehow come about (unintelligibility, the advaitin would claim, is an ornament, not a defect in the case of avidyā),

1 P. phaladam (v. 3)

3 P. bandhakau na (v. 5).

2 P. reads "anubhavati." without the emendation suggested by the editor of T

4 P. iti gaditam prakṛtiṃ puruṣam ca me brūhi (v. 5).

VIII

ity ādhāro¹ bhagavān prṣṭaḥ śiṣyeṇa tam sa ho 'vāca |
viduṣām apy atigahanam vaktavyam idam śṛṇu tathā 'pi tvam

IX

saiyam iṣa jagad asatyam mūlaprakṛter idam² kṛtam yena |
tam prāṇipatyō 'pendram vakṣye paramārthasāram idam³ |

X

avyaktād andam⁴ abhūd andād brahmā tarāḥ prajā-sargah
māyā-mayī pravṛttiḥ saṃhriyata iyaṃ⁵ punaḥ kramaśaḥ ||

VIII

The revered one, the support (of the world, i.e., Ādiśeṣa), being thus questioned by the disciple, said to the latter - This which is to be expounded to you is difficult even for the learned (to comprehend), yet (I shall expound it to you;) listen!

IX

I shall expound this *Paramārthasāra*, after rendering obeisance to Upendra (Viṣṇu), by whom, because of primal nature (i.e., his own energy), this non-real world is created, as if it were real.

X

From the unmanifest (as subjected to the glance of the Supreme Person) arose the Cosmic Germ; from the Germ (arose) Brahmā; thence (resulted

how can this whose origins are indeterminable have an assured end? What is the certainty of release? If you appeal to the evidence of persons alleged to have found release, the jīvanmuktas, how is it that they continue to live and act among us, in spite of their reported release? Will not action serve to bind them afresh? If not, whence their immunity? Such is the string of questions put by the reverent but inquisitive disciple.

The word *guṇa* is used here, as in Sāṅkhya texts, to signify a constituent, not a quality. It is possible that the usage primarily derives from a doctrine according to which the qualities themselves constitute the substance, instead of inhering in 'a something I know not what' as their substrate. Such a view is clearly enunciated and defended by the Śaiva Siddhāntin.* However this may be, consistently with the general Sāṅkhya approach, our present text uses 'guṇa' in the sense of a constituent.

X

The Vedānta agrees with the Sāṅkhya in recognising a primal non-differentiated matter wherefrom the manifold evolves. The former insists, however, on intelligent guidance of the evolution; it is not a mere unconscious process, like the secretion of milk by the cow. Hence the commentator's reference to the "glance

* See further an article by the present writer on 'Substance and Attribute in the Śaiva Siddhānta' *JORM*, VIII, 97

1 *P* ksityādhāro, in the reckoning of this text, this is the sixth verse, the second verse in *K* uses the words "ādhāram bhagavantam", which are explained by a commentator, Yoga Muni, as referring to Śeṣa.

2. *P*. omits "idam" (v. 7)

3 This verse is cited in *LM*, p. 280

4 The corresponding verse in *K* mentions four āṇḍas (āṇḍacatuṣṭaya); this is verse 1 in *B* and *V*.

5. *P*: māyā-mayah kalpānte saṃhriyate (v. 8).

XI

māyā-mayo 'py acetā¹ guṇa-karaṇa-ganaḥ² karoti karmāni |
tadadhiṣṭhātā dehī sa cetano 'pi na karoti kiñcid api³ ||

XII

yadvad acetanam api san-nikaṣṭasṭhe bhrāmake bhramati loham |
tadvat karaṇa-samūhaś ceṣṭati⁴ cidadhiṣṭhite dehe⁵ ||

the creation of beings (movable and immovable); the activity (of the Creator) is of the nature of māyā, this (creation) is again re-absorbed in (reverse) sequence.

XI

The aggregate of guṇa and karaṇa (i.e., the body), which is a product of māyā (as inspired by Īśvara), though non-conscious, performs deeds (good, bad and mixed), the controller thereof, the embodied one (the jīva), though he is intelligence, performs no (deed) whatsoever (since activity involving a change of nature is impossible in the case of him who is of the sole nature of intelligence).

XII

Just as iron, though inert, moves in the proximity of the lodestone, similarly, when the body is controlled by intelligence (through the adoption

of the Supreme Person" and the inspiration of Īśvara, in this verse and the next.

According to the commentary, the second line has to be rendered thus: this creative activity of the Person who has māyā for adjunct is briefly expounded in this sequence by the learned, e.g., "nārāyaṇaḥ paro 'vyaktād anḍam avyakta-sambhavam" etc.

XI

Activity is characteristic of intelligence, the non-intelligent, i.e., māyā, is *per contra* inert. But strangely enough, what we mean by activity in the empirical world is entirely a product of the body. It is the body which is born and dies, which longs and strives, which achieves and rejoices or is miserable, all these are characteristic expressions of the guṇas—sattva, rajas and tamas—compounded in varying proportions, and manifest through their own products, the organs, internal and external, the antahkaraṇas and the indriyas, spirit no doubt is active, but its functioning is free and not delimited in space and time, these latter being partial and defective manifestations of that intelligence. In that integral experience there is no distinction of cause or consequence, agent or act, hence intelligence, though the controller of activity as the substrate thereof, cannot be treated as the agent.

How can the inert be active? To this the answer is furnished in the next verse

XII

The analogy of iron and the lodestone is common to the Sāṅkhya too. The point of the comparison lies in the induction of change in what is proximate without any change in that which induces. The present text, however, goes a step further in treating intelligence as what is not merely proximate to, but is also the con-

1. P. acetano, ninth verse in its reckoning	3 V and B omit "api" (v. 2)
2. V: ganam (v 2), B. guṇa-kara-gaṇam,	4 P. ceṣṭate (v 10).
	5 This verse corresponds to V-3 and B-3.

XIII

yadvad savitāry udite karoti karmāṇi jīvaloko 'yam |
na ca tāni karoti ravir na kārayati tadvad ātmā 'pī¹ ||

XIV

manaso 'haṅkāra-vimūrchitasya² caitanya-bodhitasye 'ha |
puruṣā-'bhimāna-sukha-duḥkha-bhāvanā bhavati mūḍhasya ||

of misconceptions like 'I am a man'), the aggregate of the organs (i.e., the body) becomes active

XIII

Just as this world of living beings performs deeds when the sun rises, and it is not the sun that performs them or causes them to be performed, so too is the Self (not an agent in any way).

XIV

Of these (māyā-products), for the manas, which has become the object of individuation (egoity) as illumined by intelligence (identified with manas),

troller of matter. Intelligence being infinite and pervasive, there is nothing wherefrom it is remote. Matter, for the advaitin, is not alien to spirit, but a superimposition on spirit, due to the failure of spirit to know itself; hence there is not for matter even as much foreignness as in systems like the Sāṅkhya. The problem which these systems have to face may be put thus: If mere proximity can induce matter to evolve, evolution would never cease and there would be no release (kai-valya), as the infinite spirit can never cease to be proximate; if some kind of control be admitted as necessary, it is not intelligible. What form of control could exist as between two wholly foreign entities? Some community of nature is necessary as between director and directed. The advaita concept of matter would thus seem to be in a more advantageous position. But here again it may be asked how matter can ever cease to evolve, inasmuch as spirit, to which matter is not foreign, is always, in proximity and presumably exercises control all the time. To that the reply is as follows: matter, which is neither real nor unreal, is proximate to spirit as a superimposition thereon; for superimposition there is needed identification of the self with the not-self; such identification is possible and actual because of beginningless nescience; what is called control by spirit consists just in this identification (appearing in such forms as 'I am a man, a brahmin, old, lame, blind of one eye,' etc.); this nescience is destroyed with the onset of knowledge, i.e., self-realisation, the control of matter as well as matter itself ceases therewith, and thenceforth there is neither evolution nor bondage. An obvious question is how the erroneous identification ever started, to which the equally obvious answer is that it did not ever start, as it is beginningless like time itself.

XIII

The commentator says that what binds the Self to saṃsāra is the body, the puruṣaṣṭaka, composed of the following eight factors: (1) the five karmendriyas (2) the five jñānendriyas, (3) the four beginning with manas, making up the internal organ, (4) the five vital airs, prāṇa etc., (5) the elements, ether etc., (6) kāma, (7) karma, and (8) tamas. The authority for this enumeration is not

1 This corresponds to V-4 and B-4.

2 P: mūrchatasya (v. 12); B: V.: dvārā murchitasya (v. 5).

XV

kartā bhoktā drastā 'smi¹ karmanām uttamādinām |
iti² tat svabhāva-vimalo 'bhimanyate³ sarvago 'py ātmā |

XVI

nānā-vidha-varṇānām varṇam⁴ dhatte yathā 'malah sphaṭikaḥ⁵ |
tadvad upādher guṇabhāvitasya⁶ bhāvam vibhur dhatte⁷ ||

XVI-A

ādarśe mala-rahite yadvad⁸ rūpam vicinvate⁹ lokāh |
ālokeyati tathā 'tmā viśuddha-buddhau svam ātmānam¹⁰ ||

there comes about, in the case of the foolish, the conceit of being a person, an enjoyer and a sufferer.

XV

Therefore (because of this conceit), the Self, though pure and omnipresent by nature, entertains the conceit "I am a cogniser, I am the agent in respect of acts, good (i.e., enjoined by the Vedas) and otherwise, I am the experiencer (of the fruit)".

XVI

Just as a clear crystal takes on the colours of diverse coloured objects (in proximity), even so the all-pervasive (Self) takes on the nature of the adjuncts produced by the guṇas (prakṛti)

XVI-A

Just as people in the world look for (their own) form in a mirror free from impurity, even so does the Self look for itself in the pure intellect

cited by name There is some similarity to the enumeration in Bhoja's *Tattva-prakāśikā*, v. 12

XV

"Cognisership" is mentioned before "agency" in the translation, in conformity with the logical order adopted in the commentary.

XVI

The adjuncts are explained as the state of a divine being, a human being etc., this is the sense of the second line of the corresponding verse in Abhinava-gupta's work.

XVI-A

Both in the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta, the intellect (buddhi), as essentially of the nature of Sattva, is considered capable of reflecting the Self. The Self in itself

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1 B, V: api (v 6). | where, however, the latter half reads |
| 2 V and B omit "iti" (v 6) | "suramānuṣa-paśu-pādapa-rūpatvam tad- |
| 3 B: vimalābhimanyate (v 6). | vad iśo'pi." |
| 4 P: varṇān (v 14) V: varṇād | 8 B, V: yad (v 10) |
| (v. 7), | 9 B, V: vicinvate (v 10) |
| 5 V and B: sphaṭikam (v 7) | 10. This verse is found in P, as |
| 6 P: gunato bhāvitasya (v 14) | verse 17, not in T, the corresponding |
| 7. Corresponds to verse 6 in K, | verse in K reads |
| ādarśe mala-rahite yadvad vadanam vibhātu tadvad ayam \| |  |
| śivaśakti-pāta-vimale dhī-tattve bhātu bhā-rūpah" \|\| |  |

XVII

gacchati gacchati salile dinakara-bimbam¹ sthite sthitim yāti |
 antaḥ-karaṇe gacchati gacchaty ātmā 'pi tadvat iha² |

XVIII

rāhur adśīyo 'pi yaḥā śaśi-bimbasūhah praśāśate jagati |
 sarva-gato 'pi tathā 'tmā buddhustho drśyatām eti³ ||

XIX

sarvagatam nirupamam⁴ advaitam tac⁵ cetasā gamyam |
 yad buddhigatam brahmo 'palabhyate śīśya bodhyam tat ||

XVII

Here (in the world), the solar orb (reflected in water), moves (as it were) when the water moves, and attains quiescence (as it were) when (the water is) still; similarly, the Self too (reflected in the internal organ) moves (as it were) when the internal organ moves (and attains quiescence as it were, when that organ is still).

XVIII

Just as in the world, Rāhu, though invisible, becomes visible, as present in the lunar orb (it obscures), even so the Self, though omnipresent (and hence not an object), yet, as present in the intellect, comes to have visibility (i.e., the nature of an object of cognition).

XIX

That Brahman which is present (as reflected) in the intellect and is consequently cognisable by the intellect (through the I-cognition), that should be understood to be omnipresent (unlimited in respect of space, time, or other entities), unparalleled (bliss), and non-dual (consciousness, devoid of the three kinds of difference).

is essential knowledge, without distinctions of knower, known and knowing. Where it is knower, it is so in respect of cognition, i.e. itself as reflected in the intellect.

XVIII

The example of the perception of Rāhu is employed elsewhere by the advaitin with greater force and appropriateness to illustrate the cognition of nescience, as non-intelligent it cannot manifest itself; what can manifest is intelligence, which it obscures; yet in the very process of obscuration there is manifestation of itself as obscuring.

XIX

Difference may be from another belonging to a wholly distinct genus (vijātiya bheda) or only to another species (sajātiya bheda), or it may be a plurality in the entity itself (svagata bheda).

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. K : himakara-bimbam (v. 7). | The verse corresponds to V-8 and B-8 |
| 2. K : tanukarana-bhuvana-varge | 3. B, V : iti (v. 9) |
| tathā 'yam ātmā maheśānah (v. 7). | |
| K : | tadvat \| |
| sarvagato 'py ayam ātmā visayāśrayanena dhimukure \|\| (v. 8) | |
| 4. B, V : tannirupamam (v. 11) | 5. P : tac ca (v. 18), V (v. 11); |
| | B (v. 11). |

XX

buddhi-mano-'haṅkāraś tanmātre-'ndriya-gaṇāś ca bhūtagaṇaḥ¹ |
saṃsāra-sarga-parirakṣaṇa- kṣamā prākṛtā² heyāḥ ||

XXI

dharmā-'dharmau sukha-duḥkha-kalpanā³ svarga-naraka-vāsaś ca |
utpatti-nidhana-varṇā-'śramā na santī 'ha paramārthe⁴ ||

XXII

mṛga-trṣṇāyām udakam śuktau rajatam bhujaṅgamo rajjvām |
tāmirika-candra-yugavad⁵ bhrāntam nikhilam⁶ jagad-rūpam ||

XX

The intellect, manas, individuation (egoity), the aggregate of (five) subtle elements and (ten) organs (sensory and motor), and the aggregate of (five) gross elements, these products of prakṛti have the capacity to bring on and maintain the (cycle of) migratory existence; (hence) they are to be abandoned (as of the nature of the not-self, by those who seek release).

XXI

Here (in the Self), there is not in reality merit or demerit or the experience of (their fruit, viz.) pleasure or pain, or residing in heaven or hell (for the sake of that pleasure or pain); nor is there birth or death, caste or order (of life).

XXII

Like water in the mirage, silver in nacre, serpent in a rope, and the double moon produced by (the optical defect) timira, the entire world-phenomenon is a delusion.

XX

In the Sāṅkhya, prakṛti is assigned both the functions of binding and releasing; such an exalted notion of prakṛti is difficult to assimilate, and less acceptable than what is set forth here.

XXI

Here, again, there is an improvement on the Sāṅkhya view, which, while holding that in truth no one is ever bound or released (*SK*, v. 62), yet maintains a plurality of spirits, because of the varying incidence of birth, death etc (*SK*, v. 18).

XXII

The commentary sets forth the inference of illusoriness based on being object of cognition, being finite, and being inert (non-self); the example (udāharana) in each case is nacre-silver. Illusoriness is defined as sublatibility by knowledge of the

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|---|---|
| 1. <i>P</i> sabhūtagaṇaḥ (v 19, <i>V</i> (v 12); <i>B</i> (v. 12). | 3. <i>P</i> sukha-duḥkhe (v. 20). |
| 2. <i>V</i> . Prakṛtāḥ (v. 12).
tadvad dharmā-'dharma-svar-nirayo-'tpatti-marana-sukha-duḥkham
varṇā-'śramādi cā 'many asad apī vibhramabalād bhavati | 4. Corresponds to verse 29 in <i>K</i> : |
| 5. <i>B</i> , <i>V</i> : candravat (v 14). | version quoted by Nagesabhaṭṭa in <i>LM</i> . |
| 6. <i>P</i> akhilam (v 21), this is the | p 259. |

XXIII

yadvad dinakara eko vibhāti salilā-śayesu sarvesu |
tadvat sakalo-padhiṣv avasthito bhāti paramātmā ||

XXIV

kham¹ iva ghaṭādiṣv² antarbahih sthitam brahma sarvapinḍesu³
dehe 'ham⁴ ity anātmanī buddhiḥ saṃsāra-bandhāya ||

XXV

sarva-vikalpana⁵ -hīnaḥ śuddho buddho⁶ 'jarā-'maraḥ śāntaḥ |
amalaḥ sakṛd-vibhātaś cetana ātmā khavad⁸ vyāpi⁹ ||

XXIII

Just as the one Sun appears in all sheets of water, so does the (one) Supreme Self appear as present in all adjuncts (i.e., aggregate of body and organs)

XXIV

Like ether in pots etc, is Brahman present in all bodies; (hence) the cognition "I" in respect of the not-self, the body, (is but a delusion which) serves to bind one to (the cycle of) migratory existence.

XXV

The intelligent one is (certainly) the (Supreme) Self; (for) it is free from all indeterminacy (being the witness of all doubts); it is pure (unlike the body, associated with diverse impurities); it is conscious (unlike prāṇa);

substrate; the illusoriness of illusoriness is discussed, and the inference of illusoriness is said to be ātmaghātaka (self-destructive) like āgama, as exemplified in "ne 'ha nānā 'sti", this text too is not real as a duality over against Brahman, self-destruction is illustrated by the faggot that starts a fire destroying itself as well as other things; the illusory does not have to make known the real, since the latter is self-manifest; the illusory can and does serve to remove the illusory, as when, in respect of a rope, the illusion that it is a stick may remove the prior illusion that it is a snake, practical efficiency is possible in respect of and with even a greater degree of reality, e.g., the use of a reflection of one's face in a mirror, imagining Viṣṇu in a sālagrāma etc.; if illusoriness be not granted, there is contingency of non-release, since what is non-illusory and cannot be sublated will persist as a cause of bondage, actual or potential.

XXV

The syllogism implied is "The jīva is but the Supreme Self, because of being free from indeterminacy, etc.; pot etc. are the negative example." That is to

1. V. svam (v. 16), explained in Telugu as "tānuvalenē, like oneself"; this is obviously due to a misreading of "kham" in Devanāgarī script.

2. B: khaṭṭādiṣu (v. 16)

3. P. sarveṣu pinḍesu (v. 23).

4. B. V. deho 'ham (v. 16).

5. B. V. vikalpanā (v. 17)

sarva vikalpana-hīnam śuddham śāntam vyayo-'daya-vihīnam |
yat paratattvam tasmīn vibhāti śaṭ-triṃśadātmā jagat ||

6. B. V: avṛddho 'jaro (v. 17).

7. V: sakṛd dhi (v. 17).

8. V: savat (v. 17).

9. The two lines are transposed in P (v. 24); in that form the verse is cited in LM, p. 281. Verse 11 in K reads thus:

XXVI

rasa-phāṇita-śarkarikā- guḷa-khaṇḍā' vikrtayo yathai 've 'kṣoḥ° ||
tadvad avasthā-bhedāḥ paramātmāny° eva bahu-rūpāḥ° ||

XXVII

vijñānā-'ntaryāmi-prāṇa-virāḍ- deha- jāti-pindā-'ntāḥ |
vyavahārās tasyā 'tmany° ete avasthā-viśeṣāḥ° syuḥ ||

it is decayless and deathless (unlike manas which lapses in sleep etc); it is quiescent (unlike the cognitional series subject to perpetual change); it is taintless (unlike the void which is obscured by the taint of samvrti, obscuration, while the self is the witness even of that); it is ever-shining (unlike the self of the Logicians, which is itself inert and possesses cognition only as a quality), it is pervasive like ether (unlike the selves admitted by the pluralists)

XXVI-XXVII

As of the sugar-cane there are different forms (such as) the juice, molasses, sugar crystals, jaggery and pieces thereof, even so of the (one) Supreme Self there are diverse forms (as it were), viz, (Pure) Consciousness (which has not suffered distinction as intelligent or inert), the internal ruler, the prāṇa (the Jiva, who is Consciousness reflected in sattva-predominant prakṛti), the collective cosmic body, and individual bodies characterised by generic qualities (like humanity, etc.), these diverse forms of that

say, what is not the Supreme Self, e.g. a pot, is not free from indeterminacy, being subject to alternative specifications, as to which there is always doubt. Empirical duality being granted, there is no dr̥ṣṭāntāsiddhi, hence, the opponent cannot ask "since there is nothing other than the Supreme Self, how can there be any example of what is not that Self and not free from indeterminacy?" Nor can supremacy as a probandum be denied, since what is non-established cannot be denied, as Maṇḍana says "labdha-rūpe kvacit kñcit tādrg eva nisidhyate" That is to say, that which is denied and that in relation to which there is the denial should be already established, there can be no negation either of an unknown counter-correlate or in relation to an unknown locus. If the jiva be not the Supreme Self, there is the contingency of either of them being not-self (anātman); and this is not acceptable

XXVI-XXVII

The internal ruler and the jiva are the intelligent modifications of Pure Consciousness, the collective body and the individual bodies are the inert forms. The illusory transformation of Consciousness into inert forms is possible, because of māyā, the relation of māyā is also due to māyā; this does not lay it open to the defect of self-dependence, as it is of the nature of māyā in the last resort, not to be

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 P khaṇḍādyāḥ vikrtayo yathe 'he | sarve paramātmānaḥ śambhoḥ (v. 26). |
| 'kṣoḥ (v. 25). | 5 P vyavahārasaḥsyā 'tmana (v. |
| 2 K khaṇḍādyā yathe 'ksu-rasa | 26), B (v. 19), also LM citation |
| eva (v. 26). | (p. 311) |
| 3 P paramātmāna (v. 25) | 6 K vyahāra-mātram etat paramār- |
| 4 V bahu-rūpātmā (v. 18), K | thena tu na santy eva (v. 27). |

XXVIII

rajjvām nāsti bhujaṅgah sarpa-bhayam bhavati hetunā kena |
tadvad dvaita- vikalpabhrāntir avidyā na satyam idam¹ ||

XXIX

etat tad andhakāram yad anātmāny ātmātā bhrāntyā |
na vidanti vāsudevam sarvātmānam narā mūḍhāḥ² ||

XXX

prāṇādy-ananta-bhedair ātmānam samvitatya jālam iva³ |
saṃharati⁴ vāsudevaḥ svavibhūtyā⁵ 'krīḍamāna iva⁶ ||

self (which is pure consciousness) are different (only because of differences) in empirical usage

XXVIII

In the rope there is no snake; to what cause, then, is the fear of the snake due (if the illusory have no practical efficiency)? Even so, duality and its delusive presentation are but nescience (the consequence of ignorance of the non-dual self); (hence) this (duality) is not real

XXIX

This is the darkness (of nescience) whereby selfhood (is) delusively (ascribed) to the non-self; (hence it is that) foolish men (who have not enquired into the real Self) do not know Vāsudeva, the Self of all (to be such).

XXX

Vāsudeva (Brahman that is of the nature of Consciousness), as if desiring to sport (with himself) through his own energy (māyā), spreads him-

logically intelligible through and through, "durghaṭatvam avidyāyā bhūsanam na tu dūsanam."

XXVIII

The commentator quotes from *Iṣṭasiddhi* (p. 47) "sattve na bhrānti-bādhau stām nā 'sattve" &c, there would be neither delusion nor sublation in either case, if the delusion were real or if unreal; for the real cannot be sublated, while the unreal, like the square circle, cannot be the object of immediate cognition

XXX

Hence it is not as if there are independent real finite consciousnesses different from and apprehending Vāsudeva For the view that creation is an act of sport, as it were, see *Ved Sū*, II, 1, 33

1 K trāsam kurute ca mṛtyu-paryantam |
bhrānter mahatī śaktir na vivektum śakyate nāma || (v. 28).

2 K : bhāveṣu prakāśamānatayā |
ātmānatūrkteṣv apī bhavaty anātmā-bhūmāno 'yam || (v. 30).

This and the preceding verse are cited in *LM*, p. 296, with the substitution of

"janāḥ" for "narāḥ" in the last line.

3 Cp K · jālena jālakāra iva (verse 32), P · indra-jālam iva (v. 29); the first half of this verse in the P version is

4 P : upasamharati (v. 29).

5 P : svabhūtyā (v. 29).

6 Cp K · krīḍam pratanoti parama-śivah (v. 33).

XXXI

tribhīr eva viśva-taijasa- prājñaiḥ¹ ādi-madhyā-mīdhanā- 'khyaiḥ |
jāgrat-svapna-susūptair bhrama-bhūtaiś chāditaṁ turyam² ||

XXXII

mohayati 'vā 'tmānam³ svamāyayā dvaita-rūpayā devaḥ⁴ |
upalabhate svayam evaṁ guhā-gatam puruṣam ātmānam ||

XXXIII

jvalanād dhūmo- 'dgaṭibhīr vividhā 'kṛtir ambare yathā bhāti |
tadvad⁵ viṣṇau sṛṣṭiḥ svamāyayā dvaita-vistarā⁶ bhāti⁷ ||

self out, as a (spider its) web, in endless diverse forms such as prāṇa (the internal ruler) and the rest (viz., all jīvas and bodies collective and individual), and destroys (i.e., takes up all of them into himself, after destroying the ignorance about himself through the knowledge that is himself).

XXXI

(He spreads himself out) in the three forms, Viśva, Taijasa and Prājña, (related to three states of) waking, dreaming and sleep, which are called (respectively) origination, the intermediate stage (of preservation) and destruction, by these same (three, though) delusive, is concealed (as it were) the fourth (the real light that is the Self).

XXXII

In this way, the shining one (the Self) himself deludes the Self, as it were, through his own māyā, and (again) realises (as it were) the Self, the person who had been hidden in the cave (of nescience).

XXXIII

Just as different forms (black, white, etc.) appear in the ether (which is colourless), because of (the colour of) the smoke rising from fire, even so does this creation, the expanse of duality, appear in Viṣṇu, through his own māyā.

XXXI

For further light on the three states and the three forms of consciousness, reference may be made to the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* and the first chapter of Gauḍapāda's *kāṅkāśa* thereon. Dreaming is referred to as the intermediate stage, compare the term "sandhī" in "Sandhye sṛṣṭir āha hi" (Ved. Sū, III, 11 1).

1 P inserts "taiḥ" (v. 30, also B and V (v. 23).

2 Cp. K sṛṣṭi-sthiti- sambhārā jāgrat svapnam susūptam itī tasmin |
bhānti tūriye dhāmanī tathā 'pi taiḥ āvṛtam bhāti ||
jāgrat viśvam bhedāt svapnas tejah prakāśa-māhātmyāt |
prājñāḥ svapnā-vasthā jñāna-ghanatvāt tataḥ param turyam ||
(vs. 34, 35)

P reads tūriyam (v. 30); B, V tūryam (v. 23).

3. P. ātmā na (v. 31).

(v. 25).

4. P. devam (v. 31).

6 B and V: dvaita-vistaro (v. 25).

5. V. tad (v. 25), B tadvaiṣṇoḥ

7. This verse is cited in LM p. 272.

(to be continued)

INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD*

By

D. B. DISKALKAR, Poona.

KHAMBHĀLĪA

No. 153]

v. s. 1751

[20-10-1694.

This inscription is engraved on a *pālīa* in one of the *Deris* near the temple of Khambhanātha Mahādeva at Khambhāljī in Nawanagar State.

It records the death of the prince VIBHĀJĪ son of PHULJĪ by his wife YAŚUJĪ, and grandson of Jām RĀJASIMHJĪ on Saturday, the 13th of the bright half of Kārtika in v.s. 1751 or Śaka 1616

Jām Phuljī, mentioned in the inscription, is the younger brother of Jām Tamāci, the ruler of Jāmnagar from whom he had received Bhānvad in *gīrās*. It will be seen therefore that the prince, whose death is recorded by this memorial stone does not come from the direct line of the rulers of Jāmnagar.

Text

- 1 श्रीगणपति जयति सगण
- 2 स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमा भर्के स
- 3 मयातीत संवत् १७५१
- 4 वर्षे श्रीशालिवाहनकृतशा
- 5 के १६१६ प्रवर्तमाने दक्षिणाय
- 6 न गते श्रीसूर्ये हेमंतऋतौ
- 7 श्रीमहामांगल्यप्रदमासोत्त
- 8 मे कार्तिकमासे शुक्लपक्षे
- 9 त्रयोदशी १३ शनिवासरे या
- 10 म श्री ७ राजसिंहजी तत्पुत्र
- 11 राजश्री ७ फुलजी तस्य भार्या वा
- 12 ई राजश्री यशुजी तत्पुत्री जात
- 13 कुअर श्री ७ विभाजी त-प्रामे श्री
- 14 कमलासयुक्तश्रीहरिचरणार
- 15 विदप्राप्त ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

THĀN

No. 154]

v. s. 1752.

[22-4-1696.

This inscription is copied from one of the sixteen *Pālīs* in the *pādar* of Thān. The inscribed portion measures 2' in length and 1'-2" in height.

* Continued from p. 353, of Volume III

It records that when the Cutch armies had attacked THĀN BHAGAVAT-SINGHJI, son of GOPĀLSIMHJI, son of ŚEŚAMALJI, son of VAJERĀJJI, fell in the battle while repelling the attack

The genealogy given here is that of the Lakhtar family founded by Vajerāji's father Abherāji. As we know that Karaṇasimhji, succeeded his father Gopālsimhji to the *gādi* of Lakhtar, Kumār Bhagavatsimhji, whose death is recorded by this inscription must have died in the lifetime of his father or he may be a younger son.

Text

- 1 सावाता १७५२ वारषा वइसख शुदि १
- 2 दाना राणा श्रीवाजराजाजी साता राणा
- 3 श्री सासामालाजी साता राणा श्रीगो
- 4 पालासांवाजीना काअरा श्रीभागावाता
- 5 सांवाजा श्रीथानागाढा काछा काटाका फ
- 6 राकारा ? तारा कामा आवा छा श्रीसुरजने वासा

RĀVAL

No 155]

v s. 1753.

[15-5-1697.

This inscription is fixed in the wall above the gate of the fort at the town Rāval in the Jamnagar State The inscribed portion, which is in a good condition, measures 2'-9" by 12½"

It records that the fort of Rāval in Hālār Deśa was caused to be built, on Saturday, the fifth of the bright half of Jyestha in v.s. 1753 (Śaka 1619) by Jām LĀKHĀJI, son of TAMĀCI and grandson of RĀJASIMHJI, of YADU family, which is one of the 36 royal families. Jām Lākhāji is said to have conquered the territory to the south of his kingdom and was ruling at NAVĀNAGAR

This inscription shows that the statement in the Kathiawad Gazetteer (p. 571) that Jām Tamāci built the fort of Rāval in 1679 A.D. is wrong in both the points It was Jām Lākhāji, who built the fort in 1697 A.D.

Text

- 1 श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥ यावद्दीचीतरंगा वहति सुरनदी जाह्नवी पुण्यतो
- 2 या ॥ यावदाकाशमार्गे तपति दिनकरो भास्करो लोकपालः ॥ यावद्द्वैद्वयनील
- 3 स्फटिकमणिमय वर्तते मेरुशृंगं तावत्तव पुत्रपौत्रैः स्वजनपरिवृतो राज्यलक्ष्मीवि
- 4 लसः ॥ १ ॥ श्रीमन्पृथ्वीविक्रमाके समयातीत ॥ संवत् १७५३ वर्षे शाके १६१९ प्रवर्त्त
- 5 माने उत्तरायन(ण)गते श्रीसूर्ये श्रीभक्तौ मासोत्तमे ज्येष्ठमासे शुक्लपक्षे पंचम्यां तिथौ
- 6 निवासरे हल्लारदेशे रावल्यग्रामे षड्विंशद्राजकुलशिरोमणियादववंशोद्भव जामश्री

1. How full of mistakes the verse is can be easily seen. There is no verb. This verse is also used in No 131 above.

- 7 ॐ राजसिंघजी सुत जाम श्री ॐ तमाचीजी सुत महाराजाधिराजेन युद्धविद्याकुशलेन
गोत्राद्वा
8 णप्रतिपालकेन नूतननगरविजयराज्ये जामश्री ॐ लाषाजीकेन दक्षिणदिगित्वा शत्रुप
9 राज्यं कृत्वा स्वकीयवंशो[भिः] वृद्धयर्थं स्वप्रजापालनाय राजदुर्गः कारितः ॥ श्रीशुभं
भवतु ।

GUNDI

No. 156]

v s. 1755.

[21-1-1699.

This inscribed *pāhā* is lying in the village Gundi, at a distance of four miles from Ghoghā. The inscribed portion measures 1'-2" by 8".

It records the death in a fight of *Gohel Kānoji* son of *Lākha* on the second day of the bright half of Caitra in v.s. 1754 (4-3-1698). A *deri* in his honour was built on the second day of the bright half of Māhā in v. s. 1755

Kānoji was an ancestor of the Mahārājā of Bhavnagar. He succeeded his father Vijoji to the *gādi* at Umrālā, which was then the capital of the Gohel chiefs.

Text

- 1 स्वस्त १७५४ वरखे चइतर शीद
- 2 २ दने गोहेल कानोजी लाषाणी
- 3 गाम भेलते छुझी देवगत थधा
- 4 छे श्रीरामचरणे स्वत १७५५
- 5 माहा श्रीद २ देरी बंधावी छे.

BERĀJĀ

No. 157]

v. s. 1756

[3-10-1700.

This inscription is found in the temple of Śiva in the western part of the village Berājā near Bhalsāna in Navanagar State. It measures 1'-3½" by 1'.

It records that on the second day of the bright half of Āso (Āśvin) in v.s. 1756 Jādejā *Devji*, son of *Phalji* caused the Śiva temple to be built. The inscription then mentions some names, whose connection in it is not clearly known : Jām Vibhā, Jām Rāval and Kumārs Nāranji, Lakhāji, Vāghji and Mānji. These seem to be Bhāyātas of the royal family of Jāmnagar. Devji is probably the brother of Vibhāji mentioned in the Khambhalia inscription of v.s. 1751, published above.

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाभा नमा । सवत १७५६ वरषे आसो सद
- 2 २ दने जाडेजा श्रीफलजीसुत जाडेजा श्रीदेवजी
- 3 अे सीवनी देरी करावी छे फलधीमाणी
- 4 पीमो भाणाणी भाण जाम बीभानो

- 5 बीमो जामश्री राओलनो ॥
- 6 कुअर श्रीनाराणजी तथा श्रीकुआ
- 7 र श्री लषाजी तथा कुअर श्रीबाघ
- 8 जी तथा कुअर मानजी ॥ लषत ठाक
- 9 र माधवजी । सूतार पवा कोरे छे ॥

THAN

No. 158]

v. s. 1757.

[19-9-1701.

This inscription is engraved on one of the 16 *pālias*, lying outside Thān. The inscribed portion measures 2' in length and 11" in breadth. The letters are very badly engraved. The script is more of the Gujarati than of the Devanāgarī form.

The inscription records the death, while protecting the cows, of Zālā SANGRĀMASIMHJI, son of ŚEŚĀMALJI, son of VAJERĀJJI, son of Mahārājā ABHERĀJJI, on Friday the 13th of the dark half of Bhādravā in v. s. 1757 or Śaka 1622.

The genealogy given here is that of the Zālā chiefs of Lakhtar Abherājji, who was the son of Candrasimhji of Halvad received Lakhtar in *giras* from his father and founded the family which reigns to this day. As we know that Gopālsimhji, son of Śeśāmalji, succeeded to the *gādi* of Lakhtar it is clear that Sangramasimhji, son of Śeśāmalji, who died in v. s. 1757 as the present inscription says must be a younger son of Śeśāmalji. (See No. 154 above).

Text

- 1 ॥ ७० ॥ संवत १[७]५७ शके १[६]२२ प्र
- 2 व्रतमाने भाद्रवा वदि १३ शुके महाराण
- 3 श्री ५ अभिराजजीधुत वजेराजजी धुत शे ७
- 4 शमलजीधुत सगरामसघजी झाला गायुनी
- 5 वाहारे चडा त्यां तेम जागरो थयो त्याहि काम
- 6 आब्या स्वर्गना लोकना धणी छे सत्यश्रीरणछोड

DIHOR

No. 159]

v. s. 1758

[8-2-1702.

This inscription is found in the temple of Mahādeva at the village Dihor, which is at a distance of six miles from Talājā under the Bhavnagar State. It measures 12" by 7".

It records that Rāval HAMĪRJI, son (?) of Rāval GAJASIMHJI caused the temple of Mahādeva to be built on Sunday, the seventh of the bright fortnight of Māgha in v. s. 1758.

Rāval Hamrji is most probably the younger brother of Rāval Satrasālji, mentioned in the Bādī inscription of v. s. 1748. But their father's name is given in the Kathiawad Gazetteer (p. 389) as Govindji. Who was Rāval Gajasimhji, then, mentioned in the present inscription?

The inscription was once published in the *Prakrit and Sāskrit Inscriptions* of Kathiawad p. 166

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशायनम ॥
- 2 श्रीमहादेवजीना प्र
- 3 रमादान् थाईने (?) करावुं छे मोजे
- 4 श्रीदीहोरमां रावळ श्री गजसंगजी
- 5 ना.....श्रीह
- 6 मीरजीअ करावुं छे संवत् १७५८ वरषे माघ वद ७ रवेउ दने श्री

NAGICĀNĀ

No. 160]

v. s. 1758

[24-5-1702.

This inscription is engraved on a *palia* found in the village Nagcānā. It measures 11½" by 14".

It records that Pithiā Ranmal son of Vejānanda fell in a battle in the village Nagcānā on the 9th day of the bright half of Jetha in v.s. 1758, during the reign of the emperor AURANGZEB.

Text

- 1 : नामो संम्वत् १७
- 2 ५८ वरखे जेठ शुद्ध
- 3 ९ दने पातसा श्री
- 4 अवरंगजेव बजा
- 5 राज नगेवाणा गरा
- 6 मै पीठीआ वेजाणंद
- 7 सुत रणमल सग
- 8 रामे सरौर पाडीयु

BHĀVNAGAR

No. 161]

v. s. 1768.

[9-2-1712.

This inscription is found in the temple of Nilkanṭha Mahadeva in Bhāvnagar city. It measures 17" by 4½".

It records that the temple of Nilkanṭha Mahādeva was built by Seth Bhagvān, son of Seth Kalyāṇa, by his wife Rakhmai, of the śrīmāl community and Lagha Uśkhā, on Saturday, the 13th day of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1768 or Śaka 1633. Seth Bhagvān belonged to the village Vaḍvā, which was in the possession of Jādejā Śatāji son of Kalāji

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसंवत् १७६८ वर्षे शाके १६३३ प्रवर्तमाने माघशुद्धि त्र०
- 2 १३ शनौ श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीय लघुशाखायां श्रीकल्याणश्रेष्ठि रषमाई तत्सुतुः श्रेष्ठि श्री ५
- 3 भगवानेन इदं देवालयं कारितं । नीलकंठ सदाशिवन् एहना प्रतापधकी देउ
- 4 ल तथा तलाव सदाशिवने हुकमें थयुं छे । साक्षात् श्रीसदाशिवे महिमा प्रकट कीधु छे
- 5 वडवाग्रामे निवास तत्र जाडेजा श्री ५ कलाजी तथा जाडेजा श्री ५ शताजी राज्ये

BHĀNAVAD

No. 162]

v. s. 1771

[27-4-1715.

This inscription is copied from a *pāhā* lying in the village Bhānavad in the Nawnagar State.

It records that Kumār JETHIJI belonging to the YADU family fell in a battle on the 13th day of the dark half of Caitra in v.s. 1771 (5-4-1715). His *pāhā* was raised on Wednesday, the 5th of the bright half of Vaiśākha.

Jethiji was only a Bhāyāt of the royal family of Jamnagar.

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्वस्त श्रीजे
- 2 यो संगलाभ्युदयश्च श्रीम
- 3 नृपविक्रमाङ्कै संवत्
- 4 १७७१ वर्षे प्रवर्तमाने
- 5 रवौ उत्तरायणगते श्रीसूर्ये महामं
- 6 गलप्रदमासोत्तम चङ्ग मासे कृश्च
- 7 पक्षे तिथी १३ दिने यदुवंशोद्भव कुब्ज
- 8 रश्रीजेटीजी रणसंग्रामे महाबली ? धाराक्षेत्रे हरी च
- 9 रण पाम्या छे प्रतिष्ठा वैशाख शुदि ५ बुधे प्रतिष्ठां
- 10 श्री शुभं भवतु श्रीजयः ॥ श्रीकल्याणमस्तु ॥

THĀN

No. 163]

v. s. 1776.

[31-8-1720.

This inscription is copied from one of the *Pāhās* in the northern *pādar* of Thān.

It records that Kumar Śri Pratāpasimhji, son of Rānā Sangrāmasimhji son of Rānā Śeśamalji, son of Rānā Vajerāji, son of Rānā Abherāji, fell in a fight, against the enemies who had invaded Thāngadh, on Wednesday, the 11th of the bright half Bhādravā in v.s. 1776. Kumāra Pratāpasimhji was the sister's son of Paramāra Akherāji, son of Nāyāji.

It may be noted that Kumāra Pratāpasimhji was only a *bhāyāt* of the ruling family of Lakhtar, as his father, who was killed in v.s. 1757 (See No 153 above) was a younger son of Śeśamalji

Text

- 1 संवत् १७७६ न वरषे
- 2 भद्रव सद् १० ना बध
- 3 दन राणश्रीअभरा
- 4 जजी सत् राणश्रीव
- 5 जराजजी सुत् राणा
- 6 श्रीससमलजी
- 7 सत् राणा सगरमसघजी

- 8 सन कूअर श्रीपरातप
- 9 सघजी श्रीथानगढ क
- 10 टक वालम (?) फरकर तदी
- 11 कम आवा छे श्रीसरज सं
- 12 परसर श्रीनथजी सन
- 13 परसर श्रीअथराजजी
- 14 न भणज छे

HALVAD

No 164]

v s. 1779

[1-4-1723

This inscription is copied from a *pālia* standing near the thirty-six pillared *deri* in Halvad.

It records the death of Mahārāṇā Javantsīrñhji, son of Mahārāṇā Gajasīrñhji, and grandson of Mahārāṇā Megharājji, evidently of Halvad, on the seventh day of the bright half of a Caitra in v.s. 1779.

The Kathiawad Gazetteer states that Jarvantsīrñhji ruled till 1718 A.D., which in the light of this *pālia* seems to be wrong.

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः संवत् १७७९
- 2 वरषे चइतर सुद ७ दने माहारां
- 3 ण श्रीमेघराजजी महाराण श्री
- 4 गजसंगजी महाराणश्रीजस
- 5 वंतसंगजीनी देरी छे । श्री ।

SIYANI

No. 165]

v. s. 1781

[15-7-1724.

The following inscription is engraved on a marble stone fixed in a *deri* on the bank of a tank to the south of the village Siyāṇi in the Limbdi State.

It records that Kumār Śrī ADĀJĪ (Aderājji) son of Bai Rūpakuvār born of a Cāvdā family caused a *deri* to be made in honour of Mahārāṇā BHOJARĀJJI on Wednesday, the 6th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1781 (Śaka 1646).

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीज
- 2 यो मंगलाभ्युदय स्वस्त श्रीमन्नि
- 3 क्रमार्कसमयातिथि सवत् १७८१ वर्षे
- 4 शाके १६४६ प्रवर्तमाने दक्षणां ग
- 5 ते श्रीसुर्ये व्रषारतु मासोत्तमा श्रावण
- 6 मासे शुक्लपक्षे ६ षटी बुधवासरे मा

- 7 हाराणा श्रीभोजराजजीनि देहेरि क
 8 रावि छे बाइ श्रीरूपकुवर चुडाशयी सु
 9 त कुवर श्रीअदाजीये करावि छे शुभ भवत ॥

BHADROD

No. 166]

v. s. 1792

[30-6-1736.

This inscription is found in the Bhadrēvara Mahādeva temple at Bhādrod, a very old village at a distance of 4 miles to the north-east of Mahuvā in the Bhavnagar State.

It records that during the time of Vālā KHENGĀRJI the temple of [Bhadrēvara] Mahādevā was built by Gusāis Rūpabhārati and Jegama-bhārati, on Wednesday, the third of the bright half of Āsādha in v.s. 1792, at a cost of 1125 koris

Vālā Khengārji was a descendant of Vālā Hemalji, son of Cāmprāj-vālā, who ruled at Bhādrod. Khengarji entertained many Vanāra Ahirs in his service. Being much oppressed by them, they united together seized and bound him and threw him into the bonfire lit on the occasion of the *Holi* and burned him to death (See Kathiawad Gazetteer p. 517).

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशसाये नमः ॥ कोरी ११२५ जे रामभारथी
 2 संवत १७९२ बाणवानां वरष असाढ शुद्धनी
 3 ३ बुधवारें देस संपूरण कीजुं छे गुसा
 4 ई रूपभारथी तथा गुसाई जेगमभा
 5 रथीअे चणानुं छे वाळा खेगारजीनी
 6 वारमां काम थीयुं छे माहादेवनुं नां
 7 गु हनु ते माहादेवने काम आनुं छे
 8 गुसाई हीरा भारथी तथा गुसाई भीम
 9 परी तथा वाळा वाइजी तथा वाळा वीरजी
 10 नी दीलनी टेल छे सलाट मीठा चणुं छे पारे
 11 ख हरी पीतामर माफ माफ छे सुभं भवतु

LIMBDI

No. 167]

v. s. 1793

[28-3-1737.

This inscription is copied from one of the *pālās* standing on the bank of a tank at Limbdi. The inscribed portion measures 1½' by 5½'.

It records the death of Kumāra Śrī Beherājji on Monday, the eighth day of the bright of Caitra in v. s. 1793 or (Śaka 1659)

Text

- 1 स्वस्ति श्रीमन्मृषविक्रमार्कसमयातित संव
 2 त १७९३ श्रीमन्मृषशालिवाहनकृत शाके
 3 १६५९ प्रवृत्ते चैत्रमास शुक्लपक्षे तिथि ८ सो
 4 मवासरे कुवरश्रीवेहराजीनो पालियो छे

LOLIYĀNĀ

No 168]

v s. 1794

[9-5-1738.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the outer portion of the eastern wall of the Śiva temple in the now ruined village Loliyānā in the Vālā State at a distance of about 7 miles to the north-west of Vālā. The inscribed portion measures 7" by 5½".

It records that DAMĀJĪ GAIKWAD built the Śiva temple on the second day of the bright half of Jyestha in v.s. 1794.

Damāji Gaikwad is the founder of Gaikwad family of Baroda. The inscription is in the Marathi language.

Text

- 1 ॥ श्रीशिवचर
- 2 णी तत्पर ॥ दामाजी गा
- 3 णीः यकवाड नीरंतर
- 4 ॥ समत १७९४ जेष्ठ
- 5 ॥ सुद बीज

LIMBDI

No. 169]

v. s 1794

[17-5-1738.

This inscription is copied from a *pālīā* standing on the bank of a tank in Limbdi. It measures 1'-5" by 4½".

It records the death of Kumāra Śrī AMARASINHJI on Wednesday, the 11th of the bright half of Jyestha in v.s. 1794, Śaka 1660

Amarasinhji was the younger brother of Harbhamji, the ruler of Limbdi. He was killed while fighting with the Kāthīs of Pālīād (Kathiawad Gazetteer p. 534).

Text

- 1 संवत १७९४ शाके १६६० ज्येष्ठमास शु
- 2 क्लृपक्षे तिथि १० बुधवासरे कुवरश्रीअ
- 3 मरसंघजीनो पालियो चोढो छे ॥

MORVI

No. 170]

v. s. 1797

[21-11-1740.

The following two inscriptions are engraved on two of the many *pālīās* standing in the crematory to the north of the Morvi City. The first measures 2' in length and 1'-2½" in breadth, and the second 2'-1" in length and 7" in breadth. Both of them are incised with big letters and are of the same date, *viz*, Friday, the 14th of the bright half of Māgassara in v.s. 1797 (Śaka 1662)

The first inscription records the building of the *Deri* of Thākur ALIYĀJĪ, son of KĀYĀJĪ of the JĀDEJĀ family. The second inscription records the

* This letter is engraved here through mistake.

erecting of the *pālā* of Jādejā VISĀJĪ, son of BHĀRĀJĪ, while fighting together with Thākur Aliyājī.

The event referred to in these records is that Thākur Aliājī, son and successor of Kāyājī of Morvi was treacherously murdered by Hālojī, the Girasia of Padadhari, when Aliyājī was returning from pilgrimage to Dwarka (See Kathiawad Gazetteer p 549).

Text

(१)

- 1 ॥ संवत् १७९७ ना वरषे साके १६
- 2 ६२ प्रवर्तमाने रवी दक्षिणाने ग[ते]
- 3 श्रीसूर्य मांहामांगल्य पवीत्रकारी [मा]
- 4 गसरमासे शुक्लपक्षे १४ शुभवास
- 5 रे ठाकर श्रीकांहींभाजी सुत जाडेजा श्री
- 6 अलङ्भाजीनी डेरी संपुरण करी पालिओ...

(२)

- 1 संवत् १७९७ वरषे सक व्रषे (१६६२) मागसर सुद १४ वा
- 2 र सोकरे जाडेजा सा[हेब] भासाजी सुत वीसाजी का
- 3 म आवा छ ठाकर श्रीअलीभाजी आगल काम
- 4 आवां छे साहेब वीसाजीनो पालिओ उभो कीध छे

WADHWAN

No 171]

v. s 1797

[20-8-1741

This inscription is copied from a *pālā* standing in the place called after 'Hāḍimā' in Wadhwan. It measures 12½" by 16".

It records that DEVAKUVARBĀI, daughter of HĀDĀ AMARSIMHJĪ burnt herself (i.e. became *sati*) with her husband, MAHĀRĀNA ARJUNSIMHJĪ on Thursday, the 5th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1797. The *devī* was built in her honour by the MAHĀRĀNĀ SABALASIMHJĪ, son of Achāb(?), of the Paramāra family.

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः स्वस्ति श्रीमन्पुणविक
- 2 मार्कसमयातीत संवत् १७९७ शाके १६६३
- 3 प्रवर्तमाने दक्षिणायने गते श्रीसूर्य वरषारतो
- 4 मासोत्तममासे श्रीश्रावण वदि ५ गुरौ तदिने
- 5 महाराण श्रीअरजनसिंहजीसाथे हाडाश्री
- 6 अम[र*] सिंहजी सुता बाई श्रीदेवकुवर सागवन
- 7 न लीधु छे ॥ परमारजी श्रीआछवसुत
- 8 महाराणश्रीसबलसिंहजीअे प्रसाद क
- 9 राव्यो छे श्रीरस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

BEYT

No. 172]

Date Lost.

This inscribed slab was found in the Rāmavādi on the bank of the Ranchod talav in Beyt-Sankhoddhār

The inscription is in Marathi and records that the tank was dug up by Bhagavant Dādā Kulkarni, inhabitant of Jāmb Jalgaon in the Wai Deśa and in the employ of Samsher Bahadar Subhedar Damāji Gaikwad, son of Pilāji.

A Gujarati inscription on white marble fixed in the right hand wall of the stairs to the Ranchod talav shows that in subsequent times when this tank which was called Dāmāsar was out of repairs it was rebuilt in v.s. 1861 by Bābāji Appāji Kalambecker of Satara. It is clear from this that the present Ranchod talav was originally called by Dāmāsar

A question arises here how could Damāji, son of Pilāji, who ruled from v.s. 1788 to 1824 have built a tank in Beyt which was conquered by the Gaikwads in v.s. 1873 (1817 A.D.) ?

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशायनमः । श्रीरणसोडराय ॥
- 2 श्रीभगवंत दादा...कुलकर्णी मौजे
- 3 जांब जलगाव प्रांत वाई देश दी
- 4 मत पिलाजीसुत दमाजी गायकवा
- 5 ङ सुभेदार समशेर बहादुर
- 6 याणी तलाव करविला...
- 7 भीवाजीपंत ह...
- 8 ... जाला
- 9 कडिवा ... संवत्
- 10 ... ९ माघ सुद...

PĀTĪ

No. 173]

v. s. 1801

[25-3-1745.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in a wall of the *devadi* at the inner door of the Darbargadh at Pātdi. The inscribed portion measures 26½" by 10".

It records that during the time of the emperor MUHAMMAD SHAH (of Delhi) Desai UDAKARANA of VIRAMGAON caused the fort of Viramgaon to be built and his son BHĀVASIMHA caused the fort of Pātdi to be built. The cost of this was Rs. 40361. Names of several officers of Bhāvasimhji employed at Pātdi are given. The date, third day of the bright half of Caitra of v.s. 1801 probably refers to the time when the Pātdi fort was completed and when the inscription was set up

Thus Desai Bhāvasimhji fought bravely against the Marathas in defence of the Viramgaon fort. (See *History of Gujarat*, p. 323).

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः [।*] पातसा श्रीमहमदसाहानी पातछाइम मेजे
- 2 वीरमगमना देसईउदकरण मजे वीरमगमनो कट कर० तेना सत देसई
- 3 भावसघ मोजे पटडीनो कट करो तेनी बेसरण रु० ४०३६१ थआ छ तानो भाई
केस
- 4 वदास ता. भा वेणीदस उदकरण भा० पीतमरदास भणोजी भवानीदास दीवन परस
- 5 तमदस ता: हरखजी बाहाला त: पा० जेगता वीठलदास त्रीकमदास त: मोज० पाटडीना
साच
- 6 घा अबा सकराण उपट रहीने कट कराव छ दसई भावसघजीना अमराव ज
- 7 रोसी हमादभाई ता. सोलंकी जाफरा तथा मा० कमाल ममदा तथा
- 8 खेकरा जमुभाई तथा सोता० रहेमतखान तथा सोता दरीआखन
- 9 तथा खरोसी नाधु ता० ठाकर नारख तथा पणगी (?) डोसा त: सेलकी अमद
- 10 जी तथा खेकरा जमाल मेमदा तथा मोजे पाटडीना पटल अपरव तथ० प०
- 11 साखा आलेसा तथा संघवी अमरा भीमजी स्वंत १८०१ वरखे चईतर सुद ३ तथा
स सकरजी

MAHUVĀ

No. 174]

v. s. 1805

[12-12-1748.

This inscription is found in a well called 'Dholia vāv' in the Darbar-gadh at Mahuvā. It is much worn out. It measures 14" by 15".

It seems to record that during the time of VAKHATSIMHJI, evidently the ruler of Bhavnagar, some men belonging to the Khatri community caused a well to be dug up and made a gift of 60 bighas of land on the fourth day of the bright half of Pausa in v s 1805.

This inscription was once published in the *Pkt* and *Skt* inscriptions of Kathiawad p. 167.

Text

- 1 नाराय ...
- 2
- 3 पाणछरादा ! ... करावी
- 4 राज्य श्रीवखतसीं .. विजय[रा]
- 5 ज्ये खोरगढमधे पराययी ? तथा
- 6 क्षत्री मावजी सेठ मेता दे
- 7 वजी तथा मित ... यालाई संनीद्धौ
- 8 धोलो कुवो वंधाव्यो ... धरति विद्या ६०
- 9 बाबा रामदास तलसीदास रामा
- 10 संवत् १८०५ पोस शुद्ध ४

(To be Concluded)

INDO-EUROPEAN GM-SKŌ OR GM-SKHŌ?

By

SIDDHESHWARA VARMA, Jammu.

C. R. SANKARAN'S very learned article on "GM-skŏ versus GM-skhŏ" in the January number (pp. 632 ff.) of Vol. I of this journal has deeply interested me. In this article he advances a new theory that in Greek forms like [skhídē], [skhízō], when, normally, "the accent preceded the cluster of the dental sibilant and the voiceless guttural stop phonemes, the voiceless guttural became *non-aspirate*; otherwise *aspirate* in Greek" (pp. 634, 636). But before this theory can be accepted, there are a few additional points which must be taken into account.

(1) As examples of Greek aspiration, SANKARAN gives forms of only *one* Greek stem, namely [skhíd—] and a theory based on only one stem has little chance to be established. In fact Greek has *only* this stem or the phonetically allied stem [sk(h)ēi-] in [skháō-] to offer [vide BOISACQ, *Dict. Ety. de la La Grecque* (1923), p. 932] as a clear example of aspiration after [s].

(2) But even this aspiration in the single stem [skhíd-] or [skhēi-] may be an illusion, or just a sporadic phenomenon, for side by side with the aspirate forms of THIS stem, we have also the NON-ASPIRATE forms, Cf. Gr. [skidnēmi] side by side with [skhízō], (cf. BOISACQ Ib. p. 932) [skidarón], [skindalmós] side by side with [skhindalmós] (WALDE-POKORNY'S *Lexicon*, II, p. 544).

(3) The inference from SANKARAN'S statement that "we find the accent immediately after the voiceless guttural aspirate stop phoneme," (p. 634) is that if the accent does not follow the consonant-group *immediately*, the stop is a non-aspirate. But this inference is disappointed by the following examples, in which the aspiration is maintained, although the accent does not immediately follow:—

[skhistós], [skhindalmós], [skhasmós], [skhastérion],
[skhastéria] (Vide WALDE-POKORNY, II, 544, BOISACQ, p. 932)

4. WALDE-POKORNY (I, 137) give another example of aspiration in Gr. [érkhomai], Skr. [ṛcchati], and if this etymology is accepted, we would expect [érkomai] by SANKARAN'S theory, for the accent immediately precedes the consonant group. WALDE-POKORNY, however, connect the stem, not with [skho-] but with [sko-], [er-skō].

(5) On p. 635, footnote 5, SANKARAN notes [skōr] as an exception, but there are a few more exceptions, such as the following, collected from WALDE-POKORNY:—

Greek		Sanskrit
[skúlos]		[chavi-]
[skiá]	[skánā]	[chāyá]

(6) Greek [skedánnūmi] "I break into pieces" mentioned on p. 634, has no bearing on the main issue, for, according to WALDE-POKORNY (II, p. 558), it is connected with Skr. [skhadate] "he splits," and so has the Indo-European stem [sqhed-] or [sqed], not [skhed-].

In my opinion, the very occurrence of an Indo-European [skh] or even [kh] is extremely doubtful. The first article attempting to establish an Indo-European [kh] was by BARTHOLOMAE, who, in KZ 27, pp. 366 ff gave examples like [chadáyati], [púccham], [chāyá], the [ch] of which is now traced to a composite sound [sk̥], without any aspirate element, cf. WALDE-POKORNY on these words. The occurrence of [kh] has been once mentioned by BRUGMANN (*Grundriss* I², 548), but the only sure example he gives thereof contains a composite sound, viz. gr. [skhízō] and he has not further mentioned [kh], even in the Indo-Iranian section, while HIRT has cut the Gordian knot by eliminating [kh] altogether, for he does not mention it at all in his *Idg. Gramm.* I, 245 (1927). He mentions only [kh], nor does he mention [skh]: he gives only [skh]. In fact the motive to keep a [kh] seems to have been a feeling to complete a series, though no positive element was available to do so. No single sound in any Indo-European language is available, which may be traced to [kh].

Skr. [ch], as has been established by WACKERNAGEL and others (cf. WACKERNAGEL, *Ai. Gramm.* I, 156) is a composite sound, being a product of internal Sandhi. But to trace [ch] to an Intermediate group of spirants [ś ś], [ś śh] (WACKERNAGEL I b., 157) is a phonetic impossibility. [Ch] has been considered to be an affricate, but there is no conclusive evidence that it was so. Ancient Indian Grammarians never mention that it was an affricate, they always treated it as a *plosive* [sparśa-]. That it was possibly a plosive is further supported by some of the modern Indo-Aryan dialects, in which it is a plosive, cf. my "phonetics of lahnda" *JASB*, 1936, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 72, 75. Now when once a group of complete spirants like [ś ś] has been established in a language, it is not possible for it to develop into a sound with considerable occlusion like [ch], which was possibly, or very nearly plosive. In my view, Skr. [ch] preserves the traces of a very ancient Proto-Indo-Iranian stage in which [sk̥] had not yet become [ś ś]. SANKARAN'S hypothesis (p. 633) is therefore certainly a definite improvement, as he deduces from [gr̥psk̥ho] a series of forms, in which the occlusive element has been maintained, viz. [śkh] > [śk'x'] > [śt'ś]: only his adherence to aspiration in [kh] has no convincing evidence, as has been shown above. When there was already in Indo-European a spirant with a palatalized plosive in [sk̥], the ground was possibly enough for the occurrence of [ch]: the supposition of an additional aspirate [h] is an unnecessary and unproved encumbrance.

I would therefore prefer [gmskŏ] to [gmskhŏ] as the origin of Skr. [gáccha-].

A few minor points in SANKARAN'S article deserve some consideration:—

(1) On p. 632 he says, in Sanskrit "[ġ] and [ġh] came to be represented by [j] and [h] remaining thus in an intermediate stage of development," the other Satem languages further changing the intermediate sounds to sibilants. Now this is true of [j], but not of [h], for [h] cannot precede a sibilant in the development of a language. rather the reverse is the case. We know, for instance, that even in Sanskrit [s] has become Visarga, a sound akin to [h], while in many modern Indo-Aryan languages [s] has become [h]. The fact, therefore, seems to be that Sanskrit further developed the sibilants into [h]

(2) On p. 633, footnote 4, there occurs the following quotation from POULTNEY:—"Sanskrit [chinatti], Lat. [scindo]give good evidence for the existence in I. E. of a nasalized root-form [sqind-]". A little inaccuracy has here crept in. It is not Skr. [chinatti], but [chindanti] which is an evidence for an I. E. nasalized root, for forms like [chinatti], as BRUGMANN (*Gundriss* II², 3, 276 ff.), (*MU*, III, 150, 153, 154) has pointed out, are pure Indo-Iranian innovations: the exact correspondent of Lat. [jungit] is not [yunákti] but [yuñjáte]. The fact that in Sanskrit forms like (bhuñjáti) [rundháti], exist side by side with [bhunákti], [rupáddhi] indicates the preservation of the inherited forms with an infix nasal side with the analogical forms like [chunatti].

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

The royal court was the patron of learning in ancient India. Its place has now been taken up by the learned bodies, which stand for promotion of learning in modern times. These bodies, however, are in many cases too poor to help materially all the learned men of the land who have completely dedicated their lives to the advancement of knowledge but they appreciate occasionally at least the work of some select scholars who have already put their stamp on the subjects they have made their own and who have thus made themselves famous throughout the world by their life-long intellectual effort guided by the inner vision only. In accordance with this practice of honouring learned men the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society presented last month medals of honour to Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. K. AIYANGAR, M.A., Ph.D., and Mr R. P. MASANI, M.A., the present Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. The tribute paid to these two scholars by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay on the above occasion is well worth putting on permanent record as it voices the genuine feelings of admiration we entertain for the services of these scholars in the cause of knowledge.

"Diwan Bahadur Dr. AIYANGAR's contributions to a knowledge of the history and traditions of this vast sub-continent," said His Excellency "will be guide and an inspiration to all future explorers in these fields of difficult and laborious study. It is in every way fitting that one who has made by his teachings and writings, such a great contribution to history in South India should be honoured by this Society."

"Mr. R. P. MASANI has a special place of his own in the life of Bombay and India. He is indeed one of the 'wise men' whom Plato would have loved to appoint as a ruler of his perfect Republic, for he has combined high intellectual effort in the sphere of pure knowledge with practical ability in the world of everyday affairs, a versatility which is given to very few indeed. We are indeed lucky to have him today as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University" The history of Indian literature bears ample testimony to the fact that Indian Scholars of old, Jaina, Buddhist or Brahmanical, unmindful of the political conflicts of their days, kept on the torch of learning ever burning through centuries of unsettled conditions of life due to political turmoil and occasional vandalism caused by foreign invasions. We of modern times maintain the same tradition in minding our own business and by honouring our learned men at a time when the greatest of the modern wars is now raging in Europe. There is undying optimism in the human breast even in the pursuit of the mundane things. Things of the mind are not of clay and that touch of the Immortal which has enlivened our ancient glorious history and civilization will safely guide us through the present gloom, if we but stick fast to our aims and ideals in the pursuit of knowledge, pure and simple. As Kalidāsa said -

“हेनः संलक्ष्यते ह्यग्नौ विशुद्धिः श्यामिकापि वा”

Verily the test of gold lies in the fire !

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MALAYĀLAM PROSE WRITTEN BY CHRISTIANS*

By

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Ernakulam

CONSONANTS

1. Old -cc-, denoting a stage anterior to -śś-, is retained in the following:—
Kurēcce < ultimately *Kurā y-a-c-ceyde*; *vācca*, the past relative participle of *vāy-kk-*.

In modern *kurēśśe* or *kurēśśa*, the stop element in the long affricate has completely dropped out.

The other form *vāśśa* (< *vācca*) is not heard in the Cochin State today.

2. *t* and *d* become changed to -s- in vulgar corruptions like the following:—

kausukham < *kautuka-*; [Skt.] the influence of *sukham* [Skt.] has also perhaps been operative.

sōppə 'garden' < *tōppə*.

dēvasa < *dēvatā* [Skt.]

varasaṇ 'uninvited guest' < *varattaṇ*.

dīmasa-ppettə < *dīṇata* [from Skt. *dīna*]

agimōssiyam, a corruption of *akamatya* [Skt.]

aṇṇuvasicce 'having allowed' < *aṇṇuadicce* [from Skt. *anuvad-*]

carasi-kk- 'to be careful,' "corrupted" from *śraddhi-kk-* adapted from Skt. *śraddhā*

sarggam, a "sanskritization" of the native word *tarkkam* 'quarrel,' under the influence of Skt. *sarga*

3. Colloquial forms like the following show the assimilative change of the alveolar nasal *ṇ* to other nasals:—

tiṅga-y-illa [< *tiṇṇuga-y-illa*]

mumbə [< *munṇbə*]

imbam [*iṇbam*]

timma [*tiṇma*]

kāmmāṇ [*kāṇmāṇ*]

4. *veḷmāḍam* [< *venmāḍam*], *kāḷmāṇ* [< *kāṇmāṇ*] show *ḷ* < *ṇ*

5. *ṇ* is substituted (by analogy) for *ṇ* (arising from the meeting of *ḷ* and *m*), in *peṇṇamār*, *kaṇṇamār*.

6. Skt *b-* appears as *v-* in forms like *veṇḍicce* (Skt *bandh-*), *vālyam* (Skt. *bālya*), etc.

7. *solppaṇ* (Skt *svalpa*) in collocations like *solppaṇ polude* has final *ṇ* < *m*, cf. vulgar colloquial *samayaṇ* for *samayam*.

* Continued from p. 337 of Vol. III.

8. Forms like *pōrālīga* (<*pōrāyga*), *varālīga*, *mēlālīga* are met with; these are heard occasionally today.

9. *ellāppolūm* or *ellāppalūm* does not have the *y* of modern *ellāyppolūm*.

10. *sāndhiga* (for Skt *sandhyā*) and *pralegam* (for Skt *pralaya*) have -g- in the stead of -y-. Instances like colloquial *cāndriya* beside *cāndrika*, *iṣṭiya* beside *iṣṭika*, etc. may have led to the feeling that the velar plosive was original in popular colloquial *sāndhiya* (from *sandhya*) and *praleyam*. Such a process of wrong back-formation has operated in *tiṛige* (*tiṛiye* < *tiṛiya*) and *olige* (*olīye* < *olīya*), both of which are modern.

11. *Kār-kk-* (for *kā-kk-*) and *kaṇar-kk-* (for *kaṇa-kk-* formed from Skt *ghaṇa*) have an intrusive *r*. These are colloquial. Literary Mal. has *kalar-kk-*, *kōr-kk-*, *pīlar-kk-*, in all of which *r* is an intrusive. Tam colloquials have *kār-kk-*, *kōr-kk-*.

12. The change of the post-dental *r* to the palato-cerebral *ɟ* is met with in forms like *paḷḷikkāɟar* which shows the dissimilative change of old *r* to *ɟ*.

13. Skt. *s* is adapted as *l* in *īlāl*, *aṇvaḷ-kk-*, *puṇḷaṇ*, etc.

14. *Kūdal* 'hesitation' [< *kūsal* < *kūśal*] shows the change of *s* > *d*.

SANDHI.

1. The colloquial practice of using the front on-glide after consonants preceding, even where there is no breath-pause, is represented in some of these texts, as in *avar yengilum*, etc.

2. The Mal. fondness for the front glide *y* which from an earlier period began to replace in many contexts the back glide *v* (which was originally normal in these contexts) is reflected in instances like *vañṇū-y-eñṇa*, etc.

3. Rules regarding doubling of stops are here not consistently or "correctly" observed.

FOREIGN NAMES.

There are a number of names of European places, towns, countries, subjects of study and religious functionaries, which are sought to be spelt in Varttamāṇappustagam according to the pronunciation current at the time in the Mediterranean countries (particularly Italy and Portugal). The spellings used in Vartt. are transliterated here—The interpretation of the phonetic facts has to be made separately with reference to the actual sound-values of the European names

allemāñña 'Germany'
 āsya 'Asia'
 grammatīca 'grammar'
 ittālya 'Italy'
 iṅglēs 'English'
 ispāñña 'Spain'
 īndia 'India'
 evaṅgēlōṇ

evurōppa 'Europe'
 kardiṇāl 'cardinal'
 kāppa dē bōṇo esperāṇsa 'Cape of Good Hope'
 kumbasāram 'Confession' from Portuguese 'confessare'
 koṇsūl 'Consul'
 kvārentēṇa 'Quarantine'
 lisbōa 'Lisbon'.
 trōnōs
 dōje 'Doge'
 pātriarkanmār 'Patriarchs'.
 pilosūpia 'Philosophy'
 pyirēṇsa 'Florence'.
 plenipotensāno 'Plenipotentiary'.
 prāsaṇ 'Frenchman'.
 prattugāl 'Portugal'.
 proppagāṇda phide 'Propaganda fide'.
 Bolōṇña 'Bologne'
 muṇsiññōr 'Monsignor'.
 miserakkōrdia 'Misericordia'.
 lāsaretta 'Lazarette'.
 Viskōṇṭi 'Visconti'.
 viskōṇṭessa 'Viscontessa'.
 vattikāṇa 'Vatican'.
 siyēṇna 'Sienna'.
 suññōra 'Signora'.
 sekretārī 'Secretary'.
 rettorikā 'Rhetoric'.
 rōma 'Rome'.

VI MORPHOLOGY

1. The third case postposition *koṇḍa* is used in contexts where to-day the postposition *āl* would be preferred.

2. The Skt. *prati* when used as a postposition in this dialect has not only the meanings 'concerning' 'towards', but also the force of 'for the sake of', as in *avar prati*, *davatte prati*, etc.

3. *-ēl*, as in *marattēl*, *kayyēl*, appears fairly often; this type is still heard in parts of Travancore.

4. *edō* for singulars and plurals, masculines and feminines, as commonly in the older stages.

5. The frequency with which the terminative expletive *ē* is used in instances like *irikkayilē*, *adimālē*, etc., is a noteworthy old feature.

6. Among pronouns, the following are noteworthy. — *iṇikkā* a colloquial form < *eṇikkā*.

ñōm [for *ñām*] owing to the influence of the bilabial *ñom* and *nōm* are heard to-day.

iande iande 'of each', modern *avanavande*; *tānnaḷ tānnalude* 'of each group', modern *avaravarude*, *ā dēham* 'that personage' [modern *addēham* the honorific third person singular pronoun].

7 Among feminine forms, one may note the old *aḍiyātti*, *paḍalātti*, *agāḍiyātti*.

8. Rational plurals like *dōsāttāḷar*, *kūli-y-āḷar*, *ṭunya-v-āḷar*; *paḷḷikkārar*, *paḷḷikkāṇar* and *kartanainal* are other old plurals

9 Though the personal endings of finite tense-forms had disappeared already in Mal., certain traditional forms continued to be used in formal prayers and utterances. Since the history of the Malayāḷi Christians goes back to a period when these personal endings were still current, there is nothing surprising in the fact that such endings were retained in their prayers and formal ceremonies. The prayers cited in SV contain many types of personal endings

10. Past stems like *vīnn*. (for *vīn*-) and (conversely) *ūni* (for *ūnn-i*.) are peculiar

11 The "indeterminate" tense with *ū* is represented in more contexts than those in which they are used to-day — *vāstavamāyrippū*; *avide paṇṇka hallū*.

12. *Okka* which originally was a pure infinitive began to be declined (like a noun) in the New Mal period. *Okkakkuṁ*, *okkayude*, *okke* are all met with here

13. The collocations formed of the relative participles and *āṇṇ* express 'manner'; future relative participles followed by *āṇṇ* (as in *ceyyum-āṇṇ*) express 'effect' also, past relative participles followed by *āṇṇ* denote 'time'—Older *kāṇmāṇ-ūṇṇ*, *vicāripṭāṇṇ*

14. The combinations of present relative participles and *appōḷ*, like *ceyyuṇṇappōḷ* are rare to-day.

15. *Kolḡā*, *celḡā*, *eḷuṇṇēkkā* are imperatives with final long *ā*.

16. *Vēṇḍuvadē* or *vendvadē* for modern *vēṇḍadē*.

17. Verbal nouns with *-ga*, *-kka* are used with the "seventh case" ending *-il*, as in (*paṇḍiṇott*-) *irikka-y-il-ē*; this is uncommon to-day in Cochin colloquials.

18 Among negative tense-forms the following may be noted :—

(i) Beside the negative finite type of *ceyyāṇṇu*, the type of *pōḡāttu*, *illāttu* so common in 18th century Mal. literary texts, is also used.

(ii) *tāmasirādē*, *bōḍhirādē*, *vicārirādē*, *sammadirādē* which show an *r* instead of the glide-developed *y*. This *r* is met with in the negative participles of dissyllabic verb-bases which have *r* for their past stems

(iii) Negative "purpose"-participles with *āyavāṇ* occur fairly frequently in the texts under reference :—*udappriṇḍe avagāsam koḍukkāyavāṇ*; *veliccam-ākkāyavāṇ*; *āḡāyavāṇ*; *pūḡāyavāṇ*, *vighnam varuttāyavāṇ*; etc.

(iv) *ñiltādē, peraltadiyādē* as negative imperatives (met with dialectally even to-day).

(v) *pūgikkollāyē* is another old form with *ollā*

VII VOCABULARY

Native elements

The words that I have discussed below are (a) those which are not in common currency to-day, except (if it so happens) in regional or communal colloquials; and (b) those which show structural or semasiological peculiarities.

These words include (i) old words forming part of the native heritage, (ii) words and forms specially adapted for expressing purely Christian religious ideas, and (iii) peculiar pseudo-Sanskritic formations derived from native words

Many of the words discussed below are, it is true, met with in non-Christian texts and documents also; but the question how far some of these words enjoyed a special popularity in the language of the Christians (in respect of structure, meaning, connotation or associations) is a matter deserving of a more intensive investigation than I have been able to make in the course of these pages. I have, however, indicated in connection with a few words that they may have had a 'communal' popularity on account of social, cultural or historical considerations

Wherever a word in the following lists is listed in VD (as cited by GUNDEBT), or in BAILEY, I have indicated the fact within square brackets. Though presumably the materials gathered by the compilers of VD (in the 17th and 18th centuries) and by BAILEY (at the very beginning of the 19th century) were chiefly drawn from the language of the Christian communities of North Travancore and South Cochin, it must be understood that the mere fact that a word is listed by VD and BAILEY does not necessarily mean that it was "communal" or that it enjoyed a special popularity among the Christians. This question, as I have pointed out more than once in the course of these pages, is a complicated one, and further materials (not available now) alone will satisfactorily solve the problem

The words discussed below are all taken from Vartt, SV or BG. Many of the words are common to all the three. There are, however, a few which are exclusive to one text or the other; and these have been marked off as such by me.

aḍutta 'suitable, fitting' and *adāṭṭa* 'unworthy, unsuitable,' as in the following, are not common to-day; *tanṅkk-adutta yōgyaṇal* or *makkakk-adutta āṣarna*, and *vargattṇ-adāṭṭa kṛtyaṇṇal*, etc.

alial 'sorrow'.

amali 'tumult' [VD]

amboṇ 'fine gold' not *amboṇ* 'five metals', but cf. Tam. *am*, 'beautiful', or cf. Tam. *pain-pōṇ*

ayarpya 'estrangement' 'discord' [VD] Cf. Tam. *ayar-kk* 'to forget.'

aṛiṣam 'revengefulness' [SV defines it thus as 'revengefulness']—In literary Mal, it means 'anger'. 'Black pepper' is the meaning in Tam.

aṛaṣar-irikkā-sthānam 'seat of kings' 'capital of a country'.

alarññā 'having become fatigued, on account of a long march' [Vartt.] appears to be a blend of *alaññā* and *ayarññā*. Perhaps there is also the influence of *ular*- 'to be hot, dry'

aṛappā 'qualm' 'aversion' [VD]; the verb *aṛai-kk-* 'to feel aversion' also exists in Mal.

Tam. *aṛai-* does not have this meaning; perhaps Tam. *aṛai-pō-* 'to become bewildered or nonplussed' may ultimately be related to the Mal. form.

The form *aṛappā* is used in expressions like *aṛappu kett-* 'without any qualm or aversion.'

aḷivā 'repentance' [VD], as in *maṇassinde aḷivā* in SV Cf. 'loosening of the mind', 'distress', a meaning that is associated with the word in classical literary texts. 'Distress' is a meaning shown by Tamil also

iṟummal 'gnashing' in *pal-i-ṟummal* 'gnashing of the teeth'—VD has *iṟambal*.

udappā 'offence' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *udai-kk-* 'to kick', 'to strike.'

uyir-kk- 'to be resurrected', *uyirppu* 'resurrection' [Bailey], *uyirovar* 'those alive'.—Cf. Tam *uyir-* 'to be animated to life,' *uyir-kk-* and *uyirppā* (as in *maṇaccavarude uyirppā*) convey the Christian idea of 'resurrection.'

uvavi [also *upavi*] [VD] incorrectly perhaps owing to a dissimilative change] 'love.' VD has a new *upavi-kk-* 'to love' based on *upavi*.

uvavi is based on the old base *uva-kk-* 'to feel glad.' Tam. has *uvavu* 'great pleasure' 'religious ardour.'

uvavi is a classical word met with in Rāmācaritam, but *upavi* and *upavi-kk-* appear to have been specially popular in Christian literature.

ūmi ṇirūpi-kk- 'to consider carefully or intently'

ūmi < *ūhū* < *ūndi*, the conjunctive participle of the verb *ūnd-* 'to be fixed, steadfast,' etc.

The peculiarity here is the somewhat rare change of *ññ* to *n* (through an intermediate stage of *ñ* simplified from *ññ* after a preceding long syllable). The cerebralisation (raising of the tongue-tip on the mouth roof) arises from the influence of the back vowel preceding.

There are some rare analogies in Mal:— < *ānā* < *āñā* < *āññā* < *āḡiṇḍu* [present tense of *ā-* 'to become'] *varuṇu* [the colloquial variant of the present tense finite *varuññu*] < *varuñu* < *varuññu*.

ūḷam 'turn' [VD and Bailey], as in *pala ṇḷavum* 'many times'—Cf. Tam *ūḷ* 'turn' 'time'.—SV has the pseudo-Sanskritic form *ūsam*.—Cf. the from *kṣvaṇ* used in BG for *kḷavan*

erivā 'religious zeal' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *erivu* 'burning' 'agitation' 'wrath,' which meanings exist for the Mal. word also even to-day—The meaning may have been specially adapted in the religious vocabulary of Christians :

ellāppolūm 'always' appears in this dialect often without the intrusive -y- of modern *ellāppolūm*

ellāvan-um 'all people' is a "corruption" with "wrong" singular masculine ending—(a)u, occurring in BG—The "correct" form is *ellāvar-um*

elīma 'humility' [VD and Bailey].—A common word in the 18th and 19th century Kēraja Christian vocabulary

ēg- 'to rebuke' [VD and Bailey]. In classical Mal *ēg-* generally means 'to direct, command,' 'to order a boon to be conferred'—This classical *ēg-* corresponds to Tam *ēv-*.

ērakkuvavā [VD and Bailey], *ērakkuvayam* 'assault' 'indignities,' 'illtreatment'—The first word is a noun, while the second is a noun formed from the old infinitive *ēra-k-kuvaya*.—*ērakkuvavā* occurs in old granthavaris [Cf Cochin Arch Report for 1103 ME].

Tam. *ērakkuvaya-p-pēs* means 'to vilify or abuse.'

ēttam and *kai-y-ēttam* 'assault' derive their meaning from *ēr-* 'to attack', whereas *ērakkuvavā* derives its meaning from 'what is more or less than propriety.'

oppārī 'comparison' 'parable'.

orimbāḍa, *orumbāḍa* 'concord' [Bailey]. Cf. Tam. *oruppāḍu* 'unanimity' 'concord', Tam *orum-paḍ* and Tam *oru-maṇa-p-paḍ*.

karēr- and *kōr-* 'to climb, ascend' are both met with in this dialect—The former base appears to have disappeared in Mal colloquials by about the 19th century [see my EMM, p. 42].

kaḷalappāḍa 'election,' 'nomination' [VD]. Cf Tam *kaḷal-* 'to become loose, free, marked off as a separate unit'

Bailey's *kaḷalappāḍa* means 'groin'.

kār-kk- 'to guard, watch, etc.' [Vartt. and BG].—The intrusive -r- in this word is not met with in other Mal. colloquials.—*Kaṇar-kk-* [BG] is another base which has an intrusive *r* not heard in other colloquials.

The intrusive -r- appears in literary Mal. *piḷarkk-* [cf Tam. *pīla-kk*], *kōr-kk-* [cf. Tam. *kō-kk-*], *kalar-kk-* [cf. Tam. *kala-kk-*] and in colloquial Tam. *kōr-kk-*, *cumar-kk-* [for *cuma-kk-*] and *kār-kk-* [for *kā-kk-*].

The *r* is inserted in these forms as an intrusive, on account of the analogy of forms like *kulīr-*, *kulīr-kk-*.

kulī-kk- 'to cover or traverse a distance of' [Vartt].

kuvai-kk- 'to cut short' is used literally in *kuzeccu kōññā*; cf. *hūlittul kuvayādē* in Uttirarām. gadyam.

kūḍal 'hesitation' < *kūṣal* [the usual modern Mal. form] < *kūṣal* [cf. Tam. *kūṣal*, *kūccal*].

kūtt-aruttā 'definitely'.—Cf. *aruttu para-* 'to speak decisively,' *aruttā palisa* 'fixed interest,' *vīla-y-aru-kk-* 'to fix the price.' VD has *aṛṭtia vākkā* 'conditional promise.'

Bailey equates *kūttaruppā* to 'want of friendship' 'arrogance, haughtiness,' in which *aru-kk-* appears to have the meaning 'to sever.'

kai-y-āi- 'to rule' [VD], and *kāi-y-āli-kk*- 'to entrust, hand over charge to' [VD and Bailey].

kuraḷa 'backbiting; calumny'.—E[uttaccan] has *kuḷalakkāraṇ*.—Cf. Tam. *kuḷalai*.

cavaḷ- 'to be soiled'. [VD and Bailey].—Cf. Tam. *caval* 'to become crumpled'.—Tam.—Mal. *cavatt*-, *caviṭṭ*- 'to trample on, to tread on' are causatives of *cavaḷ*-, *caviḷ*-.

ciṭṭāḷma 'services performed by personal attendant' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *ciṭṭāḷ*. *cey*- 'to do' appears very often as *cai*- in SV and BG.—This *cai* or *cay*- is common in old mss and inscriptions.

cemmōrtta, [VD and Bailey], *cummōrtta*, *cemmūrttam* [this last in Vartt only] 'blessing, benediction.' VD has also *cemmōr*- (<*cemmuvar*- 'to become prosperous') and *cemmōrtt*- (<*cemmuvarutt*- to make prosperous 'to bless')

cemmuvar- occurs in Kṛṣṇagāthā and other old classical texts. The structural contraction and the particular meaning 'benediction' for the derivative *cemmōrtta* are due probably to the incorporation of the form in the religious terminology of the Christians.

The *u* of *cummōrtta* is due to the bilabial following; and *cem-mūrttam* is a corrupt variant.

tagarppa 'demolition, destruction,' as in *manassinde tagarppa* 'contrition of the mind,' used in religious phraseology.

tanma 'lowness, vileness.'—This is the sense in which the word is sometimes used in classical texts like Kṛṣṇagāthā. Cf. *tan-ped*- of this 15th century text.

tanuppa 'comfort' is another meaning, as in *rakṣayam tanuppum* [SV]. *tanya* 'wicked,' as in *tanya hṛdayam* 'wicked heart,' shows in its formation the influence of *tan* above and of Skt. *dandya*—*tanya* does not occur in any classical texts, so far as I know.

tatra-p-ped- 'to be in a hurry' 'to hustle' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *tattaram* 'flurry.'

tala-p-ped- 'to be the first' 'to commence'.—Cf. Tam. *talappad*-.

tigai- 'to be fulfilled' 'to be completed' is used in phrases like *pustagaṇaiḷ tīgayuvāṇ* which is the literal translation of "in order that the scriptures might be fulfilled."

tīrva and *tīrmma* 'final settlement'. In Vartt, *tīrmma yaṭṭa* means 'definitely'.

tēṇ- 'to become aware of (fault), to be mended or reformed,' as in *pilaccadimēl tēṇ*.

tudarmāṇannal 'continuations.'—The *-āṇam*- here is due to analogy of forms like *tīr-māṇam*.

tudassam 'beginning' [VD and Bailey] (for *tudakkam*, *todakkam*) owes its -ss- to the analogy of *tadassam* perhaps.

tuṛassa 'opening' [Bailey] is another form with -ss- introduced on account of the analogy of words like *baḷassa*.

telinnā 'having become glad.'

haḍē 'formerly, for the previous time' This is used in classical Mal. and in some modern regional colloquials—*haḍāḍē* 'for the first time,' heard in the northern parts of Cochin State, is derived through haplology, from *haḍāhaḍē*.

hāṇḍi 'gratitude.'—The "correct" Mal. form is *hāṇu* [< older *hāṇḍi*]; but the influence of Skt. *nandī* 'joy' has led to the spelling *hāṇḍi* in the "learned" Mal. of some people. In literary Tamil and in older Mal. the form has both the meanings 'goodness' and 'gratitude'.

harunnāni 'insolent language' 'abuse' [VD] The form is connected with *harukk-* 'to mash, cut into pieces'.—I have not come across *harunnāni* elsewhere.

herappā, hīrappā [BAILEY] 'reconciliation, levelling of differences' 'peace'—Eluttaccan has *hīrappu paṛai*.

hiḷaṃ 'pride, haughtiness' [VD and BAILEY]; this is perhaps a popular back-formation from *hiḷam*, like *tegaḷ* 'scorpion' [BG] from *tēl*.

hombaram 'pain' 'distress' [BAILEY]—Cf. Tam. *hombalam* and North Mal. *hombalam*.

paṭṭāṇṇa, paṭṭāṇṇa [BAILEY], *paṭṭāṇṇā* [BG] 'truth'. The "correct" form is *paṭṭāṇṇa* [cf. Tam. *paṭṭāṇṇu*].

paṭṭāṇṇa with final *a* instead of *ā* appears to be a colloquial variant.

BAILEY has *paṭṭāṇṇa-yude* as the "sixth case" form of *paṭṭāṇṇa*.

paṭṭāṇṇa occurring in BG is a "corruption", with an intrusive *ḷ*.

padava 'boat'.

pammāṭṭa 'deceit' [BAILEY].

poruḷ paḍavārtta, (*poruḷ*)*paḍārtha*, *piḍārtha* [this last in BG].—In Vartt., the word has the meaning 'religious discourse' in contexts like the following: *upavi mēl uḷḷa poruḷpaḍārta*,
poruḷpaḍārta paṛaṇṇadinde śēṣam; *ī hagarīyil uḷḷa poruḷpaḍārta-k kāraruḍēyum*.

The same meaning exists for the expression in SV:—*ōttum poruḷ-paḍavārttayum*, and *taṇṇaḷ taṇṇalude pēccil paḍārta paṛayugayum*.

piḍārtha (which is apparently a corruption appearing in BG) means 'speech' 'expression' in *hinnude piḍārtha hīnne ariyikkunnu*.

paḍavārtta occurs in the old commentary on Līl in *pāl pōle paḍavārttayum* where *paḍavārtta* may mean 'speech' or 'expression'.

GUNDERT cites VD as explaining it as 'disputing'. This appears to me to be unsatisfactory.—In the Christian texts under reference, the expression appears not only as *paḍārta* but also as *poruḷ paḍavārtta*. Can it be that the expression was phrasal to start with, and that from the collocation *poruḷ paḍa vārta paṛayuga* 'to hold a discourse in such a way as to make the meaning clear' the expression *poruḷ paḍavārtta* was isolated?

paṛava 'bird' [BAILEY] 'bird in general'.—

peśar 'rain'—Cf. Tam. *puyal* 'storm', colloquial, *peśal* 'beating rain.'—

Cf. *piśir* 'rain-drops.'

puṣavar 'outsiders'.—This form occurs in Uttara-rāmāyanam gadyam.

punnāram or *ponnāram* 'false praise, flattery' [VD and BAILEY], as in *punnāram-āya vacanannal*.

perattā 'adultery', as in the sixth commandment *peratti-adīyādē* 'non moechaberis'.—Neither the literary dialect nor the colloquials that I know of have this meaning for *perattā*.

pūg- 'to enter' (a Mal base formed from older *pug-*) often interchanged with *pōg-* 'to go'

paidalātti 'young woman or girl'.—Note the association of *-ātti* with *paidal*, in order to indicate the feminine gender

perppā 'copy.' [VD and BAILEY].—*pagarppā* is a comparatively late form. *porudī* 'forgiveness, pardon', [BAILEY] as in *dōṣattiṇḍe porudī* 'forgiveness of sins'

poruppān-um 'Arrangements for lodging', as in *tiṇṇānum poruppānum poru-kk-* has the meaning 'to abide', 'to stay' in Mal

pōrum 'enough' [BAILEY], beside *maḍi*

pōriḡa in *maḍi pōriḡa* 'sufficiency' 'ability'.—BAILEY has *pōrima* with the same meaning

maṟudali-kk- 'to oppose' 'to contradict', from *maṟu-tala*, 'opposition'.—Cf. *maṟu-kk-* 'to oppose.'

mind-adān- 'to be silenced'.—VD has *minḍu-māy-*, and BAILEY has *minḍ-āttam mutt-* with the same meanings

mundugār literally 'those who wear the loin-cloth' is used for native Christians as distinguished from *kuppāya-k-kār* 'those who wear coats' i.e. Eurasian Christians (who are called *callakkār* to day)

muṇḍu muṟiḡal 'miscellaneous *sāmāns*'.—The generalisation of meaning is evident in contexts like *ponnum velliyum kondulla mundumuṟiḡal*.

mēśakk-iri-kk-, *mēśa-kalī-kk-*, literally 'to dine at table' means 'to take food' in contexts like *pul puṟattu mēśakk-iruttuvān mēśa-kalī-kk-* or *mēśakk-iri-kk-* is generally used to-day only in connection with the dinner or meals of Europeans.

mēṇu 'rank' 'honour', as in *mēṇu-kṣayam* [SV]. VD has *mēṇu-y-aṟiyuṇṇa-vān* 'courteous man'.

maiyaḷ 'twilight' 'dusk' [VD and BAILEY].—Cf. Tam. *mai-* 'to be dim'

mōnn- 'to bark or howl, like a dog' [VD], as in *mōnnuvān pōguṇṇa ṇāya*.—Cf. *moḷann-*, *muḷann-*.

mṟunnalī-kk- 'to become benumbed'. [BG] is a corruption of *vṟannalī-kk-*. In corrupt colloquials, *v* changes to *m*, cf *mikk-* for *vikk-*, *amasaram* [BG] for *avasaram*

vaga- 'to arrange', as in *vagaṟṇundākkiya puṣtagam* VD *vagaccal* is equated to 'composition of work, fiction', and BAILEY has 'to compose a work'.

vadugar 'bondsmen or slaves' [VD and BAILEY].—These were generally Pulayas. Though slavery has disappeared, Pulaya servants (and families, sometimes) remain attached to Christian families permanently even to-day in Kērala

varattar 'uninvited guests' [VD and BAILEY], from *varattə* 'coming, arrival'—BG has *varasən* (with $s < t < tt$).

vaḷarmi-kk 'to rear up' is based upon the colloquial *vaḷarmma* (= literary *valarcca*).

vaḷaṇṇi-kk 'to hatch a plot' [Vartt]

vācca 'some', 'any' is the past relative participle of *vāy-kk*. The meaning has undergone considerable generalisation—BAILEY has *vāśśadam* 'anything'.

viccugār, literally 'throwers (of nets)' 'fishermen'—VD has *viccalkkārāṇ*. *vīṇḍu vīluvāṇ* 'in order to redeem or recover.' *vīl-* is a Late Mal. base corresponding to Early Mal. and Tam *mīl-*

vīttaccāṇ 'pater familias'.

vēṇḍuvadə, vēṇḍvadə 'what is required'—Modern *vēṇḍadə*.

vēṇḍādhīṇam 'objectionable, malicious words'—A corruption of *vēṇḍādanam* under the influence of forms like Skt. *parādhīnam*. One hears in the corrupt colloquials *ācchādhīnam* for Skt *āchādāna*.

BAILEY has *vēṇḍāsaṇam* which is also a "corruption" with $s < t$ (through the fricative stage).

veḷusam in *veḷusamāyi ppara* 'to speak openly'.—Cf *vaḷusam* and *paḷusam*. *vellaṅgudi* (*vellaṁ kuḍi*), literally 'drinking of water', is used for 'food taken during a journey' and for 'food' in general. BAILEY gives the meaning 'provisions for a journey'.

veḷmāḍam 'terrace', for *venmāḍam*.

sargam 'quarrel' for *tarkkam*, is one of those numerous pseudo-Sanskritic forms that abound in this dialect.

sōppə 'garden' 'a *tope*' [VD] shows *s* for the initial *t-* of *tōppə*.

INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD*

By

D. B. DISKALKAR, Poona.

LATHI

No. 175]

v. s 1808

[6-8-1752.

This inscription is found in the temple of Bhīḍbhanjana Mahādeva at Lāthi. The length and breadth of the inscribed portion is 6".

It records that Sanghavi Hemarāja and Vithal, sons of Kalyānji, belonging to the Vanik Kapol community caused the temple of Bhīḍbhanjan Mahādeva to be built in Lāthi during the time of GOHEL ŚRISIMHJI, on Thursday, the eighth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in v s 1808.

This inscription was once published in the *Pkt. and Skt. Inscriptions of Kathiawad*, p. 168.

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्री सारदायै नमः ॥ श्रीरणछोडजी
- 2 सत छे ॥ श्रीजयो मंगलाचरण श्रीश्रीसंवत्
- 3 १८०८ वर्षे मासवतममासे श्रावणमासे
- 4 शुक्लपक्षे तथौ अष्टमी वार गुरु जोग अंड
- 5 एवं पचांगसधौ तदा देवल भीडभंजन शम्भु
- 6 नुपणात ? आदिश्रीलाठीमधे गोहेल श्री
- 7 संघजी वैराजमान राज करे छे श्रीवणिककपो
- 8 लगनाती गोत्र मडल संघवी श्री ५ कल्याणजी
- 9 केसव तदा भार्या बाई उभयकुलवसुधावाईअ
- 10 मलस पुत्र संघवी हेमराज तथा संघवी वीठल
- 11 जी पुत्र पीतांबर ॥ श्रीभीडभंजनसंभुतुं देवल
- 12 चणावतां जे बेसारण जे थै होय ते सर्व तुलसीपत्रे छे श्रीकृष्ण ण

DHRANGDHRA

No 176]

v. s. 1815

[9-5-1759.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the southern wall near the image of Ganapati, in the Mani-Nāgeśvara temple at Dhrangdhra.

It records that Āvaradāsa and his sons began building the temple, (of Mahādeva) on Thursday, the 9th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa of v s. 1809 = 6-8-1753) when AHMED SHAH was the emperor (of Delhi) and Mahārāja RAISIMHJI was the ruler of Zālāvād. The construction of the

* Concluded from p 382 of Vol. III.

temple was completed on Wednesday, the 13th of the bright half of Vaiśākha of v.s 1815 in the time of Rājā GAJASIMHJI (of Zālāvad) and his son JASVANTSIMHJI. The cost of the building was Rs. 7101. Āvardās spent 91 *kalasis* of corn in charity and promised to grant 10 *kalasis* every year for the maintenance of the temple

Text

- 1 श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायण ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीवमणी नागेस्वर ॥ श्रीअंबाजी ॥ हनुमान
- 2 ॥ संवत् १८०९ ना वरषे सावण शुद्ध ९ दने वार
- 3 गरेउ श्रीपरसादपंचतीरथीनो आरंभ मांडो छे
- 4 बादसाहा श्रीअमदसाहा वीजे राजे श्रीजाहा
- 5 लावाडना देसपति महाराण श्री राखेसंघजी
- 6 ना राजमां श्रीद्रांगदरामधे वास श्री आवरदास
- 7 मुलजी भारया बाई दतबाई सुत दानसंघ सुत
- 8 कछुमाई तथा नवलसंघ सुत बनेलसंघ तथा आणंद
- 9 राम तथा बन जामबाई तथा बालगोपाल श्रीपरसाद
- 10 करावो छे तेनी बेसराण रुपैया ७१०१) अंके ईको
- 11 तेरसेहेने अकनी बेसराण थई छे तेनी पुराणाहुती
- 12 संवत् १८१५ ना वैशाख शुद्ध १३ बुधे सप्तर चडाव छे ता
- 13 र राजा श्रीगजसंघजी कुअरश्री जसवतसंघजी पा
- 14 ट पाटोघर छे श्रीधरमखाते वास आवरदासे दांणा
- 15 कलसी ९१ एकांणु धरमखाते करा छे वरस १ कलसी १०
- 16 ने आसरे मंन धरु छे श्रीपरमेसर अपावे तार सुधी आ
- 17 पे करवा कारवता श्रीईसवर छे परसादना सेवक रावल नांहां
- 18 ना सुत ओधवजी तथा भाई माधवजी श्रीव
- 19 डेराना कारीगर सलट सामलजी जीवणजी

LĀTHI

No 177]

v. s. 1820

[27-11-1763

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of the image of Gaṇapati in the temple of Bhīḍbhanjan Mahadeva at Lāthi. The inscribed portion measures 10" by 3"

It records that Sanghavi Kalyāṇa Keśava caused the image of Gaṇapati to be set up on Sunday, the seventh of the dark half of Kārtika in V. S. 1820 in Lāthi (in the time) of Gohel LĀKHĀJĪ.

The inscription was once published in the *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad*, p 169

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ संवत् १८२० वर्षे कार्तिक वद ७ दने रवीवाशरे श्री
- 2 गणपतिनुं सरूप थयुं छे श्रीलाठीमधे गोहल लाषाजीनी
- 3 शंघवी कलाण केसव सुत पीतामर श्रीगणपति नमः

HALVAD

No. 178]

v. s. 1822

[3-10-1765.

The inscription is copied from one of the many *pālās* standing in a *deri* near the temple of Bhavāni Mātā in Rājehara in Halvad.

It records that Mahārānā Gajasimhji, son of Raisimji was slain in a fight with the cavalry of Vāghada on Thursday, the fourth of the dark half of Āso in v.s. 1822 * Haṭhī Sanga, son of Gajama Kesari was also slain with him

Text

संवत् १८२२ वरषे आसो वद ४ व
र गर मारण श्रीराजसंगजी
सुत महरण श्रीगजसंगजी वा
र चडतान काम आवा छ बुडा वागड
ना साथमांमला थअ ते कम आवा
छ गजणआ केसरज सत गजणी
आ हठीसंगजी कम आवा छ.

VALĀ

No. 179]

v. s 1828

[4-5-1772.

This inscription is engraved on a white marble slab in the possession of the Thakur Saheb of Valā The inscribed portion measures 12" by 8"

It records that Bhāroji Frāmji made repairs to the well, in which the inscription was first fixed, on the second day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1828, during the time of BHĀVASIMHJI. The well was formerly built by Vālā Shri Shurāji.

The inscription was once published in the *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawad*, p. 170

Text

- 1 संवत् १८२८ वर्षे वैशाख शुद्ध २ दने वा
- 2 ला श्रीशुरजीए बंधावी छे ते बाव अंधा¹
- 3 रीमां भारोजी फरामजीए बंधावी छे
- 4 नारो श्रीशुरजे² छे राज्यश्री रावल० बी
- 5 शमाई भावरांघजीनुं छे श्रीरस्तु

LIMBDI

No. 180]

v.s 1830

[16-5-1774

This inscription is found engraved on a marble slab fixed in the wall of the *deri* of 28 pillars on the bank of a tank at Limbdi It measures 13" by 6"

* The v. s. seems to the *Aṣādhādi*

1. The mango grove in the vicinity of a village is called अंधारी.
2. i.e. the passage of the well is to the east.

It records that Mahārājādhirāja Adāji and Kumāras VERĀJI and AMARASIMHJI who belonged to the Zālā family, which is one of the 36 royal families and is of the Mārkaṇḍeya gotra were killed in a battle. In their honour a *deri* was built at the cost of Rs. 2,321. The building of the *deri* took 2 years and 4 months, and was completed on Monday, the sixth of the bright half of Vaiśākha in V S 1830.

Text

- 1 श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्पविकर्मासमयाति संवत् १८३० वर्षे श्रीमन्प
- 2 शालिवाहनकृत शाके १६९६ प्रवर्तमाने वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे ६ सोमवा
- 3 सरे पुण्यक्षत्रे वृद्धिनाम्नि ज्योतिषे क्षत्रिकुलमुद्योतकारि षट्त्रिंशराज
- 4 कुलमध्ये मार्कण्डेयगोत्रपवित्रगौब्राह्मणप्रतिपालक झाला श्रीमा
- 5 हाराजाधिराज अदाजी पंचत्व तथा कुवर श्रीवेराजी शस्त्राघाते पंचत्वं
- 6 तथा कुवर श्रीअमरसंघजी शस्त्राघातेन पंचत्वं प्राप्नोति तस्य हिताय दे
- 7 वलौकिकपित्रिप्रितये सर्वतो भद्रप्रासाद संपूर्णमगमए प्रासाद वर्ष
- 8 २ मास ४ पूर्ण थयो द्रव्यधरच रुपैया सहस्र २३२१ बेत्रण्यसे एकविस
- 9 धरचा छे प्रसादनी रक्षा येको झाला श्री अदाजीनी
- 10 करज्यो

WADHWAN

No. 181]

v. s. 1833

[30-12-1776.

This inscription is found in the *deri* of Candrasimhji at Wadhwan. The inscribed portion measures 10½" by 12".

It records that Mahārānā PRITHVIRĀJJI caused a *deri* to be made in honour of Mahārānā CANDRASIMHJI on Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Māgashirsha in v.s. 1833. Prithivirajji's mother was the daughter of JAYASIMHJI of the Vāghelā family, and was named Kuśala Kuvarbā.

Text

- 1 संवत् १८३३ ना वर्षे शाके १६९८ प्रवर्तमाने
- 2 न्ये रवि पक्षणान्ये गते मासोत्तममासे मा
- 3 र्गक्षिर्षमासे कृष्णपक्षे तिथि ५ वार चंद्रे महारा
- 4 णाश्रीचंद्रसिंहजीनो प्रासाद बाघेला श्रीजैसि
- 5 जी० तस्य सुता बाई श्रीकशल कुवर सूत
- 6 माहाराणा श्रीप्रथीराजजिये प्रासाद क
- 7 राव्यो छे ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

GHELA SOMANATHA

No. 182]

v. s. 1850

[3-2-1794.

This inscription is found engraved on a slab which is fixed near the door of the temple of Nilakantha Mahādeva adjoining the temple of Somanatha, called Ghelā Somanatha, on the bank of the river Ghelā, at a dist-

ance of eleven miles to the north-east of Jasdan, and a mile from the village named Piplia.

It records that Thākor Śrī Vakhtsinhhji, evidently the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, had come to worship Somanatha with his Diwan and Kāmdārs and about 1000 cavalry, on Monday, the fourth of the bright half of Māhā in v.s. 1850.

The visit of Vakhtsinhhji to the place might have taken place on his way back from Jasdan where he had gone to humble Vājsur Khācar, the powerful Kathi ruler of Jasdan.

An earlier inscription of v.s. 1798 fixed in the wall near this inscription shows that the temple evidently of Nilakantha Mahadeva was built (repaired?) at a cost of Rs. 7625, by Davagar.

Outside the courtyard of the Somanatha temple is a *pālīā* of Jamnī, wife of Jasa who became Sati in v.s. 1675

BEYT

No. 183]

v. s. 1855

[31-3-1799

This inscription is inscribed on one of the six *pālīās*, all of the same date, standing in an enclosure in front of the new Śankha Narayana temple in Beyt. It records the death of Bhanjī Pujari in the fight with the English, on Sunday, the 11th of the dark half of Phālguna in v.s. 1858. The other five *pālīās* record the death of other soldiers in the same fight.

This fight must have taken place between the people of the Vādel Rānā of Aramḍā and Beyt and the English who had attacked the island in A.D. 1799. In the light of these inscriptions the date of the first connection of the British with the island given as 1804 A.D. in the Kathiawad Gazetteer (p. 594), requires to be corrected. It took sixteen years to completely subjugate the island in 1816 by the combined forces of the British and the Gaikwad. By the treaty of 18th November, 1817 the island passed under the sovereignty of the Gaikwad of Baroda.

LIMBDI

No. 184]

v.s. 1860

[14-1-1804

This inscription is engraved on a marble stone slab fixed in a wall of the *deri* of 28 pillars on the bank of the tank at Limbdi. The inscribed portion measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ " by $7\frac{1}{2}$ ".

It records that Mahārānā Harisinhji caused the *den* of Harbanji to be made on Saturday the second of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1860 at a cost of Rs. 725.

Text

- 1 स्वत् १८६० ना माघ शुदि २ शने
- 2 उ माहाराणा श्रीहरसंमजी
- 3 नि देरी करीवी छे रु० ७२५ चणा

- 4 वता थया छे मास० ६ ये पुरी थ
 5 ई छे माहाराणा श्रीहरिसंघजीये
 6 चणावी छ ला० सखिदाश ॥ श्री ॥

TARANETAR

No 185]

v.s. 1867

[9-5-1811

This inscription is found in the temple of Mahādeva at Taranetar.

It records that *Vithal Bābājī* in the service of the *Gaikwad* caused a temple of Trinetra i.e. Mahādeva to be built in v.s. 1867 or Śaka 1733.

This Vithal Bābājī was the famous general of the Gaikwad, who conquered Kathiawad, and established the power of the Marathas there.

Text

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 2 श्रीमद्विक्रमराज्यतः परमि
 3 तेऽब्देऽश्वांगनागेदुभिश्चोवे
 4 णीतटसंस्थितत्रिनयनप्रा
 5 सादमानिर्मनौ ॥ श्रीमद्भायक
 6 वाडसेवकशिरोरत्नस्य बाबाजि
 7 नः सेवातत्परदेवजित्युतनयः
 8 श्रीविठ्ठलाख्यः सुधीः ॥ १ ॥ चित्रभा
 9 नुसमे सौम्यत्वयने मासि माधवे
 10 कृष्णे गुरौ प्रतिपदि प्रतिष्ठाविधि
 11 रप्यभूत् ॥ २ ॥ श्रीरस्तु सर्वजगतां ॥
 12 शके १७३३ संवत् १८६७
 13 श्रीचरणि लेखक आनंदराव लक्ष्मण....

JAḌESHVARA

No. 186]

v.s. 1869

[13-3-1813

This inscription is engraved on a black stone slab fixed in a niche near the image of Ganpati in the famous Jaḍeshvara Mahādeva temple at a distance of 6 miles from Vānkāner. The inscribed portion measures 14" by 11". Though the man who composed the inscription seems to be learned the engraver has done his work most carelessly. The mistakes are not corrected.

The inscription mentions that the temple of Jaḍeshvara Mahādeva was built by VITHALRAO BĀBĀJĪ, the general of the GAIKWAD, who conquered Sau-
 rastra, on Saturday the 12th of the bright half of Phālguna, in v.s. 1869 or Śaka 1734.

Text

- 1 ॥ श्री सांवसदाशिवाय ॥
 2 श्रीमद्भायकवाडसेवनसमुद्भूतप्रतिष्ठावनी
 3 बानाज्याहित विठ्ठलस्वनयत. स्वायत्तसौ-

- 4 राष्ट्रकः ॥ अर्द्धकांगभुजंगचंद्रविमिते
 5 मास सिते फालगने पुष्यर्क्षे शनिवा
 6 सरे हरितियो जाटेशसद्य व्यधात
 7 ॥ १ ॥ यद्गगाधरनोद्येन मया गंगाधरो
 8 चितः ॥ मत्पूर्त्तपूर्वकतेन ग्रीतो मेस्तु
 9 जटेश्वरः ॥ २ ॥ जयं मूलमिति प्राहुः का
 10 रणं चेति तद्रिदः ॥ जगज्जन्मादिहेतु
 11 त्वाद्दत्तीम जटेश्वर ॥ ३ ॥ सं १८६९ श
 12 के १७३४ फाल्गुन शुक्ल १२ शनो पुष्यनक्षत्रे
 13 आयुष्ययोगे बालवकरणे सूर्योदयात् इष्ट
 14 घटी १५ पल ३१ समय प्रासाद प्रतिष्ठा इष्टदास्तु ॥

AMRELI

No. 187]

vs 1873

[28-4-1817

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab built up in the wall of the famous Nāgeśvara Mahādeva temple in Amreli. Unlike most of the inscriptions of the modern period this inscription is composed in good simple Sanskrit.

The object of the inscription is to record the building of the Nāganātha temple in Amaravalli by VITHALRAO VEVĀJI of the Prabhu community who was the minister of the king of Vatapura and who conquered SAURĀṢṬRA. The work was completed on Monday, the 12th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s 1873 (Śaka 1739). The inscription was composed by Jagannatha, a Brāhmin of the Prāśnorā community.

Text

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ सौराष्ट्रे पुण्यभूमौ जयति शुभगुणा
 2 लकृता भूविभूषा सा पूर्णार्वाणवल्ली विलसति सततं यत्र नागे
 3 श्वरोऽसौ ॥ पूर्व यः पावनेस्मिन्नुरगवरफणाच्छत्रचिन्हः स्वयंभुः
 4 दुर्दश्यः पुण्यहीनैरकलितमहिमा विद्वलायासतुष्टः ॥ १ ॥ देवा
 5 जिच्छैवमुख्यः प्रभुकुलतिलको विद्वलस्तस्य सुनुर्दानी शूरो
 6 दयालुर्वटपुरनृपतेर्मन्त्रिवर्यः प्रतापी ॥ तेन श्रीनागना
 7 थो व्ययचरदतुलं राजदुर्गं तु मध्ये पश्चाद्दुर्गं नगयूयां
 8 निजपट्टकमलद्वंद्वदास्योत्सुकेन ॥ २ ॥ प्राच्यां श्रीवि
 9 ङ्गलेशालयमुदधितटे चंद्रचूडालय च त्रैनेत्रथी
 10 जटेशालययुगममुना कारयामास शंभुः ॥ प्रासा
 11 द रैवताद्रेः प्रतिभटममरेत्थां तथा विङ्गलेन प्राच्यां
 12 यो जीर्णदुर्गाधिपयवनकरं मोचयामास श्रीप्र ॥
 13 ३॥ वर्षे नदागनागामृतकिरणमिते सिधुवहद्वि
 14 चद्र खयाते शाके च माघे मकरगमिहिरे शुक्लषष्ठ्या बु
 15 धेव ॥ कर्कज्ये कुंभजेदौ परिघसतभिषाकौल-

- 16 वैश्वक्त्मीने प्रारब्धा नागनाथालयकृतिरचना
 17 कारुभिर्विद्वलेन ॥ ४ ॥ वर्षे वन्हद्विनगामृतकिरण
 18 मिते माधवे शुक्लपक्षे द्वादश्यां सोमवारेऽर्धमभग
 19 वृषभे बालवे हर्षणादौ ॥ पार्वत्या नंदिनाथो क
 20 मठगणपयोर्मारुतेः सुप्रतिष्ठा प्रासादस्य प्रति
 21 छा मुकनककलशैः कारिता विद्वलेन ॥ ५ ॥
 22 संवत् १८७३ वर्षे शाके १७३९ वैशाख शुद्ध द्वाद
 23 शी सोमवारे विद्वल देवार्जीये नाथेश्वरनो प्रासा
 24 द संपूर्ण कराव्यो छेः ॥ कवि जगन्नाथ प्रश्नोरा ब्राह्मण
 25 शिल्पी सुस्यराम सोमपरा

SIHORE

No. 188]

v.s. 1887

[20-10-1831

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the wall of a small *deri* in the north-western part of the famous Brahma Kunda which is in the southern part of the town Sihore in the Bhavnagar State The inscribed portion measures 8" by 4".

It records that Svāmī Purushottama Sarasvatī caused a temple of Brahmā to be built on the bank of the Brahma Kunda on Thursday, the seventh of the dark half of Āśvin in v.s. 1887.

It is to be noted that the image of Brahmā is now missing Thus Brahma kunda is said to have been originally built by the Caulukya sovereign Siddharāja Jayasīrha.

Text

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १८८७ ना शाक १७५३ प्रवर्त्त
 2 माने आश्विनमासे कृष्णपक्षे तिथी ७ स
 3 त्तमो गुरुवासरे ॥ स्वामी श्रीपुरषोत्तम
 4 सरस्वतीये धीब्रह्मकुण्डउपर देरू चणा
 5 बीने श्रीब्रह्मानी मुरतीनी थापना करी
 6 छे ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

MĀDHAVAPUR

No 189]

v.s. 1896

[11-5-1840

This inscription is found in the famous Mādhavarai's temple at Mādhavpur, now in the Porbandar State

It records that the temple of Mādhavarai was repaired by Rūpāhā, mother of Mahārāja Vikramāditya of the Jethvā family, on Monday, the 10th of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1896 The same queen repaired the Kedāreśvara temple in Porbandar as an inscription of v.s. 1894 in the temple to that effect states.

Text

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नः ॥ श्रीमाधवरायो जयति ॥ स्वस्ति
- 2 ॥ श्रीमन्वृषवीक्रमाऽकसमयात् संवत् १८९६ ना
- 3 साके १७६२ ना वैसाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे दसम्या १०
- 4 तीथौ सोमवासरे उत्तरा फाल्गुनिनक्षत्रे हरिषणयो
- 5 गे गिरकर्णे मेऽषरासिस्थीते शुभे रवौ उतायने
- 6 वसंतरितौ तुलरासीस्थीते देवगुरौ भवं पंचांग
- 7 शुभौ अत्र सुभदिने श्रीमाधवपुरमच्ये धर्मराज जे
- 8 श्रवसे माहाराणा श्रीविक्रमातजी तस्य मातुश्रीरु
- 9 पालीबाजे श्रीमाधवरायजीतु जीर्णमंदीर हतु ते नो
- 10 तमं कीर्तुं छेः ॥ कर्ता विष्णुर्मावसे सलाट पोरे
- 11 चा देवा वसरांमे चणु छेः ॥ लीं अध्यारु हरजीवन स
- 12 बजी ज्ञाति अबदिचसहृत्र जोशी ईसामली (?)

CHANDRASA

No. 190]

vs 1911

[19-4-1855

This inscription is found fixed in the northern dam of the Chandrāsar lake to the west of the town Rājasīthāpur in the Dhrangdhra state. It measures 1'10" in length and 10" in breadth and being quite modern is in an excellent state of preservation

It records that in the *Jhalla* family, which is one of 36 Kṣatriya families, was born a king named *Candrasimhaji* who was eleventh in descent from *Mānasimhaji*, son of *Ranmallaji*, who was the son of *Amarasimhaji*. This *Candrasimhaji* had caused to be dug a lake, called Candāsar lake, where an inscription dated Monday, the 5th of the bright half of Phālguna of v.s. 1624 was fixed. The lake had been very much out of repairs. Mahārānā *Rajmalji*, therefore, ordered his Vazir Jādejā Sāngājī to dam it as strongly as before. Accordingly he repaired the tank on Thursday the third of the bright half of Vaiśakha in v.s. 1911 (Śaka 1777)

Text

- 1 ई ॥ नमां श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्योनमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्वृषविक्रमाकसमयातितसवत्
- १९११ वर्षे शाके
- 2 १७७७ प्रवर्तमान्ये उत्तरायते शुभकारि वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे त्रीतीयायां तिथौ गुरुवासरं
- तत्र दिने शुभ वेलायां
- 3 षट्त्रिंशद्वावकलावनंसफल्लवंशदिवामणिमाहाराणा श्री ७ अमरसिंघजी तस्यात्मज-
- विजयराज्ये माहाराणा श्रीर
- 4 णमल्लसिंघजी कुअर श्रीमानसंघजी येमना अग्यारमी पेढीयै माहाराणा श्री ७ चंद्र-
- सिंघजी पूर्वैथा तेउये पोताना नाम
- 5 थी आचद्रासर तलावकरावुं तेनो शिलालेख दक्षण दिसा तरफ पाणी आववानी नाली छे
- तेना भारवट उप

- 6 र आ अक्षरलषेल छे संवत् १६२४ वर्षे फाल्गुन शुदि ५ सोमे ॥ श्लोक ॥ चंद्राहरं तडा-
गंच ॥ कारितं धर्म गोत्री
- 7 णा ॥ सत्वानां शातयेनुना दीपचंद्रेण क्षत्रीणा ॥ १ ॥ ये आ तलाव घणुं जीणं धई एक
भागनुं बाकी रहलनेत्र
- 8 ण भागमां मुतलक रहेल नही तेनां जीणोंधार महाराणश्री रणमल
सिंगजीये वजीर जाडेजा सांगाजीने हुक
- 9 म करी आ तलाव प्रथम जेवुं हतुं तेनुं मजबुत काम करावी जीणोंधार कराव्यां छे ॥
श्लोक ॥ चंद्रसिंहो ।
- 10 नरपतिर्बल्लवशोद्भवो बली ॥ तेनाकरि चंद्रसरो निःपंक मानसं यथा ॥ १ ॥ तद्वंशीयो
महाना
- 11 सीद्रणमल्लाख्य भूपतिः ॥ मान्यो वदान्योधीमांश्च सत्यसंघो दृढव्रतः ॥ २ ॥ जीणोंधार-
कतस्तेन स
- 12 रसः सुफलप्रदः ॥ (स्व) वं (शो) द्ररणार्थाय देहिनां च सुखाय वै ॥ ३ ॥ सांगाजी
छविस्तस्य क्षत्री
- 13 यो नीतितत्परः ॥ यथारामाद्यावनकर्ता धर्मस्यरक्षकः ॥ ४ ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ ॥

SHIMROLI

No. 191]

v.s. 1912

[8-2-1856

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a white stone slab fixed in a well near the temple of Shammātha Mahādeva at Shimroli, which is at a distance of 7 miles from Kesod on the Kesod-Māngrol road. The inscribed portion measures 1'7½" by 11".

It records that at Simroli there was a very old well called Khodiyāl vāv which was dug deeper and granted in *girās*, in the time of Nabab Bahādūr-khān and his Diwan Amarji, in v.s. 1831. It was again repaired by Muktarām, son of Jaysankar in v.s. 1912 at the cost of 3216 *koris*

Text

- 1 : ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीमा
2 ता खोडीयाल साहाय छे ॥ शंव
3 त १८३१ नी सालमां नवाब श्री
4 ७ बाहादुरखानजीनी नवा
5 [वी] मां मोजे शिमरोली मोटीमां
6 वाव खोडीयाल असल पुरा
7 तनी हती तेमां पाणीनी मेन
8 त करी [आरा सावो । काका
9 तथा काला राखता ?] ते उप
10 र गांम गरास मेता श्रीअम
11 रजी दीवा[न*]नी वारमां आपु छे
12 ते वाव पाछी सं १९१२ ना
13 महाना शुद २ दीने च मगळे

- 14 श्वर सु अणंदजी सु वीशेश्वर
- 15 सु वजेशंकर सु जेशंकर सु
- 16 मुगटरामे को । ३२१६। अ
- 17 खरे ऋणहजार बसे ने सवासो
- 18 छ खरची वाव पछी बंधा
- 19 वी छे ॥ श्रीरस्तु । दो मेघजी

SEKHAPĀT

No 192]

v.s. 1914

[20-1-1858

This inscribed slab is fixed in the wall of a *deri* in the eastern part of the village Sekhpāt

The inscription records that *Vibhā*, son of *Rāṇmal* repaired the temple of Āsāpurī Mātā, on the 5th day of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1914.

Text

- 1 : ॥ श्रीआशापुराजी सहाय ॥ दोहा ॥ सतरसे स
- 2 तलोतरो ॥ फागणमास उत्तंग ॥ तथ तेरसेर
- 3 बासर अगु ॥ रणरचीयो रासंग ॥ १ ॥ दलर
- 4 णसीसो ठोकलो ॥ उनडमाडे अभंग ॥ पडीया
- 5 ए तापागधी ॥ रण पड तेरासंग ॥ २ ॥ ओ
- 6 गणीसे चउदा अथक ॥ माहामासशुभसा
- 7 र ॥ रणमलसुतवीमेरखु ॥ कीनो जीरणोधा
- 8 र ॥ ३ ॥ तपे अचल नविनापुरी ॥ पछम धराप्र
- 9 तपाल ॥ वीमो दलद्रविहंडणो ॥ के कविता
- 10 वजमाल ॥ ४ ॥ सबहु १९१४ ना माहा सुद ५ ॥

BEYT

No 193]

v.s 1935

[13-8-1879

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab fixed in the wall of the Śankha Nārāyaṇa temple situated in the central portion of the island Beyt Śankhadhāra near Dwarka at a distance of half a mile to the east of the main temple of Ranchodrāi. The tradition goes that the image of Śankha Nārāyaṇa in this temple was set up by one Śiva Sangana in v.s. 1607.

The inscription mentions that in v.s. 1774 Mahārāv Prāgji repaired the temple and an inscribed slab was fixed to that effect. It was afterwards repaired in v.s. 1854. The inscription put to that effect was worn out. The temple was again repaired in v.s. 1902 and the inscription which was put at the time is preserved near the present inscription. Lastly, on Wednesday, the twelfth of the dark half of Śrāvana in v.s. 1935, the temple was rebuilt by order of Nāmbā Zālī, mother of Mahārāv Khangārjī.

Text

- 1 ॥ श्री शंखनारायणजी सत्य छे संवत् १७७४ नी शालमां कच्छ दे श्राधिप
- 2 ति महाराओ श्रीप्रागजीये आ श्रीनु मंदिर नवु कर तेनो शिलालेख नि
- 3 ज मंदिरना बारणाउपरे छे ते पछे सं १८५२ नी शाल मंदिरनु काम करावे
- 4 ल छे तेनो शिलालेख आ जोडे कायम छे ते पछे स १९३५ ना श्रावण बी
- 5 द १२ बुधेनु महाराजाधिराज मिरजां महाराओ श्रीखेगारजी बाहादुरनां मातुश्री
- 6 बाईसाहेब श्री नानीवा झालीये आश्रीना मंदरनुं काम तथा मंदिरने सा
- 7 मो श्रीहनुमानजीवालो दरवाजो छे ते उपर मजला बेनीमो बांधावी तेनुं काम सं
- 8 पूर्ण कराव्यु छे ॥ गादिस्थ ब्रह्मचारिजी श्री. (लिखितं वि.....वासी.....)

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTION	OF SAMVAT	INSCRIPTION	OF SAMVAT
1 Dudānā	Vikrama 1258	39 Dhāmlej	Vikrama 1437
2 Viśāvaḍā	" 1262	40 Mahuvā ? Sudā Vāv	" 1437
3 Ajaka	" 1262	41 Bhavnagar Museum	Date missing
4 Mahuvā	" 1272	42 Baḍulā	Vikrama 1440
5 Ghelāna	Valabhī 911	43 Rānāvāo	" 14[4]0
6 Miyāni	Vikrama 1290	44 Somanātha Pāṭana	" 1442
7 Jasdān	" 1292	45 Phulkā	" 1443
8 Waḍhwān	" 1301	46 Mesavānā	" 1444
9 Verāwal	Valabhī 927	47 Khorāsā	" 1445
10 Gīrnār	Vikrama 1305	48 Dhandhusar	" 1445
11 Ghumli	" 1318	49 Avāṇā	" 1447
12 Gīrnār	" 1319	50 Phulkā	" 1448
13 Lāthodrā	" 1322	51 Bagasrā	" 1448
14 Porebandar	" 1334	52 Corwād	" 1450
15 Kansāri	" 1347	53 Goreja	" 1450
16 Waḍhwān	" 1350	54 Māngrol	Date missing
17 Somanātha Pāṭana	" 1355	55 Māngrol	Vikrama 1452
18 Gīrnār	" —	56 Parnālā	" 1453
19 Somanātha Pāṭana	" —	57 Somanātha Pāṭana	" 1454
20 Somanātha Pāṭana	" —	58 Kankāsā	" 1456
21 Somanātha Pāṭana	" —	59 Pāṭaḍi	" 14[5]6
22 Somanātha Pāṭana	" —	60 Bhūvātūmbi	" 1457
23 Sūtrāpādā	" 1357	61 Jamlā	" 1461
24 Satrunjaya Hill (Pālitānā)	" 1371	62 Somanātha Pāṭana	" 1462
25 Māngrol	" 1375	63 Verāwal	" 1464
26 Rāval	" 1375	64 Vanthal	" 1469
27 Hātasni	" 13[8]6	65 Mesavānā	" 1470
28 Dīv	" 1393	66 Vāghelānā	" 1471
29 Adpokar	Date missing	67 Vanthal	" 1472
30 Gīrnār	"	68 Junagadh	" 1473
31 Amreli	"	69 Corwād	" 1485
32 Māngrol	Vikrama 1402	70 Mesavānā	" 1488
33 Kherāl	" —	71 Mesavānā	" 149[5]
34 Somanātha Pāṭana	" 1423	72 Loḍhvā	" 1499
35 Somanātha Pāṭana	" 1432	73 Mūl-Mādhavpur	Date not given
36 Thān	" 1432	74 Śimara	Date missing
37 Nagicānā	" 1434	75 Mahuvā	Vikrama 1500
38 Osā	" 1435	76 Junagadh (Uparkot)	" 1507
		77 Gīrnār	Date missing

INSCRIPTION	OF SAMVAT	INSCRIPTION	OF SAMVAT
78 Pasnāvāḍā	Vikrama 1514	136 Rājasūthāpur	Vikrama 1701
79 Jegaḍvā	" 1518	137 Beyt	" 1702?
80 Gīrnār	" 1519	138 Khārvā	" 1716
81 Jegaḍvā	" 1524	139 Sekhapāt	" 1719
82 Khāmbhaḍ	" 1531	140 Beyt	" 1720
83 Kutiyānā	" 1531	141 Anindarā	" 1721
84 Candrāsar	" 1534	142 Halvad	" 1722
85 Gosā	" 1536	143 Mūli	" 1735
86 Rāmparā	" 1538	144 Beyt	" 1738
87 Khoḍu	" 1544	145 Gaḍhakā	" 1740
88 Bāḍi	" 1572	146 Mālia (Mīyanā)	" 1740
89 Kuvā	" 1572	147 Mavāna	" 1746
90 Sarā	" 1579	148 Bāḍi	" 1748
91 Unā	" 1582	149 Jhunjhuvāḍā	" 1751
92 Dhrāsauvel	" 1582	150 Halvad	" 1749
93 Halvad	" 1583	151 Khambhājā	" 1749
94 Veļāvdar	" 1584	152 Gopanātha	" 1750
95 Śatrunjaya Hill (Pālitānā)	" 1587	153 Khambhājā	" 1751
96 Hāmpar	" 1588	154 Thān	" 1752
97 Nagicānā	" 1590	155 Rāval	" 1753
98 Paḍā	" 1594	156 Guṇḍi	" 1754
99 Bagasrā	" 1604	157 Berājā	" 1756
100 Koḍidarā	" 1609	158 Thān	" 1757
101 Wadhwan	" 1613	159 Dihor	" 1758
102 Dahisarā	" 1622	160 Nagicānā	" 1758
103 Goghā	" 1634	161 Bhāvnagar	" 1768
104 Mānketrā	" 1639	162 Bhānavaḍ	" 1771
105 Dhrol	" 1647	163 Thān	" 1776
106 Śatrunjaya	" 1650	164 Halvad	" 1779
107 Unā	" 1652	165 Sīyāni	" 1781
108 Śatrunjaya	" 1652	166 Bhādrod	" 1792
109 Hāmpar	" 1656	167 Limbdī	" 1793
110 Dhrāṅgdhrā	" 1657	168 Loliyānā	" 1794
111 Kondha	" 1663	169 Limbdī	" 1794
112 Jāmnapar	" 1666	170 Morvi	" 1797
113 Gālā	" 1668	171 Wadhwan	" 1797
114 Dādar	" 1669	172 Beyt	Date missing
115 Goghā	" 1672	173 Pāḍi	Vikrama 1801
116 Vartej	" 1674	174 Mahuvā	" 1805
117 Śatrunjaya	" 1675	175 Lāthi	" 1809
118 Śatrunjaya	" 1675	176 Dhrāṅgdhrā	" 1815
119 Māthak	" 1677	177 Lāthi	" 1820
120 Vānkāner	" 1679	178 Hālvad	" 1822
121 Kājāvaḍ	" 1682	179 Valā	" 1828
122 Kuā	" 1682	180 Limbdī	" 1830
123 Śatrunjaya	" 1683	181 Wadhwan	" 1835
124 Halvad	" 1683	182 Ghelā Somanātha	" 1850
125 Mūli	" 1685	183 Beyt	" 1855
126 Gaḍhakā	" 1687	184 Limbdī	" 1860
127 Māngrol	" 1687	185 Tarnetar	" 1867
128 Kuā	" 1687	186 Jaḍesvara	" 1869
129 Dahisarā	" 1688	187 Amroli	" 1873
130 Bileśvara	" 1688	188 Sihore	" 1888
131 Dhua	" 1688	189 Mādhavpur	" 1896
132 Halvad	" 1690	190 Candrāsar	" 1911
133 Jhunjhuvāḍā	" 1622	191 Sūmroli	" 1912
134 Jāmnapar	" 1696	192 Sekhapāt	" 1914
135 Wadhwan	" 1699	193 Beyt	" 1937

MISCELLANEA

FEMALE EDUCATION AS EVIDENCED IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE.

In every respect, the period of Buddhism is marked with allround development. Buddhistic philosophy and theology had something quite conspicuous and specific in it that gave impetus and encouragement to education. It furnished a dynamic force which is so essential for any civilization if it wants to establish supremacy and gain ground.

We are dumbfound while reading the accounts of Universities like those of Vikramaśilā, Ajantā, Sāranātha, Nālandā and the last but not the least Taxilā,¹ which poured out a colossal force of Buddhistic culture and civilization. These Universities were so generously conducted that not only Indians but the peoples of Asia and Europe also received instruction on all the branches of literature, art and science, namely, philosophy, politics, painting, rhetoric, medicine, astrology, archery, architecture, and also alchemy.

Besides Taxilā and Nālandā, Chinese travellers in their travel accounts have mentioned quite a number of minor institutions which shaped and circulated Aryan Culture and civilization, far and wide. These were exclusively financed by the rich and the reigning princes of India. The most noteworthy feature quite characteristic of India's catholicity was that they imparted tuition free of charge to all and alike without observing distinction in caste, colour, and creed.

Prasenajit, the king of Kosala, and Jivaka² received instruction sitting together. A prince and a pauper were treated alike. It is written in one of the Jātaka-granthas named Mahāsūtasoma that hundreds of princes were instructed in the uses of weapons and missiles on the lines of strict equality. All these accounts and the historical records lead us to the conclusion that there were very big Universities in Buddhistic times, which provided ample scope for education to males; but they are comparatively and teasingly silent as regards female education. To get an adequate idea on the point we will have to fall back upon the Buddhist Canon and the works allied to it because we are not at all prepared to believe that the nuns who wandered in the nook and corner of the country, leaving aside Lakṣmī and luxury to scatter the seeds of Buddhism, with a fanatic's zeal, were almost illiterate.

On the contrary, the splendid missionary work which they have so ably put forth is itself a good and reliable commentary on the broad outlook, clear vision, practical wisdom, unflinching foresight, intellectual width and what not. These and a train of merits did neither come to them as mere windfalls, nor were they Nature's bounties conferred so lavishly and thoughtlessly on them, but they were the outcome of the closest application and the unflinching devotion to the Goddess of Learning. Let us see in the following paragraphs what light we get and gather in this connection from the Buddhistic Literature. It cannot of course, be definitely asserted whether they received education after the fashion of the present day girls

1. In the North and North-West of India there were great centres of learning such as the Universities of Nālandā and Taxilā where for hundreds of years not only all branches of secular knowledge, especially, medicine, but also the philosophical and theological literature of Buddhism, were cultivated with great zeal. Chinese pilgrims like Hsueh Tsang learned Sanskrit at Nālandā and translated Buddhist texts into Chinese. See Phanindra Nath Bose: *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*.

2. Jivaka was the son of a courtesan, named Sālavatī. *Mahāvagga* VIII, I.

going to the educational institutions or by of private tuition. This much can be culled that they got first-rate training, both academic and spiritual.

It is now an admitted fact that the Slokas of the work styled *Therīgāthā*³ were composed by learned nuns of those times⁴. Religious sermons of Sukkā and philosophical discussions of Dharmadinnā and Ksemā entitle us to hypothesize that they were given a technical training regarding those subjects. We come across a reference of a learned lady named Sukkā in *Saṅguttanikāya*. She was a nun and had delivered an illuminating lecture in a great assemblage at Rājagṛha. This lecture of Sukkā was so impressive that a certain man of Yākṣa caste wandered in every street and proclaimed to the effect that every one should go and hear her nectarine words. A nun named Ksemā was very famous for reciting Vinayagranthas. She had crammed the Vinayagranthas and her melodious recital of those granthas was simply engaging.

It was considered a privilege to hear her singing. Her erudition also is brought out in high relief by the dialogue about the theory of rebirth between her and the king Prasenajit who was so convinced by her brief, bold and cogent arguments that there was not a single vestige of doubt left in his mind when he departed. Another brilliant star in the person of Kuntalakeśā shines resplendent in the whole galaxy. In Logic, she was discomfited only by one Sāṃputta and none else. She ruled supreme in the intellectual world of those days. We get an account in *Vimānavatthu* of one of the learned nuns named Latā who had mastered the art of magic. She had a wonderful command on Vinayapitakas, which she taught according to Dipavamsā not only to nuns in Anurādhāpura but to monks also. Estimate of her scholarship will remain incomplete if we neglect to take into consideration the fact that she had a chance to bring out masterly editions of some of the Piṭakagranthas. Uttarā had undertaken to teach seven works bearing upon Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma in the University of Anurādhāpura. Añjali had gone to Anurādhāpura taking sixteen thousand monks with her, to teach especially the Tripiṭakas. Is it not a privilege to lord over monks as large in number as sixteen thousands? And is it not a glorious achievement for a man (what to talk of a woman) to be appointed as the senior professor in a University like that of Anurādhāpura, Nālandā and Taxilā, which is decidedly ten times bigger than any of the present day Universities of the world. It was considered a red letter day in the History of India on which Sir RADHAKRISHNAN's appointment as Spalding Professor of Eastern Philosophy in the Oxford University was announced. It was considered the highest pinnacle for which an Indian can aspire in an academic line. What to talk of those times, then, in which even the ladies ruled the academic world? It means there is a long history of female education which has still got to be constructed out of the fragments lying hither and thither in Vedic, Buddhist and Jainistic literatures. This proves that female education was not only in vogue in those days but was appreciated and encouraged. It is also true that it was imparted on a more solid and sound basis because it could produce scholars of intrinsic worth and deep study. It is also manifest from the foregoing pages that female education was of a diverse character including instructions on magic, sculpture etc. Latā mastered the art of magic and Nanduttarā and Vidyā were adepts in the art of sculpture. This is also evident that it was considered more a duty rather than a matter of pride to educate the females because we have seen above that it was open to all. Besides those mentioned above, there is quite a good number of other ladies also no less superior. Their worthy names are Kālī, Channā, Sayallā, Uālī, Revatī, Sivalā, Mahāruhā, Culabhāgā, Dhannā, Sonā, Mahāṭissā, Culasumanā, Mahāsumanā and Hemā. It will be a long list of the female professors

3. *Therīgāthā* forms part of the Khuddaka Nikāyā which is again included in Suttapiṭaka.

4. See OLDENBERG *Literatur des alten Indien*, Page 101.

who actually worked in the University of Anurādhāpura⁵ which also like Nālandā fulfilled the dictum of Carlyle that a true University is a collection of books as well as that of Newman that it is a school of Universal learning the alma mater of a host of distinguished logicians, grammarians and philosophers I leave it to the scholars to find out whether there were separate institutions for female education or there was a system of co-education or they were privately tutored

Andheri.

A. S. GOPANI

JAGADDEVA PRATIHĀRA, A FORGOTTEN HERO

Everyone knows the great difference in the character of the earlier and latter periods of the reign of Bhīma II, the last Chaulukyan ruler of Gujerat. In the earlier portion, he defeated and drove back the Muslim invader Muhammad Ghori, measured swords with Prthvīrāja Cāhamāna, then regarded as the strongest ruler of Northern India, and successfully invaded the Paramāra kingdom of Malva. In the latter portion, he was not only defeated by the Muslims, but also kept away from his ancestral throne for a short period, and even when restored was a mere puppet in the hands of the faction headed by Viradhavala and his ministers. He was a young boy when he ascended the throne. Had he been overpowered by someone at the time, or failed in administering well his kingdom, it would have been regarded as the natural consequence of his inexperience and childhood. But his failure in all directions when he had grown up to manhood and was expected to show even greater heroism and administrative ability than formerly, requires some explanation, and for this one would look in vain to the Jaina chroniclers of Gujerat, who, loud in the praises of Vastupāla and Tejapāla and their patrons, have omitted the name of Jagaddeva Pratihāra, the heroic general and prime minister of Bhīma II, to whom really belongs the credit of the early successes of this king's reign, merely because he happened to be a non-Jaina and a worshipper of Śiva and Viṣṇu. The purpose of this short paper is to rescue from unmerited oblivion this very hero of the history of Gujerat.

The *Kirtikaumudī* of Someśvara, though in the main a panegyric of Vastupāla, the powerful Jaina minister of the Viradhavala, gives in a single but pertinent verse what Gujerat owed to this great Pratihāra. It represents the guarding deity of Paṭṭana appearing to Lavanaprasāda and bewailing the absence of Jagaddeva in the words, 'In the absence of Jagaddeva, I have been reduced to this plight by my own people as if they were my enemies. As long as that Pratihāra was alive, the enemies, being afraid, never entered the city of Gujaraś'⁶. From the *Kirtikaumudī* we also learn that another general, responsible for the defence of the kingdom, and most probably one of his colleagues or subordinates was one Pratāpamalla Rāstrakūṭa.

An earlier and better notice, showing him not only as the guardian of the kingdom, but also of the child-king Bhūmā II is to be found in the Verāval inscription, which states explicitly that on the death of Mūlarāja II, the administration of the kingdom was carried on by the 'famous Jagaddeva Pratihāra' who 'brought up with care the young Bhimadeva II along with his companions'. It was at this time of his regency that Muhammad Ghori invaded Gujerat, and sustained a severe defeat. The inscription calls Jagaddeva, the 'Sun to the lotus in the form of the queen of

5 See BURLINGAME'S *Buddhist Parables*

6 विना जगद्देवमिवस्थानं नीता निजैरेव परिरिवाहम् ।

यत्र स्थिते वेत्तिणि शङ्कितैर्न द्विष्टैः प्रविष्टं पुरि गूर्जराणाम् ॥ II 19.

7. जगदेव इति प्रसिद्धः । यो बालपौतैः सहितं प्रयत्नाच्छ्रीभीमदेवं

समवर्द्धयच्च ॥ Line 32.प्रातीहारशिरोमणिः ॥ ३४ ॥ Line 35.

Prthvirāja.⁸ This refers, most probably, to his fight against Prthvirāja III of Ajmer. According to the *Kharataragaccha Paṭṭavālī* of Jinapāla, a contemporary work of great historical value, this war came to an end before v.s. 1244, and the night-attack by the Jāṅgaleśa, mentioned in the *Pārthaviyaya* of Prahādāna was most probably one of its many incidents, about which we should have learnt something more from the Verāval inscription had it, unfortunately, not been so very fragmentary.

The *Paṭṭavālī* just referred to supplies some important and additional details. It mentions him as the chief minister of Bhimadeva II. When the pilgrims from Sāpādalaḥṣa visited the holy places in Gujerat, they did so with his permission. It was he who concluded a treaty of peace with Prthvirāja of Ajmer,⁹ and it was an army under him which was invading Malwa in v.s. 1244. That he was a man of his word is shown by his refusal to grant Abayaḍa, a *dandanāyaka*, the permission that he sought for to mulct the pilgrims from Sāpādalaḥṣa with a view to provide provisions for Jagaddeva's cavalry then operating in Malwa.

The colophon of the *Sāntināthacarita* of Mānukyaçandra mentions Jagaddeva Pratihara along with Kumārapāla, but here again the portion dealing with him is unfortunately obliterated.¹⁰

Jagaddeva Pratihāra was most probably a Vaiṣṇava. But he built also a temple of Śiva.¹¹ The colophon of the *Sāntināthacarita*, just referred to seems to indicate that he could grant favour to Jains also. If we succeed in getting further materials about him, these will be presented to the readers in some subsequent number of this very journal.

Gwalior.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

SIGNED ARROWS : A NOTE

In an interesting and illuminating article entitled "Signed Arrows" contributed to *Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aṣṭangar Commemoration Volume* (pp. 155-158), Mr C SIVARAMAMURTI draws attention to the ancient custom of marking the arrows with the name of the archer, and cites instances in support from Vālmīki, Kālidāsa, Māgha, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Kṣemendra. The accompanying illustrations of actual specimens from the Madras Museum bearing the name of Sarabhoji of Tanjore supply corroboration for the literary evidence.

In this connection, I wish to point out that Bhāsa, whom I place in the Mauryan epoch,¹² furnishes us with one of the earliest references to the custom mentioned above. In the *Pañcarātra*, arrows inscribed with the name of Arjuna are referred to.¹³ In the *Abhiseka*, we come across arrows bearing the name of Rāma.¹⁴ These instances from Bhāsa go to show the continuity in the ancient tradition. As I hold Bhāsa and Kauṭilya to be contemporaries, I tried to find confirmation of the tradition recorded by Bhāsa in the *Arthśāstra*, but did not come across any reference of inscribing the arrows in Kauṭilya's work.¹⁵

Bombay

A. D. PUSALKER

8 प्रथिराजराज्ञीराजीविनीजीवितशीतरोचिः ॥ ३१ ॥ Line 33.

9 'मया महता कष्टेन सांप्रत पृथ्वीराजेन संधिः कृतोस्ति'

Jagaddeva's letter to Abhayada.

10 Catalogue of the MSS in the Pattan Bhandāra, P. 204.

11 See verses 32 and 33

12 Cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, Lahore, 1940, esp. Chap. IV

13. *Pañcarātra*, Trivandrum, 1917, II '50, III. 17, 18.

14. *Abhiseka*, Lahore, 1930, p. 11

15. Cf. *Rangaswami Com. Vol.*, pp. 87-94.

REVIEWS

Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī of Burhān Ibn ḤASAN, Translated into English by S. Muhammad Husayn NAINAR, M.A., LL.B., PH.D., Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, University of Madras, 1939, Pp. 292; Size, —6½"×9¼"; Price · Rs. 5 or 8s. 6d.

The volume under review is No. 4 of the *Madras University Islamic Series* which is being published under the direction of the General Editor Dr. S. M. H. NAINAR. The first volume of these sources of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic was published about six years ago. The present volume carries on the history of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic from the battle of Ambur to the fall of Pondicherry (A.D. 1749-1761). This period saw the gradual rise of the supremacy of the East India Company on the Coromandel Coast. The volume contains detailed references pertaining to the "indebtedness of the English to the rulers of the Wālājāhī dynasty in the Carnatic".

The sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic are Persian MSS., of which Burhān's *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* translated into English by Dr. NAINAR is an important one. This chronicle comes to an end with the present volume.

The history of India of the 18th century presents many difficulties to the historian, not on account of paucity of materials, but on account of their abundance. To synthesize all these materials by a detailed comparison of all available sources for all important political events is no easy task. But by translating the old accounts of historical events into one language like the English language we provide a medium now accessible to every educated Indian and thereby provide an instrument of historical investigation which exercises a healthy check on one-sided statements made by contemporary writers, who were sometimes blinded by prejudice or patriotism of the narrow type which disabled them from hearing and recording the other side of the occurrences dealt with by them. The fault lay not always with these writers but at times with the peculiar circumstances under which they recorded their impressions, that were not always based on accurate data or reliable documents. All the same we must thank these contemporary and subsequent chroniclers for what they have done for Indian history because in the absence of these chronicles there would have been a complete void of historical knowledge of the different periods which bristled with epoch-making political and social changes in Indian history.

In the present volume Dr. NAINAR has not given us the mere translation of the original chronicle but has supplemented it with occasional informative foot-notes regarding the persons and events mentioned in the chronicle. These footnotes serve as a historical corrective to the author's statements, which are at times likely to be exaggerated. They also link up the narrative to other contemporary sources bearing on the narrative and hence lead to a proper understanding of the history enshrined in the text of the narrative.

The *glossary* of Persian terms with their explanation in English as also the two Appendices given at the end of the volume will be found useful to the close students of the history of the period. As the *Bhārata Itihāsa Samshodaka Mandal*, Poona, has been publishing summaries of Persian sources of the Maratha History and as the chronicle before us is one such source we trust that some day they will give us a scholarly summary in Marathi of the present chronicle translated by Dr. NAINAR for the benefit of the Marathi knowing public interested in the Persian sources. The present translation has paved the way for such undertaking and we have no doubt that Dr. NAINAR would willingly help any brother-

scholar in the Mahārāshtrā who takes the trouble of mastering the present sources in the original and presenting a critical summary of them in Marathi divested of all hyperboles and other superfluous matter which sometimes characterize the Persian sources.

P. K. GODE

Citracampū by Mahamahopādhyāya Bāneśvara Vidyāṅkara Bhaṭṭācārya, with a Foreword by M. M. Gopinātha KAVIRĀJA, Edited by Pandit Ramcharan CHAKRAVARTI, Headmaster, Jay Narayan High School, Benares, 1940, Pp 40+4+90. Price : Rs. 2-0-0 ; Size :—5½"×8½"

Though Bāneśvara Vidyāṅkara is famous as a poet and jurist of the transitional Bengal of the 18th century in his own province his works have not attracted much attention of outside scholars. The present *Campū* from his pen is edited by Pandit CHAKRAVARTI with scrupulous care with an exhaustive Introduction of 40 pages dealing with (1) the Poet and his Works, (2) the Quasi-historical and Quasi-geographical nature of the poem, (3) the description of the rare India Office MS of the work on which the present edition is based, (4) the date of Composition of the work (about 1744), (5) an Analysis of the poem and (6) a Short Sanskrit Introduction. This Introduction gives us a correct literary and historical background of this interesting poem, which aims at "describing the gradual ascent of the soul from earth-bound consciousness into the summits of Divine Life and consciousness" as Principal Gopināth Kavirāja puts it in his interesting Foreword (p. 4).

Bāneśvara came of the well-known Śobhākara family of Guptapalli or Guptipārā in the district of Hooghly in Bengal. This family produced many Sanskrit scholars. He was born about A.D. 1672 according to the Editor (p. 8). He was patronized by Maharāja Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia (A.D. 1710-1782). He left Nadia after some time and later sought the favour of Nawab Aliverdi Khān of Murshidabad. From Murshidabad he went to Maharāja Citrasena of Burdwan after whom the *Campū* takes its name "*Citracampū*". He lived with Citrasena till A.D. 1744 and during his stay at Citrasena's court he produced his works (1) *Citracampū* and (2) *Candrābhisekam*. Citrasena died in A.D. 1744 and Bāneśvara again went back to Maharāja Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia. He later lived under the patronage of Maharāja Navakṛṣṇa Deva of Sobhābazar, Calcutta. Navakṛṣṇa had the greatest regard for Bāneśvara, for whom a house was constructed by him on the Upper Chitpur Road near Sobhābazar. The house no longer stands but the poet's descendants are still living near the old site. In 1755 Bāneśvara went on a pilgrimage to Benares and composed his *Kāśīśatakam*.

Warren Hastings asked Bāneśvara to compile a code of Hindu Law. This book was written in Sanskrit under the name of *Vivādārṇavasūtra* in collaboration with many other scholars, among whom we find one Sitārāma Bhaṭṭa who was possibly a Maratha Brahmin according to the Editor. This book was then translated into Persian, from which it was again translated into English under the title "*A Code of Gentoo Laws*" and was printed in England in 1776. Bāneśvara composed a mahākāvya called *Rahasyāmṛtam* and many other *khandakāvya*s.

On p. 12 we get a reference in this *Campū* to the Maratha raid on Bengal ("साहूराज चमूतमूहः—गौड जनपदजनगणसमुन्मूलनहेतुः महाधूमकेतुः इव समुत्तस्थौ"). The poet also records the date of this raid viz śaka 1664 when the sun was in the first rāśi. This date appears to be correct as we know from history that Bhaskar Ram Kolhatkar, the general of Raghūjī Bhosala was in Bengal in April 1742 (Vide

p. 485 of G. S. SARDESAI's *Rtyāsāt, Madhya Vībāh*, Part II). The poem has some geographical value as it describes the holy places and their deities seen by the poet probably in company with his patron Citrasena. The romance ends with the pedigrees of the poet and his patron "Though a Śākta by practice and persuasion Bāneśvara seems to inculcate Vaiṣṇavite Vedantism in his work"

We congratulate Pandit CHAKRAVARTI on this scholarly edition of *Citracampū* published for the first time, as also his devoted pupils, Messrs Choubay, Chakravarti and Sukla who have borne the greater part of the cost of this publication. Verily this example of pupils rendering financial help to their *guru* is worthy of imitation, especially in literary spheres.

P. K. CODE

Kayātaram, edited by Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI, B.A., B.L., Reader in Tamil. Bulletin of the Tamil Department, No. 4, University of Madras, 1939. Price RE 1. pp. i-xviii. 1-107.

The world of Tamil scholars should be indebted to Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri PILLAI for editing this important metrical lexicon in Tamil. This work is next in importance only to *Divākaram*, the oldest of Tamil nighaṇṭus. It belongs to about the middle of the 15th cent., A.D. It was sufficiently popular in about 1575 A.D. The usefulness of this work is pointed out by the editor (Foreword pp. vii-viii). It will be of a great use to a student of synchronic linguistics of the Tamil of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The editor seeks (p. x) to establish the name *Kayātaram* as more correct than *Kayākarar* (for contra, see Rao Sahib M. Raghava Aiyangar, *Sen Tamil*. Vol. V. p. 121). *Kayātaram* is the first metrical lexicon in Tamil in which the last word of each stanza in every section is so arranged as to be structurally similar to the first word of the following stanza. This device facilitates the committing to memory of the entire work. (p. xiv)

This printed edition of *Kayātaram* has doubtless thrown light on certain scribal errors which crept in the printed edition of *Divākaram*. For instance, in the latter, one of the names of Buddha is printed as *pāramiṣayavaṇ*, but this is obviously meaningless. The correct form '*pāramiṣayavaṇ*' given in *Kayātaram* removes the error (pp. vii-viii and xv *Kayātaram*. St. 14. p. 3). *Kayātaram* helps us also to correctly determine the meaning of certain words. For instance, in the printed edition of *Divākaram* we have "*pammaiṣum Kaviṭṭiyum aruṭiavappēṇṇēyar*" '*pammai* and *Kaviṭṭi* are names of women-ascetics.' Clearly, the meaning of *Kaviṭṭi* should have been more restricted as it referred only to 'ascetic women of arhat order' (cf. *Silappadigāram* U. V. SWAMINATHAIYAR's ed. Madras, 1927. pp. 263, 265, 266, 357, 391, 401). This is emphasised by stanza 118 of *Kayātaram* also '*Kaviṭṭiyum pammaiṣum ārukata tavap pen*' (p. 18) this showing that what has been printed in the *Divākaram* text was due to a scribal error (p. xv).

Divākaram which belongs to the 8th century A.D. was published by Viḍvān Tāntavarāya MUDALIAR in 1835. His edition is untrustworthy as there are interpolated in it many of Tāntavarāya MUDALIAR's own sūtras. But *Kayātaram* follows the original *Divākaram* (cf. *Poṇṇiya mūṇṇu poruḷ teriṇḍu—Keyātaram Ceytamaṭṭāṇ*, St. 285. p. 45. Here *mūṇṇu* undoubtedly refers to *Divākaram*, p. xvi. Again stanza 220. p. 33 *paṭaiyṛ koṭaiyṛ cūṭil Vēṇṇōr Yēṇḍum puṇṇavatu Vākaiyam pōṭṭēṇṇiyampṇarē* which is certainly after *Divākaram* '*galiṇai yamparic cēlvac cen-tamil, Vallin Kalviyṛ paṭaiyṛ Koṭaiyṛ*).

Velluhāraṇṇūka Vēṇṇēṇṇē which is however not found in the printed edition of *Divākaram* p. xvi. Therefore, it is possible with the help of the text of *Kayā-*

tarām, to eschew the interpolated stanzas in the text of *Divākaram* (not only in the printed edition but in several manuscripts as well) and determine the *original text* which will in its turn serve as an effective tool for a student of synchronic linguistics who studies the Tamil of the 8th cent., The alveolar phoneme *ɾ* perhaps ceased to be distinct one in Tamil during the 12th cent., when *ottakūṭṭar* flourished (See S. Krishnaswami AṬYANGĀR, *Ancient India*, p. 153) for in his *Tokkayāgappam* (U. V. Swaminatha AṬYAR'S ed., Madras, 1930, 35. *Uṭai*, p. 16) it is treated merely as a phonemic variant of *ɾ* (substituted for Sanskrit *ṛ* for instance in Skt. *mṛta* = *miṛta* for *mīṛta* of another Tamil dialect, *amūṛta* of one dialect for *amīṛta* of another.)

Similar is the practice in *Kayātaram* (for instance *Kaṇḍarpo kaṇḍarpan* st., 21 p. 4, pp. xvi-xvii). In his time, possibly in some dialect the alveolar *ɾ* replaced *t* or *d* also in some words (see for instance *ṭarman*, st., 2, 7 and 225, for Skt. *padma*, pp. 33 and 35 and xvii) and *p* in some others (*corpanam* for *copponan* Skt. *svapna* st., 347, p. 55). In *Kayātaram* we come across some interesting modifications of the various forms of certain words. For instance, in st., 124 (p. 19) we meet with the word *makuṇaṇ* instead of the usual form *makiṇaṇ*. In this connection, it is interesting to remember that this word appears as *makiṇaṇ* in IṬAIYANĀR *Kaṭaviya* I, p. 18 and *makuṇaṇ* (*Silappadigāram* under 6, 37 in a quotation occurring in *urai* p. 192 of U. V. Swaminatha AṬYAR'S ed.,) 'husband'. Another such word is *animai* which appears as *anuman* in st., 334 (p. 53). The same form occurs in *paṭṭruppattu*, *urai* (p. 132 of U. V. Swaminatha AṬYAR'S ed., 1920 Madras), and in *aṇḱuru iṇṇu urai* also (cf. U. S. Swaminath AṬYAR'S ed., 1920, pp. 26, 67, 134, *Introduction*, p. 6). The importance of a study of these words in modern linguistics, can never be exaggerated.

The etymology of *K uṭṭa* (st. 113, p. 17) as given by *Kayātara* is *kulamil-lavaṇ* got from the equation *kula* + *iṇṇa* = *kuliṇṇa* is evidently due to some scribal error just like the erroneous *iṛamēṇṇarakkōvai* (st., 402, p. 64) for *iṛamēṇṇarakkōvai*. The meaning of certain words like *kulitta* (st. 207, p. 31), *tuvare* (st. 444, p. 70) and *tuyiril* (st. 517, p. 79) are not clear. The editor could not properly reconstruct st., 468, 477, and 496 (see pages 73, 74 and 76). Many lines are perhaps irretrievably lost in stanzas 479, 494, 503 and 519 (pp. 74, 76, 77, 79 and xviii). How certain Sanskrit words changed their forms when they were borrowed into Tamil is yet another interesting problem we meet with in *Kayātaram* (cf. Skt. *Sarma* becomes *caruma* in Tamil *Pari* (*pāḍal* 21, 3. p. 155. U. V. Swaminath AṬYAR'S ed., 1935 also *ibid.* p. x.). What a difficult task the learned editor set himself to, would be evident to any one who tries to reconstruct the original of stanza 517 from the hopelessly corrupt readings in the manuscripts used by the editor (p. xvii).

The first ten sections of *Kayātaram* deal with synonyms and the last one with homonyms (p. vii). The book is neatly got up with few mistakes and the Madras University, particularly the Tamil department, deserves our warm congratulations for bringing out this important work. Indeed, Rao Sahib S. Vayyapuri PILLAI has placed all the lovers of Tamil language under great obligations.

THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA

By

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The epoch (320 A.C.) of the Gupta Era, as determined by Dr. FLEET, is considered to be, with that of Candragupta Maurya (c. 320 B.C.), one of the sheet-anchors of Hindu chronology. In recent years some attempts have been made to challenge its accuracy, but they have not met with general acceptance. This is due in part to the inadequate presentation of the points in favour of an earlier date. But the chief reason is certainly the general disinclination to unsettle accepted dates, in the absence of compelling evidence. The epoch of 320 A.C. seems to work fairly well and to fit in with ascertained facts of Hindu history, and if now and then some fact is discovered, which is inconsistent with that epoch, it is sought to be explained away or simply ignored. But when a fly, with the whole world to choose from, persists in sitting on my nose, it is not wisdom to ignore it. I therefore determined to face all facts which refused to be charmed away and tried to discover an epoch, which would be in harmony with all of them. The result is given below.

I tried first to find out how the epoch of 320 A.C. came to be so generally accepted, and even by those who had before persistently advocated an earlier date. I was surprised to find that almost the sole evidence on which the epoch was settled was Dr. FLEET's discovery of the Mandasor inscription of Mālva years 493 and 529, (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 18), which mentions a Kumāragupta. It was supposed that only one Kumāragupta could possibly have been ruling in Mālva year 493 = 436 A.C. This evidence therefore, seemed conclusive for dating the Gupta epoch in 320 A.C. Since then, however, another Kumāragupta has been found to have been ruling in year 154 (*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1914-15, p. 124); and the natural interpretation of the Mandasor inscription is to take Kumāragupta as the Suzerain of Viśhnavarman, father of Bandhuvvarman, who was ruling in year 493 = 436 A.C. Dr. FLEET was aware of another Kumāragupta, son of Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, but as Bālāditya was identified with the Bālāditya who, according to Hieun-Tsang, took Mihirakula captive, and as Yaśodharman, of Mālva year 589 = 532 A.C. claims to have subdued Mihirakula, Dr. FLEET thought it impossible that Bālāditya's son could have been ruling nearly a century before Yaśodharman. But in my paper on the *Hun Invasion of Hindusthān* (under publication in *New Indian Antiquary*), I have proved that the Bālāditya, who defeated Mihirakula, was not Narasimhagupta, but a much earlier king of Magadha, and there is no reason to suppose that Kumāragupta, son of Narasimhagupta, was different from Kumāragupta of year 154, who ruled between Skandagupta and Budhagupta. Now, there-

fore, we have to consider the possibility of Kumāragupta II being the Kumāragupta of the Mandasor inscription, and the epoch of 320 A.C. is thus no longer the sheet-anchor it was supposed to be. It must here be pointed out that so far no other proof has been adduced for this epoch, except the evidence of Alberūnī (1030 A.C.)

In his *India* (tr. SACHAU, v 2, pp. 5-7), Alberūnī identifies the Gupta era with the Valabhī era, placing its epoch 241 years after the Śaka era, in 320 A.C.; and adds that it was called Valabhī era from Vallabha, King of Valabhī, that the Guptas were wicked, powerful people, and, when they ceased to exist, this date was used as the epoch of an era, and that it seems that Vallabha was the last of them. Dr. FLEET accepted Alberūnī's epoch for the Gupta era, but argued that the era used by the Guptas themselves could not have begun from their destruction. Others, notably CUNNINGHAM, relied on Alberūnī's statement that the Valabhī era dates from the destruction of the Guptas and argued that the era used by the Guptas themselves must be different and earlier than the Valabhī era. Both forgot that Alberūnī was only recording local traditions, and that he probably misunderstood what he heard. Of the Śaka era, he likewise wrote that it dates from their destruction by Vikramāditya. But this statement has been proved to be wrong by the earliest inscription dating in that era by name, the Bādāmī inscription of Caḷukya Kīrtivarman, which definitely refers to the years as those of the anointment of the Śaka King (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 3, p. 305). It is equally certain that the Guptas could not have dated their inscriptions in an era dating from their destruction; and Alberūnī's statements cannot be accepted without corroboration. Alberūnī's epoch of 320 A.C. for the Valabhī era is, however, confirmed by the Verāval inscription of Arjunadeva, dated in Valabhī year 945, Vikrama year 1320, and Hīra year 662 (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 11, p. 242). Vikrama year 1320 = 1264 A.C., and the epoch of the Valabhī era must therefore be 1264—944 = 320 A.C. This epoch for the Valabhī era is further confirmed by the Ūnā plates of Mahendrāyudha (890-907 A.C.) (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 9, No. 1), dated in Valabhī year 574, and by the Verāval inscriptions of Valabhī year 850, (*Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 186), which mentions Caḷukya Kumārapāla (1143-1173). Regarding the origin of the Valabhī era, Candraprabhasūri in his *Prabhāvakacaritam* (1277 A.C.) gives a hint (p. 74, st 81-82) that in year 845 after Vīra-nirvāṇa = 319 A.C., Valabhī was destroyed by Turushkas. It is probable that Valabhī was rebuilt soon after in 320 A.C. and that the Valabhī era dates from that event. Alberūnī also refers to this tradition, when he says that Vallabha and his city Valabhī were destroyed in a night-attack by the lord of Almansūra (tr. Vol. 1, pp. 192-193). We may therefore, conclude that the Valabhī era dates from its rebuilding in 320 A.C., and not from the destruction of the Guptas.

But there is no reason to think that the Gupta and the Valabhī eras are identical, and it is not clear why the Guptas should date their inscriptions in a local Valabhī era. Modern scholars, therefore, prefer to believe that the

Gupta era dates from their coming to power and that, because it was continued by the Matrakas of Valabhī, it later on came to be known also as the Valabhī era. This theory involves two assumptions that the Gupta and Valabhī eras are identical, and that the Guptas started the era, which was continued by the Matrakas of Valabhī. The proper procedure would be to ascertain when the Guptas and the Matrakas flourished, and whether they used the same or different eras, and then to try to fix the epochs of the eras as exactly as the available data would permit.

The Gupta inscriptions and coins range between 61 and 224 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Vol. 15, No. 7; Vol. 17, No. 13); and they were succeeded in Magadha by the later Guptas. Hiuen-Tsang, who visited Magadha in 637 A.C., says of Śaśānka, king of Karnasuvarna, that he murdered Rājyavardhana and that he destroyed the Bodhi tree, which, after his death Pūrṇavarman of Magadha restored to life (*Si-yu-ki*, tr. Beal, Vol. 1, pp. 209-213; Vol. 2, p. 118); and Pūrṇavarman too seems to have passed away before 637 A.C. (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 174). It is therefore certain that Śaśānka died before 637 A.C. But he was ruling in Gupta year 300 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 6, No. 14). In connection with Rājyavardhana's murder by Śaśānka, Hiuen-Tsang says that Harshavardhan Śilāditya set out to avenge it as soon as he came to the throne (606 A.C.), and in 6 years he conquered the five Indies and thereafter had ruled peacefully for 30 years, when Hiuen-Tsang met him (*Si-yu-ki*, tr. Vol. 1, pp. 209-213). Hiuen-Tsang does not say definitely that Harsha subdued Śaśānka, but neither does he say that Śaśānka succeeded in repulsing Harsha, as Pulikeśin II is stated to have done by Hiuen-Tsang himself; and his statement that Harsha succeeded in reducing the five Indies in 6 years implies that Śaśānka had either ceased to live or was no longer independent in 612 A.C. The Ganjam plates, therefore, of Gupta year 300, which refers to Śaśānka as Mahārājādhirāja, must date before 612 A.C., thus placing the epoch of the Gupta era before 612—300 = 312 A.C. Again, the Aḥṣaḍ inscription of later Gupta Ādityasena refers to his ancestor Kumāragupta as having fought with Maukharī Iśānavarman (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 42). Iśānavarman can be dated definitely in Mālva year 611 = 554 A.C. from his Hārāha inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 14, No. 5). Before his time, three Maukharis are known to have ruled at Kanauj, Harivarman, Ādityavarman and Iśavaravarman (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 47); and Iśānavarman's contemporary Kumāragupta had also three predecessors in Magadha, Krishnagupta, Harshagupta and Jivitagupta I (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 42). Thus three generations of Kings were ruling at Kanauj and in Magadha before 554 A.C., and their period could not have been less than 50 years. Since these kings were evidently successors of the early Guptas in their own kingdom, the early Guptas must have ceased to rule by c. 500 A.C. at the latest; and, as they were still ruling in year 224, the epoch of the Gupta era cannot have been later than 500—224 = c. 276 A.C.

The early Guptas are known to have ruled in Central Hindusthān also.

The Eran inscription of the brothers Mātivishnu and Dhanyavishnu (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 19) refers to Budhagupta as the ruling king in Gupta year 165. Of these, Mātivishnu had ceased to live, when Dhanyavishnu refers to Toramāṇa as the ruling king in his first year (Eran inscription, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 36). Toramāṇa's first year must therefore be dated after Gupta year 165, and he is known to have ruled for at least 52 years, as one of his coins is dated in that year (CUNNINGHAM · *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 20). After Toramāṇa, his son Mihirakula is known to have ruled for at least 15 years (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 37), before he was conquered by Yaśodharman Vishnuvardhana (*ibid*, No. 33). Yaśodharman's conquest of Mihirakula cannot be dated before 532 A.C. as it is not mentioned among Yaśodharman's achievements in the Mandasor inscription of Mālva year 589 = 532 A.C. (*ibid*, No. 35). On the other hand, when Hsuen-Tsang visited Mālva in 642 A.C., he heard that Śīlāditya of Mālva had been ruling for 50 years, some 60 years before (*Si-yu-ki*, t. 1 Vol 2, p. 261). Śīlāditya must therefore have ruled from 532 to 582 A.C., and his predecessor Yaśodharman cannot be dated after 532 A.C. Thus Yaśodharman's conquest of Mihirakula cannot be dated either before or after 532 A.C. It must, therefore, be dated in that same year; and since Toramāṇa and Mihirakula had already ruled for at least 52 and 15 years respectively, the early Guptas had ceased to rule in Central Hindusthān before 532—(52 + 15) = 465 A.C. But in year 191, Bhānugupta is mentioned as the ruling king in another Eran inscription (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 20). The epoch of the Gupta era cannot therefore be dated after 465—191 = 274 A.C., and, if the reference in that inscription to Bhānugupta's waging a mighty battle indicates the war that ended in transferring Central Hindusthān to Toramāṇa, the Gupta epoch may be dated in c. 274 A.C. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the interval between year 165, when both Mātivishnu and Dhanyavishnu were alive, and Toramāṇa's first year, when only Dhanyavishnu had survived, cannot be more than a single generation, that is, not much beyond year 191, when Bhānugupta was still ruler of Central Hindusthān.

The date here arrived at for Toramāṇa (c. 465-517 A.C.) and Mihirakula (c. 517-532 A.C.) are confirmed by Jain legends of Kalkirāja Jināsena, in his *Harwaṃśa*, composed in Śaka 705 = 783 A.C. (Ch. 66, st. 52) says that the Guptas ruled for 231 years, that thereafter Kalkirāja ruled for 42 years, and that he was succeeded by Ajitanjaya at Indrapura (ch. 60, st. 491-492). From Jināsena's chronology, it would appear that the Guptas ruled from 200 to 431 A.C., and Kalkirāja from 431 to 473 A.C. But Guṇabhadra, in his *Uttarapurāṇa* of Śaka 820 = 898 A.C. (Ch. 77, st. 35), says that in year 1000 after Vira-nirvāṇa (= 473 A.C.), a Māgha year, Kalkirāja was born in Pātaliputra as son of Śīśupāla, that he ruled for 40 years and lived altogether for 70 years, and that his son was Ajitanjaya (ch. 76, st. 397-401 and 428). This implies that Kalkirāja ruled from 503 to 543 A.C. Thus Guṇabhadra's date for Kalkirāja is 70 years later than that of Jināsena, and 473 A.C. was in fact not a Māgha year. The nearest Māgha year was 474-75 A.C.

But both agree that Kalkirāja was son of Śiśupāla, succeeded the Guptas and ruled for 40 or 42 years, and was succeeded by Ajitanjaya. Kalkirāja seems to be identical with Toramāna, who succeeded the Guptas in Central Hindusthān, and had a reign of 52 years; and his true date (c. 465-517 A.C.) lies between the dates given by Jināsena (431-473 A.C.) and Guṇabhadra (503-543 A.C.). The statement that he was son of Śiśupāla of Pāṭaliputra seems to be confirmed by the Pahladpur inscription (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 57), which mentions a Pārthiva Śiśupāla as commander Toramāna seems to have inherited the post and used it to revolt against Bhānugupta, becoming ultimately independent in Central Hindusthān.

The epoch of the Gupta era has been shown to be not later than c. 274 A.C. The earlier limit may now be fixed. The interval between Budhagupta and Yaśodharman cannot be more than 3 or 4 generations, as Dhanyaviśnu was a contemporary, first of Budhagupta and then of Toramāna, and Yaśodharman was a contemporary of Toramāna's son Mihirakula. Budhagupta's year 165 cannot therefore date more than about a 100 years before Yaśodharman's Mālava year 589 = 532 A.C. The earlier limit for the Gupta epoch seems therefore to be c. (532-100)-165 = c. 267 A.C.

Sylvain Lévi has proved from Chinese sources (*Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 316, 401) that Śrī Meghavarna of Ceylon sought permission of Samudragupta to build a vihāra for Ceylon pilgrims at Buddha-Gaya; and Samudragupta too refers to relations with Simhala (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1). Samudragupta was therefore a contemporary of Śrī Meghavarna. Both *Rājāvaliya* and *Pūjāvākyā* place Śrī Meghavarna's accession 845 years after Buddha-nirvāṇa in 845-543 = 302 A.C. The Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II, dated in year 61, cannot therefore be placed before 302 A.C., when his father Samudragupta's contemporary Śrī Meghavarna came to the throne, and the Gupta epoch cannot thus be dated before 302-61 = 241 A.C. Some identify Śrī Meghavarna with Goṭhakābhaya (252-265 A.C.); but Goṭhakābhaya had only a title Meghavarnābhaya, and was never known as Śrī Meghavarna.

Fan-Chan, again, of Funan (Cambodia) is said to have sent an embassy to Mu-lun (Murunda), king of Hindusthān, whose capital (Pāṭaliputra) was 7000 li up the Ganges from its mouth, in 240-245 A.C. (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 1, p. 612). Since thus in 240-245 A.C. a Murunda was king of Pāṭaliputra, the early Guptas and the Gupta epoch must be dated after 240-245 A.C.

Another datum for the earlier limit of the Gupta epoch is found in the Mandasor inscription of years 493 and 529 (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 18). It says that when Kumāragupta was ruling the earth, Viśvavarman was protector (goptā) of Mālava, and that when his son Bandhuvvarman was ruler of Daśapura (Mandasor), the sun-temple there was built in Mālava year 493 = 436 A.C. Thus before 436 A.C., Viśvavarman had become a Gupta feudatory. But in Mālava year 461 = 404 A.C., his father Naravarman had been independent (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 12, No. 35), and Viśvavarman

too was still independent in Mālva year 480 = 423 A.C. (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 17). Viśvavarman, therefore, had become a Gupta feudatory between 423 and 436 A.C. and Skandagupta was probably the Gupta, who conquered Western Mālva. Viśvavarman's contemporary Kumāragupta must thus be dated 423-436 A.C. Among the early Guptas, there were two Kumāraguptas. The first was ruling from year 96 to year 130, and the second was ruling in year 154 and was succeeded by Budhagupta in year 157 (*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1914-15, p. 125). Budhagupta's year 157 cannot hence be later than 423 A.C., when Mālva had not yet come under Gupta suzerainty. The Gupta epoch cannot therefore date before 423-157 = 266 A.C. Thus the earlier and the later limits of the Gupta epoch have been found to be 266 and 274 A.C. and the Gupta epoch may therefore be dated in c. 270 A.C.

The Maitraka era may now be considered. Their inscriptions range only from year 183 to year 447. They cannot therefore have founded an era of their own. But as they ruled over Surāshtra, which was formerly under the Guptas down to at least Gupta year 138 (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 14) and as the first two Maitrakas Bhaṭṭaika and Dharaśena I are styled Senāpati, it is probable that the Maitrakas were originally Gupta generals in Surāshtra, who later became independent, but continued the Gupta era in their own inscriptions. On the other hand, it is equally probable that they used the local Valabhī era. But it will be shown presently that the astronomical data of their inscriptions do not fit in with the Valabhī era of 320 A.C.; and, if they are supposed to have used this era, their rule should have extended to at least $320 + 447 = 767$ A.C. But Surāshtra came under the Arabs of Sindh shortly after 712 A.C.; and it is not probable that the Maitrakas could have continued to rule 767-712 = 55 years later. It is therefore more likely that the epoch of their era is not much later than c. 712-447 = c. 265 A.C. This epoch closely agrees with the Gupta epoch (c. 270 A.C.) already arrived at. We may therefore conclude that the Maitraka inscriptions too are dated in the Gupta era.

In 642 A.C. Hiuen-Tsang found a Dhruvapati ruling at Valabhī (*Si-yu-ki*, tr. Vol. 2, p. 267), who was nephew of Śīlāditya of Mālva and son-in-law of Śīlāditya of Kanauj. But no Valabhī king is so far known to have had the title Dhruvapaṭu, and no chronological inference can be drawn from his identity.

Another Valabhī king is mentioned in Dhananjaya's *Satrunjaya-māhātmya*, composed in Vikramāt 477, when Śīlāditya was king of Valabhī. This statement is discredited on the ground that in Vikrama 477 = 420 A.C. there could have been no Śīlāditya of Valabhī. But the date is not given in the Vikrama era, but 'from Vikrama'; and the Śaka era is sometimes believed to commemorate Vikrama's destruction of the Śakas. Alberūnī says (tr. Sachau, Vol. 2, pp. 5-7) that Vikramāditya killed a Śaka at Karūr and that the date became famous and was used as an epoch by astronomers; and the Vikrama and the Śaka eras were often confounded with each other, the Śaka

era being even referred to as the era of 'Vikramāṅka-Sakarāja' Supposing Dhananjaya's 'Vikramāt 477' refers to Śaka 477 = 555 A.C. and his Śilāditya to be Maṭṭraka Śilāditya I who issued grants from year 286 to year 292 and succeeded Dharasena II, whose latest date is 270, Maṭṭraka year 270 cannot date after 555 A.C. and the Maṭṭraka epoch must date before 285 A.C.

We have thus arrived at c 270 A.C. as the true epoch of the Gupta era. Let us see how it fits in with the astronomical data given in Gupta and Maṭṭraka inscriptions. There are 16 such inscriptions and I have made careful and exhaustive calculations to find suitable epochs between 240 and 340 A.C. I could find only one suitable epoch (273 A.C.) in this century. 273 A.C. *must therefore be the true epoch of the Gupta era.* The data are given below with references and equivalents, if available, for the epochs of 273 A.C. and 320 A.C.

Nos.	References	Astronomical data	Epoch 273 A.C.	Epoch 320 A.C.
1	E. I. v. 21, No 1	Year 61 (Candragupta II), adhika month (Unnamed)	334 A.C. <i>adhika</i> Āshāḍha	380 A.C. <i>adhika</i> Śrāvaṇa
2	G. I. No. 21	Gupta year 156 (Hastin), Vaiśākha year	429-30 A.C.	—
3	A. S. I. Ann. Rep., 1914-15, pp. 124-25	Gupta year 157 (Budhagupta) Vaiśākha Kṛishṇa 7, Mūla	12th March 429 A.C.	—
4	G. I. No. 22	Gupta year 163 (Hastin), Āśvina year	434-35 A.C.	482-83 A.C.
5	G. I. No. 19	Year 165 (Budhagupta), Āshāḍhasukla 12, Thursday	1st July 437 A.C.	21st June 484 A.C.
6	G. I. No. 23	Gupta year 191 (Hastin), Caitra year	464-65 A.C.	511-12 A.C.
7	E. I. v. 19, No 21	Year 191 (Śarvanātha), Adhika Āshāḍha	464 A.C.	510 A.C.
8	E. I. v. 21, No 20	Gupta year 198 (Hastin), Āśvina year	470-71 A.C.	517-18 A.C.
9	E. I. v. 8, No 28	Gupta year 199 (San-kshobha), Mārgaśīra year	472-73 A.C.	519-20 A.C.
10	G. I. No. 25	Gupta year 209 (San-kshobha), Āśvina year	482-83 A.C.	529-30 A.C.
11	E. I. v. 21, No 30	Year 254 (Dharasena II) Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā, solar eclipse	28th March 526 A.C.	19th March 573 A.C.
12	E. I. v. 6, No. 14	Gupta year 300 (Śaś-āṅka), solar eclipse	23rd September 572 A.C.	21st March 619 A.C. or 10th March 620 A.C.

Nos.	References.	Astronomical Data.	Epoch 273 A.C.	Epoch 320 A.C.
13	I. A. v. 15, p. 340	Year 330 (Dharasena IV), Adhika Mārgaśīra	602 A.C.	—
14	J. B. R. A. S. (N. S.), v. 1, pp. 38-40	Year 343 (Śilāditya III), Adhika Āshāḍha	616 A.C.	662 A.C.
15	E. I. v. No. 19	Year 357 (Śilāditya III), Adhika Pausa	629 A.C.	—
16	I. A. v. 2, p. 258	Gupta year 585 (Jāika), solar eclipse	27th May 857 A.C.	10th November 904 A.C. or 7th May 905 A.C.

From the above it is seen that, while the epoch of 273 A.C. satisfies the data of all the 16 inscriptions, the epoch of 320 A.C. satisfies those of only 12 inscriptions. The data are of four kinds. Inscriptions 1, 7 and 13-15 give adhika months. Inscriptions 2, 4, 6 and 8-10 give Jupiter's years. Inscriptions 3 and 5 give tithi and nakshatra or week-day. Inscriptions 11, 12 and 16 give solar eclipses. The adhika months are evidently mean adhika months, as otherwise there could be no adhika Mārgaśīra or Pausa; and mean intercalations continued in use, till Śrīpati (1039 A.C.), in his *Siddhānta-śekhara* protested against their continued use. Jupiter's years are of two kinds, the heliacal-rising system, and the mean-sign system. The former requires actual observation or calculation of apparent motions of Jupiter, while the latter system is based only on mean motions of Jupiter; and observation was not common among early Hindu astronomers. For several centuries after even the Gupta period, they preferred mean motions of Jupiter and other planets. For the Gupta period, we have therefore to take the Jupiter's years as those only of the mean-sign system. The tithis likewise of Gupta inscriptions must be mean tithis and the nakshatras of the equal-space system, mentioned in *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*. The lunar months must then have been pūrṇimānta, as Caitra Śukla 13 is equated with Caitra 27 in the year 209 inscription of Sankshobha and Māgha Krishna 3 is equated with Māgha 3 in the year 191 inscription of Hastin, and because, with an amānta month, it is impossible for the nakshatra to have been Mūla on Vaiśākha Krishna 7, as stated in the year 157 inscription of Budhagupta. Lastly, solar eclipses were considered auspicious occasions for making gifts and hence were often mentioned in inscriptions, though invisible.

These inscriptions may now be discussed in detail, to see how their data fit in with the two epochs of 273 A.C. and 320 A.C.

1. In Gupta year 61, there was an unnamed adhika month; and there were a mean adhika Āshāḍha in 334 A.C. and a mean adhika Śrāvaṇa in 380 A.C.,

2. Gupta year 156 was a Vaiśākha year *This datum is satisfied only by the epoch of 273 A.C.*, as 429-30 A.C. was a mean-sign Vaiśākha year, while neither 475-76 A.C. (Phālguna year) nor 476-77 A.C. (Caitra year) was a mean-sign Vaiśākha year ;

3. In Gupta year 157, Mūla was the nakshatra on Vaiśākha Krishna 7 day. *This datum too is satisfied only by the epoch of 273 A.C.*, as on 12th March 529 A.C., pūrṇimānta mean Vaiśākha Krishna 7 began 4 hours 5 minutes after sunrise, when the moon's longitude was 246° , and the nakshatra was therefore Mūla. But neither on 1st April 476 A.C. nor on 21st March 477 A.C., when Vaiśākha Krishna 7 began 23 hours 17 minutes and 8 hours 10 minutes respectively after sunrise, was the nakshatra Mūla, for the moon's longitude on those days was $226^{\circ} 30'$ and $255^{\circ} 7'$ respectively, and the nakshatra can have been only Pūrva Āśādhā, not Mūla ;

4. Gupta year 163 was an Āśvina year The date in the inscription is clearly given as 163. But on the mean-sign system, it is impossible for year 163 to have been an Āśvina year, when year 156 was a Vaiśākha year Dr FLEET has therefore admitted that 'tri' in the inscription might have been wrongly engraved for 'dvi' Accepting this emendation, both epoches satisfy the given data, for 434-35 A.C. and 482-83 A.C. were both Āśvina years ;

5. In Gupta year 165, the day of Āśādhā Śukla 12 was a Thursday ; and both 1st July 437 A.C., when Āśādhā Śukla 12 ended 5 hours 2 minutes after sunrise, and 21st June 484 A.C., when Āśādhā Śukla 12 ended 11 hours 46 minutes after sunrise, were Thursdays ;

6. Gupta year 191 was a Caitra year, and both 464-65 A.C. and 511-12 A.C. were Caitra years ;

7. In year 191 of Śarvanātha, there was an adhika Āśādhā. Uchchakalpa ŚARVANĀTHA does not indeed specifically date his inscription in the Gupta era, but his inscriptions range from year 179 to year 214, and he issued a joint inscription (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No 24) with Parivrajaka Hastin, whose inscriptions range from year 156 to year 198 of the Gupta era. Śarvanātha's inscriptions also must therefore be dated in the same era. Accepting his year 191 to be a Gupta year, there were an adhika Śrāvaṇa in both 464 A.C. and 510 A.C., which, according to Brahmagupta's rule that the second month is the adhika month, would be named Āśādhā. But in both years the adhika months were true and not mean adhika months and the Uchchakalpas must have preferred true months. If this supposition is not accepted, both epochs fail to satisfy the given datum.

8. Gupta year 198 was an Āśvina year, and both 470-71 A.C. and 517-18 A.C. were Āśvina years ;

9. Gupta year 199 was a Mārgaśīra year ; and both 472-73 A.C. and 519-20 A.C. were Mārgaśīra years With both epochs, we must assume that year 198 was current and year 199 expired ; and for all these inscriptions, we get satisfactory results only by assuming some to be current and others expired years. Even to-day when we ask of men their ages, some give expired

and others current years, and the same must have been the case in old times times also ;

10. Gupta year 209 was an Āśvina year ; and both 482-83 A.C. and 529-30 A.C. were Āśvina years ;

11. In Maitraka year 254, there was a solar eclipse on Vaiśāka amāvāsya ; and there were solar eclipses on Vaiśākha amāvāsya of both 28th March 526 A.C. and 19th March 573 A.C. The solar eclipse on 28th March 526 A.C. was probably not visible in India ; but, as pointed out already, it is not necessary that solar eclipses cited in inscriptions should be visible ; and, as the sun's distance from the node on 28th March 526 A.C. was $179^{\circ} 33'$, solar eclipse was certain on that day. The opinion of Prof JACOBI (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 423), the greatest modern authority on Hindu astronomy, may be cited here :—"The eclipses mentioned in inscriptions are not always actually observed eclipses, but calculated ones. My reasons for this opinion are the following. Firstly, eclipses are auspicious moments, when donations, such as are usually recorded in inscriptions, are particularly meritorious. They were therefore probably selected for such occasions, and must accordingly have been calculated beforehand. No doubt they were entered in panchāṅgs or almanacs in former times, as they are now. Secondly, even larger eclipses of the sun, up to seven digits, pass unobserved by common people, and smaller ones are only visible under favourable circumstances. Thirdly, the Hindus place implicit trust in their Śāstras, and would not think it necessary to test their calculations by actual observation. The writers of inscriptions would therefore mention an eclipse, if they found one predicted in their almanacs" ;

12. There was a solar eclipse in Gupta year 300 ; and there were solar eclipses on both 23rd September 572 A.C., and 21st March 619 A.C. ;

13. In Maitraka year 330, there was an adhika Mārgaśira. *This datum is satisfied only by the epoch of 273 A.C.*, as there was an adhika Mārgaśira in 602 A.C., while there was no mean or true adhika Mārgaśira in 649 A.C. or 650 A.C. ;

14. In Maitraka year 343, there was an adhika Āshādha ; and there were an adhika Āshādha in 616 A.C., and an adhika Śrāvaṇa in 662 A.C., which, by Brahmagupta's rule, would be called Āshādha ,

15. In Maitraka year 537, there was an adhika Pausha. *This datum is satisfied only by the epoch of 273 A.C.*, as there was an adhika Pausha in 629 A.C., while there was no adhika Pausha in 676 A.C. or 677 A.C. ;

16. In Gupta year 585, there was a solar eclipse, and there were solar eclipses on 27th May 857 A.C. (not visible in India) as also on 10th November 904 A.C. and 7th May 905 A.C.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MALAYĀLAM PROSE WRITTEN BY CHRISTIANS*

By

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, Emakulam.

Indo-Aryan elements

The adaptations from IA, discussed below, are words that have structural or semantic peculiarities or those that are out of vogue to-day. Some of the words are curious hypersanskritizations which may have been artificial creations of shallow people with pretensions to Sanskrit scholarship. Some of these adaptations may have enjoyed currency not only in the speech of the Christians but also in the language of non-Christian communities. Here again, the extent to which some of these words may have been specially popular among Christians has to be clarified by further research.¹

anūsaraṇam and *anūsarana* are both met with—Cf adaptations *anūsaraṇai* and *anūsaranam* occurring in Tamil.

apūrvā-p-ped- has developed the meaning 'to marvel at' in some contexts in this dialect

arani-kk- 'to be separated by a schism, perversely' appears to be the meaning in contexts like *paṭṭāṇṇayil mūṇṇum araniṭṭupṭṭāṇ* or *aranikkappetta ida-ttūtṭukāraṇ*.

araṇ 'stronghold' 'fortress' appears to have been derived from Skt. *śaraṇam*.

BG has *harunikkappetta*, with an intrusive *h*.

aśakyam 'miracle, marvel'. *asakya-p-ped-* 'to be astonished'.

aṣṭahāsam [BG] for *aṭṭahāsam* 'loud laughter'.—The word is used in BG also for 'speaking aloud, or 'crying aloud,'

Cf., for the intrusion of foreign sounds in 'vulgar' speech, *rāstri* for *rātri*.

avakāśam has the meaning 'opportunity, occasion' in these texts. The meanings 'title' 'claim', 'right' do not appear.

astamāṇam 'sunset', for *astamanam*.

āsta, *āstha*, *āyistam* have all the meaning 'prepared' or 'made ready.' I think that the original word from which these forms were derived was Skt. *āyatta* and that this has been confused with Skt. *āsthā* structurally. VD. has *āstham-ākk-* 'to get ready'

* Concluded from p. 397 of Vol. III

1. In transliterating the adaptations just as they are used in Mal., I have used Dravidian symbols wherever IA sounds are replaced by Dravidian ones. I have also symbolically distinguished *ṇ* and *ṇ̣* in these adaptations from IA.

āśrana, *āsana* are "transmutations" of Skt. *āśrayana*, 'dependence, obedience'.

īṣal, *īlal* [from Skt *īsat*] have in Mal the meanings 'slightest doubt,' 'slightest displeasure or unwillingness'

ugramam 'vehement' 'fierce' for *ugram*.—The hypersanskritization is due to the influence of forms like *uttamam*

uttari-kk- 'to reply' [VD] from *uttara* 'reply' which meaning this form has developed in some South Dravidian languages.

ejastā [only in Vartt.], a very remarkable blend-formation. Here three different adaptations of Skt words converge: *yāśassā*, *tūjassā*, and *āntasā*.

kaṇmaṇ-mār 'chiefs' 'lords'.—*kaṇmaḷ* (corresponding to modern *kaimmaḷ* or *kammal*) is from *kaṇmiyal* < *karmigal*. The original meanings are 'workers'—For the replacement of *ḷ* before *-m* by *ṇ*, cf. *ṇcīṇaṇmār*, *rājākkaṇmār*, etc.

karsan or *kariṣam* is used in Vartt with the meanings 'cruel' 'unsympathetic'. VD has *karṣi-kk*- 'to be unfeeling, impetuous'.

karttavayan 'leader', as in *jātikkū karttavayan* [Vartt].

karkkīṣaṇ-mār [Vartt] 'very avaricious persons, hard to deal with'.—The Mal. form *karkkasa-kkār* is equated to 'avaricious persons' by VD.—*Karkkīṣaṇ* is a curious instance of forcible alteration (by those who were ignorant of Skt).

kāvya 'Hindus' 'heathens', a form perhaps adapted from *kāvya* 'Hindu literary work.' The word appears to be an ancient one in the vocabulary of Christians. Dr P J. Thomas suggests that the word may have been derived from Arabic *Kāfir* 'infidel' 'heathen'.

kausukham [Vartt] 'show, spectacle' shows the influence of *sukham* on the structure of the word *kautukam*

klēṣam has developed the meaning 'effort involving distress'.

guṇa-v-adhikāram shows a glide produced by Dravidic sandhi rules.

camayam [VD and BAILEY] 'ceremonial dress'—this meaning is met with in classical literary texts [cf *Uttararām gadyam*] Tam. *camayam* does not have this meaning.

caradam 'parsimony' [VD].—BAILEY gives the meanings 'carefulness' 'laying up in store'.—The word occurs in the 14th century *Uppuññi saṇḍēṣam* with the meaning 'carefulness'. It occurs with this meaning in other classical texts also—I am told that in North Malabar to-day the word is used for 'carefulness'.

The pejorative meaning 'parsimony', given to it in these Christian texts, is a noteworthy semantic development.

BG has *aradikkūñṇu* and *śarasi-kk* 'to be careful about'. These forms may all be ultimately connected with Skt *śraddhā*

cidam, as in *cidavum padavum*, means 'propriety' 'agreeableness'. The Tam. Lexicon gives the meanings, and suggests for the word a connection with Skt *cit*.

curudi 'report' 'rumour' is adopted from Skt *śruti*.—The Mal. evaluation of *r* (in *śr*) as *ṛ* is normal, but the anaptyctic vowel is not heard today.

jaṇmāṇḍaram appears in all the three texts with the meanings 'noble manners' 'virtues' [VD].—This word occurs very frequently in Christian religious writings. Colloquially, one hears it often even today both among Christians and among others, with this and other derivative meanings.

BAILEY gives the meanings 'kindness' 'generosity', 'gratitude' besides the meaning 'another birth'. SV which is a religious work gives a full-dress explanation of *buddhi jaṇmāṇḍaram* 'the foresight which enables one to avoid falling into deception, and the virtue which prevents one from deceiving others'.

Today, I have heard some Christians use *jaṇmāṇḍra-k-kēḍa* with the meaning 'original sin'.

tuppāy 'interpreter' 'East Indian or Eurasian' [BAILEY 'interpreter'] is from *dvibhāsi*.

diṣṭadi 'need'.—The word *tittadi* 'need' occurs in old texts like Kṛṣṇagāthā. [Bailey *tittadi*]. Is *diṣṭadi* a Sanskritization of *tittadi* (which itself may have been a *tadbhava* form)?

dusi, as in *dusi-padam*, *duṣi-vākkā* means 'abuse'.—*duṣi-kk-* [from Skt. *duṣ-*] and *dūsi-kk-* 'to abuse, speak ill of' are common in Mal.

dēvasa (for *dēvatā* < Skt *dēvatā*) 'evil spirit, demon', appears frequently in BG in the phrase *dēvasa gōṣṭhikkāraṇ* 'a man possessed with the devil'. Bailey has *dēvatā gōṣṭhi* 'possession by an evil spirit'.

daivaṇṭala 'devotion' [VD]

ṇaṇibham 'coin' from Skt. *nāṇakam*.—For the *bh*, cf. *vāḥbham* [corresponding to Skt. *bālya*]

ṇimiṣada [SV and Vartt.] has the meaning 'facility', 'ease'. VD has *ṇimiṣatvam* 'facility'.

ṇiccal 'always' 'daily' [VD].—*ṇiccal* and *ṇiccam* [BAILEY] are adapted from MIA forms

ṇiḍṇam 'carefulness' 'rectitude' [VD].—Though spelt with *-t-*, *-d-*, and *-dh-*, the meanings in Mal. are all connected with Skt. *nidāna*.

ṇirūvaṇa 'consideration' [VD].—Cf. Tam. *nirūvaṇā*.

The modern form is *ṇirūpaṇam*.

ṇivrtti 'termination, end,' as in *aḷikkū ṇivrtti*.

ṇirmāṇam 'disgraceful, insolent,' as in *ṇirmāṇavum duṣṭadayum* is only a popular variant of Skt *nir-mānam*, confused with Skt. *nurmāṇa* and also Skt. *nirvāṇa*.—VD has *ṇirmāṇam*.

parahasyam 'what is published', 'open fact' is a form (corresponding to modern *parasyam*), appearing in all these texts, as the opposite of *rahasyam* 'secret'—Is *parahasyam* < *para-rahasyam*?

parādhanam 'difficult' [BAILEY].

palusam, as in *palusam-āya vacaṇannal* [Vartt.], may have been a variant of *balassə* formed from *balassan* [VD] [Skt. *balasthaḥ*].

pāla is from *bhāṣā*.

pramādam has the meanings 'danger' 'misfortune' in SV :—*marikāṇ pramādam-āy*; *maranapramādatto*.

GUNDERT cites VD as equating *pramādikēṇā* to 'don't despair'. BAILEY gives the meaning 'misfortune' among others.

bhaktima (for *bhakti* 'piety') shows a *-ma* perhaps under the influence of native forms like *ṇaṇ-ma* and of Skt forms like *bhaktimān*.

bhāṣitam 'ridicule' 'scoffing' [VD]—The Nāmbūdis use it even today Kṛṣṇagāthā has *bhāṣi-kk* 'to talk prattlingly'

bhūṣ- 'to decorate oneself with ceremonial dress' is not common to-day—Tam has *bhūsi-kk*.

māryādi 'custom' Today *maryāda* means 'civility', 'conventional propriety.'

mārggakkāṣar 'converts to Christianity' 'Latin Christians' converted within recent centuries, as distinguished from the Syrian Christians of Malabar.

muṣkaratvam 'power' a common word in these texts *muskaram* in Tam means 'obstinacy'

yāvana, *yūpaṇa* 'maintenance' 'victuals' 'meal' [VD and BAILEY], are occasionally heard even today. *Yāvi-kk* 'to subsist on' occurs in very old west coast inscriptions

rājadam (for *rājyam*) 'kingdom' 'royal authority'

vaśannaḥ 'capacities' [BAILEY].

vaṛggam 'case', 'dispute'.

vaśanta 'small-pox' owes its meaning, according to GUNDERT, to the belief that spring winds cause the disease BAILEY gives the meanings 'dysentery, diarrhoea'.

vahiyā 'not possible', the older form of modern *vayyā*.

vāḷibhakkāṣar 'young men'—*vāḷibha* is an adaptation ultimately traceable to OIA *bālya*

vāsta-p-peṭṭa (for *vāstava-p-peṭṭa*), cf *vāstapettaval* *ṇiṇṇē* [PALph].

vidayam and *vidhayam* for *vidhēyam* 'to be made ready, brought under control'. [VD]

vilasaṇ 'man in the enjoyment of luxuries', from *vilas-* [Skt. *vi-las-*].

vīravadhām [Vartt.] for *vīrōdham*, as if it had some connection with *vadhām*.

vivāda [Vartt.] for *vivādam* (Skt. *vivādaḥ*) 'dispute'.

veñjaṇāḍiḡal 'household accompaniments' [VD], from Skt. *vyañjanam*.

velēśidam [BG] *belēśidam* [BG], *meļēśidam* [BG] for *melēcchitam* [Skt. *mṛēcchita*].—The change of *l* to *ḷ* in the Mal. adaptation of the Skt. group *mṛ* is normal. The anaptyctic vowel in the initial syllable and the change of *m* to *b* and *v* are colloquial corruptions.

vēsta (for *vyavastha* from Skt. *vyavasthā*) means 'certainty', 'ascertainment' [VD and BAILEY].

vyāṭṭi 'trick', 'dissimulation'.

śaraṇa-p-ped—'to confide in, trust, hope' [VD].

śaraṣṭ-kk—a "corruption" of *śradddhi-kk*—occurs in BG.

śōbha-kēḍa ('insult' 'disgrace' < the literal meaning 'loss of brightness', the verb base *śōbha kedu-kk*—is represented in Uttaraṛāmāyaṇam gadyam *sahdhiga* [Vartt.] for *sandhya* [Skt. *sandhyā*] is a wrong reconstruction with -g- of a popular form like *sandhiya*, the g being introduced as a result of the analogy of alternative forms like *caṇḍriga* and *caṇḍriya*.

samukṣattam for *samakṣam* (Skt. *samakṣam*) is due to the wrong incorporation of the sixth case -att- appearing in the constantly used inflexional form *samakṣ-attā*.

savutṭam and *sabutṭam* appearing in BG in *vali savuṭṭam-ūkkuvāṇ* is a mutation of *sauṣṭhavam* 'beauty' 'elegance'.

samvaducca 'having acquiesced, agreed' is often used in the stead of *sammaducca* (from Skt. *sammatih*). VD gives the meaning (to converse'.

sādhanaṁ 'document' is common in granthavaris

sāmarthyam 'wealth' as in *vidugalude sāmarthyavum* [Vartt.], is rarely used to-day with this meaning. Skt. has 'wealth' as one of the significations of the word.

soṭvam is a 'mistake' in BG for *svastham* 'at ease', 'healthy', 'happy'.

sudē 'by oneself' [< *svadē* < *svadavē* < Skt. *svataḥ* + Drav. *ē*].

sūksam 'carefulness' for *sūksmam* [Skt. *sūkṣma* 'minute']

sauryam [BG] for *svairam* (from Skt. *svaira* 'free'). The structure *sauryam* may have been due to the influence of the adaptation *saukaryam* which appears "corrupted" sometimes as *sauryam*

svarumicca, *sorumicca* [frequently in Vartt.] are "corrupted" forms of the verb *svārūṇ-kk* (adapted from Skt. *svārūṇa*), under the influence of native *orumi-kk*.

VIII SYNTAX

As is only to be expected, SV (composed as it has been by a European missionary) evidences the influence of foreign syntax to a considerably greater extent than Vartt. which is the work of an Indian priest who inveighs against the tyranny of the western missionaries. The BG, said to have been translated literally from the Syriac Bible, contains very curious constructions which (I am told) are influenced by Syriac syntax. The syntax of BG in some

places strikes the reader as exceedingly bizarre and unnatural ; and I feel that many of these artificialities may have been due to the interference of a non-Malayāli or an extremely "denationalised" Malayāli who wanted to twist and bend Mal. constructions to suit the needs of foreign syntax. I have not, therefore, discussed here the syntax of BG, generally speaking

The style of Vartt. is full of raciness and native vigour, particularly in the descriptions of European scenes and in the indictment of the western missionaries. Here and there one comes across native proverbs rich in mother-wit and wisdom :—

mōmūvāṇ hūhha hūyude talayil tēnnū vīṇu eñhulla collupōle.

ālēreppōguhñadinē-k-kāyil tūṇēle-p-pōguhñadu hāllū.

aṇḍi kalāṇṇa aṇṇānde kūṭṭa.

kandāṇkāl eñṇu collī kaṇḍakkālummēl piḍiccu eñṇadu pōle.

oñṇugil paḥuccirikkēṇam allengil kuḍiccirikkēṇam eñṇu malaigare paṇayūhṇa bhāṣitam pōle.

tāṇ kanda kadavil kūrṇam kettuvāṇ sannadī varigayillēhñullu bhayam.

The peculiarities of the syntax of these texts may be considered under two headings :—A. Native features that have become out of vogue to-day

B. Features which directly reveal or indirectly betray the influence of foreign syntax.

A

1. The use of the postposition *koṇḍa* to denote a "second case" force, as in *ñāṇṇale-k-koṇḍu vēṇḍā-vacaṇṇaṇṇal paṇṇūṇḍ* or in *maṭṭ-ārāṇṇe-k-koṇḍum poḥsatyam ceyyarudā.*

2 The use of Skt *prati* in contexts like the following :—(1) *kūrṇam prati ālōcicca.*

(ii) *davatte prati , ellāvarudēyūm takṣaye prati maricca*

(iii) *prati prati avarude vūṭṭil cēñṇa*

(iv) *paḥṣaṭprati-y-āy.*

3 The use of pronouns as expletives in contexts like the following is common in BG. The practice is carried to a fantastic extent in BG, yet, fundamentally the use of such pronouns is not foreign to the genius of Dravidian. A few instances from BG are the following —

accāṇ avaṇ ;

lōḡaril kalakkam-ad-āḡāyṇāṇ ,

aṇḍi-y-ad-āyappōl.

kōḷi-y-adu kūvi

SV has *bhāryāvaḷ.*

Instances of this use of pronouns exist in classical literary texts, as in the following :—

gurubhūtaṇmār-avar tannaḷude ;

ucca-y-ad-āḡumbōl ;

galam-adul māla karēṭṭi varikum ;
vambanmāriḷ munban-ad-āgum umbar kōṇ, etc.

The history of this practice goes back to the parent stage, since Tolkāp-piyam, colladigāram, envisages this peculiarity for Old Tam. In the history of Mal, however, the purely expletive character of the pronoun became so definitely marked that the non-rational singular (a)də was sometimes associated with rational nouns

4 The final -(a) ḍə in the following illustrations from SV may be regarded as a transitional tense-expletive ; such constructions are unusual to-day. Participial nouns in origin, the forms with -(a)də become finites here —

śuddhamāṇa mārppāpa paḷiyude talavāṇ āguṇṇadə [modern *āguṇṇu*, or (if *āguṇṇadə* is retained as a participial noun), *mārppāpa āṇ-āguṇṇade*].
ī kāraṇanīlāl nuṣikāde maraṇam palarkkum duṣṭhalam-āy pōguṇṇadə.
aṇṇu ṇamaskarippāṇ ellāyilum ṇalla samayam āguṇṇadə.

5 Collocations like *ceyyuṇṇappōl* (present relative participle followed by *appōl*), *ceydāṇē* (past relative participle followed by *āṇē* denoting 'time') ; *ceyyum-āṇ*, *kāṇm-āṇ*, *marippāṇ* (future relative participles followed by *āṇ*) have already been noted

6. —*ām pakkam* following a " neuter " participial, as in the following :—
arīṇṇiadiṇ-ām-pakkam ;
āguṇṇadiṇ-ām-pakkam.

7 The use of *nyāyam* in constructions like *eṇṇu colli nyāyam* appears in SV frequently, to indicate a clear truth

8 *arigayum-ām*, (as in *ōrttukandāl ī paramārtham ariyugayum-ām*), *kolgayum-ām* are old constructions not common to-day

B

1 The government of cases in contexts like the following is due to foreign influence ;—

ī avasthamēl paṇāṇṇu,
cākkō k-kattaṇṇiude mēl samsāyam vīlugayum ceydu [the use of the post-position *mēl* is foreign to Mal.]

bāṇṇiyilūṇṇu pṛakkappēṭṭadīnekkōṇḍə [the use of the " fifth case " is peculiar]

dōṣattīṇe dvēṣippāṇ vēṇḍuṇṇa velivə [the use of the " second case " in this particular context, i.e. *dōṣattīṇe* followed by *dvēṣi-kk-* is unusual].

2. Literal translations, like the following, of foreign (European) constructions :—

paṇḍiōs pūṭṭiṇḍe ṇāḷugalal ' in the days of Pontius Pilate ' ;
ṭṭṇmakku cāṇṇu pōguṇṇa ṇammude duṣṣilavum ' our evil nature which tends towards sin '.

pūḷagalude poruḍi ' forgiveness of sins '.

MISCELLANY

THE HĀRĀHĀ INSCRIPTION AND THE GUPTA ERA

In a note entitled 'The Hārāhā Inscription of Maukharī Mahārājādhirāja Śśānavarman' contributed to the *Indian Culture* for July 1938, I tried to prove from the evidence of that inscription that Dr. FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era is in error by at least a hundred years. In the January issue (1939) of the same journal Mr. JAGANNATH in a note entitled 'The Bearing of the Hārāhā Inscription on the Epoch of the Gupta Era' adduced arguments to show that my objections do not in any way upset the epoch of the Gupta era as determined by Dr. FLEET.

I am really sorry to find the types of arguments advanced by Mr. JAGANNATH to disprove my findings. His arguments are the following :

Mr. JAGANNATH admits that Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman was reigning in Mālava year 589 and that Śūryavarman was born about Vikrama year 590. But he denies the fact that Śśānavarman had achieved his glorious conquests and became a Mahārājādhirāja before that date, inasmuch as he says, there is nothing in the inscription to prove that. He then assumes that Śśānavarman's victorious career may be supposed to have begun ten years after the birth of Śūryavarman i.e., about Vikrama year 600 = A.D. 542 before which date Śśānavarman could not have become a Mahārājādhirāja. As Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman's known date, Mālava year 589, supposed to be equivalent to A.D. 532 on FLEET's epoch, is some 10 years prior to A.D. 542 when according to Mr. JAGANNATH Śśānavarman became a Mahārājādhirāja, there is ample room for the 'meteor like' Yaśodharman to disappear by A.D. 542. Thus the contemporaneity of the two great rulers on FLEET's epoch as shown by me, in the opinion of Mr. JAGANNATH, is not proved.

I would request Mr. JAGANNATH to study the Hārāhā inscription carefully, especially verse 13 which runs thus :

जित्वान्नाधिपतिं सहस्रगणिं त्रेधाक्षरद्वारणं
व्यावलान् नियुतातिसङ्ख्यचतुरगान् भङ्क्त्वा रणे शूलिकान् ।
कृत्वा चायतिमोचितस्थलभुवो गौडान् समुद्राश्रयान्
अध्यासिष्ट नतक्षितीशचरणः सिंहासनं यो जिती ॥

'who, being victorious and having princes bending at his feet occupied the throne after conquering the lord of the Andhras, who had thousands of threefold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Śūlikas, who had an army of a large number of galloping horses, and after causing the Gauḍas, living on the seashore, in future to remain in their proper realm' So that any careful reader of this inscription will come to the same conclusions as arrived at by the late N. G. MAJUMDAR (*I. A.*, 1927, p. 127), that the defeat of the Andhra King, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas happened during the reign of Śśavaravarman and thus the glorious campaign of conquests of this king's son Śśānavarman 'preceded his sitting on his father's throne.' This will be evident from a study of the fragmentary Jaunpur inscription of Śśavaravarman where the defeat of the Andhra king is mentioned. The mention of the Raivata mountain in Surāṣṭra in this fragmentary inscription seems to be in connection with the defeat of the Śūlikas or the Cālukyas as stated in the Hārāhā inscription. 'In any case the three victories of the Maukharī ruler made it easier for him to assume lord paramountcy i.e., the title Mahārājādhirāja' From verse 16 of the

Hārāhā inscription Mr. JAGANNATH will kindly see that while Išānavarman was ruling the earth a son was born to him who was named Sūryavarman :

यस्मिन् शासति च क्षितिम् क्षितिपतौ.....श्रीसूर्यवर्माजनि

So that Mr. JAGANNATH's remark 'There is nothing in the inscription to indicate that Išānavarman had achieved these conquests before the birth of Sūryavarman, or 21 years before 611 v.s.' is really deplorable. I now Mr JAGANNATH admits that v.s. 611 is the date of the Hārāhā inscription and Sūryavarman was born about v.s. 590, he has no other option but to admit that Mahārājadhīrāja Išānavarman was ruling at least from Vikrama year 589 assumed to be identical with Mālava year 589 when Rājādhīrāja Yaśodharman was ruling and consequently also to admit the overlordship of Mahārājadhīrāja Išānavarman over Rājādhīrāja Yaśodharman. Thus the contemporaneity of the two follows and the meteoric origin and career of Yaśodharman on FLEET's epoch, as stated by Mr. JAGANNATH cannot save the situation. Even assuming with Mr JAGANNATH for argument's sake, that Yaśodharman ruled till A.D. 542 after which Išānavarman became a Mahārājadhīrāja, we find that at this time the Imperial Gupta Monarch Mahārājadhīrāja, Kumāra Gupta of Sam 224 = A.D. 542 on FLEET's epoch was ruling. Does not the contemporaneity of two Mahārājadhīrājas and Rājādhīrāja Yaśodharman show as clearly as possible the utter incorrectness of FLEET's epoch of the Gupta era?

Moreover, *savants* will kindly see that the real meaning of (verse 21 of the inscription) *Ekādaśā-trikṭesu satsu śātita viduṣā | śateṣu śaradām pātyau bhuvah-Śrī-Iśānavarman* || is that the dilapidated temple of Śiva was repaired by Sūryavarman when six hundred years is already superfluous by eleven i.e., in Samvat (600-11, or) 589, while the illustrious Išānavarman who had crushed his enemies, was the lord of the earth. "In the *Annual Report of the Lucknow Museum* (for the year ending 31st March, 1915, p. 3 footnote) it was suggested that 'Taking *atnīka* (see the verse quoted above) in the sense of *superfluous*, the other possible meaning will be 589' " (the late N. G. MAJUMDAR, 'A Hārāhā stone inscription', *I A* 1917, p. 125 ff.) i.e., v.s. 589 = A.D. 532 = Śaka 454. That this is the really correct meaning will be evident from the silver coins bearing the names of Išānavarman, dated 54 and 55, and of his son Sarvavarman, dated 58. These dates are evidently in the Śaka era with omitted hundreds and equivalent to Śaka (4) 54, (4) 55 and (4) 58 = A.D. 532, 533 and 536 = v.s. 589, 590 and 593 respectively. The first date Śaka (4) 54 is exactly the year (v.s. 589) of the Hārāhā inscription. The year 52 of Toramāna's coins was supposed by FLEET to denote years of Toramāna's reign. Gen. CUNNINGHAM suggested that the date is Śaka with omitted hundreds i.e. 52 = 452. The late Prof. RAPSON remarked on the former suggestion 'This explanation is rendered less probable by the fact that the Maukharis Išānavarman and Sarvavarman and also Bhīmasena apparently date in years of the same era' (*Indian Coins*, p. 29). In fact as already shown by me (in my paper on the Gupta era), the date 52 of Toramāna, = Śaka 52 = A.D. 130 = (Gupta) Vikrama Sam 188 = Kṛta or Mālava year 588, only one year previous to Mālava year 589 when Yaśodharman defeated Toramāna's son Mihirakula. Thus it is evident that Mahārājadhīrāja Išānavarman was ruling at least from about 20 years previous to v.s. 589 and was ruling till about v.s. 592 (= Śaka 457), after which Mahārājadhīrāja Sarvavarman was ruling.

Again, the Chinese historians mention an emperor of India, called Yueg-nai, king of Kiapih who sent ambassadors to China in A.D. 428. This name has rightly been identified by Capt. WILFORD (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, pp. 42-44 and 110-11) with Yajñavarman. This was evidently the great king Yajñavarman about whom we learn from his grandson Anantavarman's cave inscriptions found near Gayā (seems to me to be 'Kiapih' or Gayapuri) written in Gupta script. That the date of Maukharī Yajñavarman was about A.D. 400 will be evident from the following : 'But

the letters of the inscriptions of Anantavarman are older in form than those of the Hārāhā inscription. The tripartite *Ya* which is a characteristic of the Kushan and the early Gupta alphabets, is used promiscuously *along with its later developed forms*, in the Hārāhā inscription. But in the inscriptions of Anantavarman only the tripartite form of *Ya* is to be met with. This is a clear indication that they are of *considerable earlier date.* (N. G. MAJUMDAR, 'A Hārāhā stone Inscription', *I. A.*, 1917, p. 125 ff.) On FLEET's epoch, the Gupta Emperor Kumāragupta I was ruling India in A.D. 428 (= Sam 108) and there was no room for any other Emperor Yueg-nai (Yajna) to send ambassadors to China during Kumāra I's rule, thus showing that kings other than the Imperial Gupta's were ruling in Magadha about A.D. 428. The late JAYASWAL also in his *History of India* (p. 115) comes to the conclusion from the drama "Kaumudi-Mahotsava" that the Varmans (Sundaravarman, Kalyānavarman etc.) (evidently the Maukharī Varmans) were ruling in Magadha about the fourth century A.D.

As for the Menālgadh inscription of the Chahamāna Pnṭhvirāja (II) of v. s. 1226, Mr. JAGANNATH will kindly see that there the year is stated as '*Mālavēśa-gata-vatsara*'. Everyone knows that Vikramāditya was lord of Mālava (*Ujjainipuravarādhiśvara*) as well as of Magadha ('*Pāṭalipuravarādhiśvara*'). The composer of the inscription wanted to date the same in the era of king Vikramāditya who was lord of Mālava. This has nothing to do with the reckoning 'traditionally handed down by the Mālava tribe' (*Mālavānām gan-āmnāte*) or 'from the date of the establishment of the Republic in Mālava' (*Mālavānām gana-sthityā*). We should remember that the Mālava or Kṛta era fell into disuse several centuries before Vikrama year 1226 = A.D. 1169.

Mr. JAGANNATH accuses me by saying 'It is uncritical to say definitely that Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta, son of Narasimhagupta, has to be placed in c. A.D. 532 and thus FLEET's theory creates a conflict', and states that Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta, son of Narasimhagupta ruled in A.D. 472. If this date for the above Kumāragupta be accepted then on FLEET's epoch he must be assumed to be ruling in Vikrama (equivalent on FLEET's epoch to Mālava) year 530. We know that in Mālava year 524 Govindagupta, son of Candragupta II was governor of Varāṅgali (not to speak of Mālava year 529 when his brother Kumāragupta I, was ruling). Thus Mr. JAGANNATH and his authorities Mr. PANNALAL, R. D. BANERJEE, Drs. V. SMITH, H. C. ROY CHOWDHURY and R. C. MAJUMDAR cannot but admit that the interval between the known dates of Govindagupta and his great grandson Kumāragupta is one of six years only (or, one year only between Kumāragupta I and his great grandson)!!! For, from the Bhitari seal we know that Govindagupta's brother Kumāragupta I's son was Budhagupta wrongly read as Puragupta (Vide also S. K. SARASWATĪ, 'A Gold coin of Budhagupta', *IC* Vol. I pp. 691-92) whose son was Narasimhagupta and the latter's son was Kumāragupta, thus exactly verifying Yuan Chwang's statement that Sakraditya's (Kumāragupta I's) son was Budhagupta (Sam 165, 175) who seized the throne (evidently from Skandagupta, his half-brother). From Yuan Chwang's Records and his Life we know that Budhagupta was succeeded by 'Ta-ta-ka-to-ku-to' rendered as Ta-tha-ga-ta-gupta. The Chinese word seems to be a copyist's error for the real modern name 'Gha-ṭo-tka-ca-gu-pta', (Kie-ta = Kaccha, the modern Cutch). From the evidence of the gold coin bearing the name 'Ghato' Mr. ALLEN correctly states that this king Gha-ṭo-tka-ca-gu-pta 'must be contemporary with those (kings) known from the Bhitari seal' (i.e., Budha, Narasimha and Kumāra). Again, Yuan Chwang says that after Gha-ṭo-tka-ca-gu-pta Bālāditya (Narasimhagupta) succeeded to the throne whose son was Fa-she-lo (?) or, Ku-mo-lo (?). The transmutation of this is also given as 'Chin-kang', taken for 'Vajra-pāni (hasta)' but should in my opinion be rendered as 'Śakti-hasta' which is a synonym of 'Kumāra' (or, 'Kārtikeya') thus exactly verifying the statement in the Bhitari seal that Narasimhagupta's son was Kumāra-

gupta." Thus Kumāragupta of Sam 154 = A.D. 472 (= Vikrama or Mālava year 530) on FLEET's epoch, cannot be the son of Narasimhagupta. Narasimhagupta's son Kumāragupta is evidently Kumāragupta of Sam. 224 (= A.D. 542 on FLEET's epoch = Vikrama Sam. 600). And as FLEET's adherents assume Vikrama and Mālava years to be identical, Mr JAGANNATH will kindly see that Narasimhagupta may safely be placed in Mālava year 589, contemporaneous with Yaśodharman and therefore of Mihirakula. So that, the tale told by Yuan Chwang is not in the least pseudo-historical as supposed by Mr. JAGANNATH and his authority the late Vincent SMITH.

As the Later Guptas followed the Imperial Gupta monarchs, does not this show that Kṛṣṇagupta, the first Later Gupta ruler ruling about A.D. 432 and Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta of the Imperial Gupta line ruling in Sam 224 = A.D. 542 on FLEET's epoch (not taking account of at least three other Gupta monarchs who must have followed him, namely Viṣṇu Gupta Candrāditya, Candragupta III Dvādaśāditya and Prakāśāditya, carrying the Imperial Gupta rule beyond A.D. 600 on FLEET's epoch, i.e., shortly before Yuan Chwang's visit), the same is in error by at least a hundred years as shown by me.

I request Mr JAGANNATH will kindly ponder over these in the interests of truth and express his frank opinion on the correctness or otherwise of FLEET's epoch.

Daulatpur.

Dhirendra Nath MOOKERJEE

CORRIGENDA

Vol. II, Dec. 1939.

- P. 580, l. 24, for actor read altar
- P. 580, l. 24, for adopted read dompted.
- P. 580, Note 2, line 2, for 57 read 75
- P. 584, l. 27, for nowhere read nowhere.
- P. 585, l. 12, for on read an
- P. 587, l. 7 read *in die Luft hinem.*
- P. 587, l. 13, read *zu werden was er ist.*
- P. 587, l. 14, read *was er nur zu sein scheint.*
- P. 589, l. 6, for destruction read distinction
- P. 589, l. 32, for observation of read observation to.

Vol. III, April, 1940.

- P. 1, l. 5, for ist read ist
- P. 3, l. 9, for casually read causally.
- P. 3, l. 16, read *pneuma*
- P. 3, Note 5, l. 3, read here with that intended by the
- P. 5, Note 10, l. 3, for qu'on read qu'on.
- P. 9, Note 19, l. 27, for *thoubaka* read *Itivuttaka*
- P. 10, Note 22 continued, l. 5, for a, read : as.
- P. 11, l. 9, for infinite read infinity.
- P. 11, Note 26, line 5, for wide read wife.
- P. 11, line 26, for mind read mind is
- P. 12, Note 28, l. 6, for *atta* read attā
- P. 13, l. 21, read : SWARZENSKI
- P. 14, l. 1, read "May it be known to
- P. 13, for *sin entbilde sin* read *sich entbilde sin.*
- P. 13, Note 29 continued, l. 5, for *padbājaka* read : *pabbājaka.*

REVIEWS

History of Rajputana (in Hindi) Vol. I by Jagadish Singh GAHLOT, M.R.A.S. with a Foreword by Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., Director-General of Archaeology in India; Hindi Sahitya Mandir, Jodhpur, 1937; Pp 721; Size 6½"×10" Price Rs. 5.

Mahamahopādhyāya Rai Bahadur Pandit Gauri Shankar Hirachand OJHA has undertaken to write an exhaustive history of that old, picturesque and chivalrous country, known as Rajputana since at least the *Mahābhārata*, but has as yet only succeeded in publishing a little less than a dozen volumes covering only the histories of a few big states such as Oodeypur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and a few others. As was to be expected from the pen of such an eminent scholar it is a painstaking, laborious and lengthy undertaking and requires time to complete it. Being entirely based on authentic tradition, paper documents and stone inscriptions, its accuracy cannot be questioned.

But to the general public the only source for knowing the history of this beautiful country with inspiring and admirable episodes and thrilling adventures, was the *Annals of Rajputana* by Col TODD. But being in English and besides being only a collection of stories, tested by personal travels and observations, it could neither satisfy the scholars nor could the general public derive an accurate knowledge from it.

Mr. Jagadish Chandra GAHLOT, the author of the work under review has undertaken to write in a lucid manner an authentic and scholarly history of the several big and small states in Rajputana. The present is the first volume and others will follow. It is fully illustrated with portraits and pictures of incidents. Out of over seven hundred pages of this volume no less than 126 pages are devoted to a general description of the country which is so very helpful in understanding the position of the states as well as habits, customs, families and foreign relations, common to all the states. It then gives a detailed, yet succinct history of half a dozen states beginning with that of Mewad the capital of which is Oodeypur. The narrative does not confine itself to the political history of a state but describes its finances, social structure, customs, feudatories and other subordinates, trade and commerce and so on.

Such is then this unique history. The talented and the first Indian Director-General of Archaeology, Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, has contributed an appreciative Foreword to this volume, which renders other praise unnecessary. As observed by him "I commend this book to the notice of the public who will find that Mr. GAHLOT's well documented book fulfils a long-felt want of a reliable work on the states of Rajputana."

M. V. KIBE.

Sources of Karnāṭaka History, Vol. I. edited by S. Śrīkaṇṭha ŚĀSTRĪ, M.A., published by the University of Mysore in the Mysore University Historical Series, Demy pp. 48 + 238, Mysore 1940, Price Rs. 3/-.

It is a praiseworthy effort on the part of the University of Mysore that it has inaugurated a Historical Series in which the *Sources of Karnāṭaka History*, Vol. I, is edited by Prof. S. Śrīkaṇṭha ŚĀSTRĪ. A good many records, both epigraphic and literary, bearing on the various aspects of the history of Deccan in general and

Karnāṭaka in particular have been brought to light and used in various contexts in the last fifty years or so. The bulk of such records is daily increasing, and some of them are not easily accessible; so the workers in the field of Karnāṭaka history would really welcome with great pleasure such volumes for ready reference.

In this volume the editor has given 133 passages, long and short, both from epigraphic and literary sources. They are in Sanskrit, Kannaḍa, Tamil, Telugu and Prākṛit; and some extracts, bearing on the Karnāṭaka history, are given in their English garb from Greek and Chinese sources. In most cases the extracts are accompanied by a short summary of facts and some explanatory remarks in English. The Introduction in English gives in a nut-shell the salient facts about Karnāṭaka, its geography, political history, literature and fine arts, and religious, social, economic and cultural aspects. It is followed by useful genealogical tables of different dynasties. The specialist may differ here and there from some of the remarks of the editor, but the limited space prohibits their discussion in details. To note just a few instances, the remarks on Prabhācandra (p. 66) may be rewritten in the light of the latest researches (*Anekānta* Vol. I, pp. 130 etc., *Nyāyakiemudacandra*, Intio, Bombay 1938). As to Śākaṭāyana (p. 69), he belonged to the Yāpaniya Samgha (*Journal of the Uni. of Bombay*, Vol. I, part vi). Asaga's date (p. 70) may be understood as Vikrama era which solves the difficulty felt by the editor (*The Karnāṭaka Historical Quarterly* Vol. II, part 1). *Juendrakalyānābhvudaya* is not the work of Hastimalla (p. 237) but of Ayyapārya.

We sincerely wish and feel sure that many more volumes would be published like this to bring within easy reach the rich sources of Karnāṭaka history. On the one hand these sources indicate what facts we already know and on the other what links are still needed to have a connected account and a complete sketch. We would like to give a few suggestions which the editors may kindly consider in shaping the subsequent volumes.

(i) There should be a map of Karnāṭaka in every volume showing the then boundaries of Karnāṭaka and marking the ancient places with their modern names wherever possible. (ii) In the case of many important literary passages the requisite references are not noted. It is quite necessary that MSS or printed editions should be mentioned with due descriptions. (iii) It is not unlikely that the editor might handle, in course of his collection, certain critical discussions on these passages in different contexts. It would be quite welcome, if references to such discussions are also noted. (iv) Time has arrived that we should look at the history of Karnāṭaka from an all-India point of view, and I feel that the editor means this when he gives the summaries of some of the passages in English. It is necessary therefore that the original passages may be presented either in Roman or in Devanāgarī characters, so that the originals also may be handled by those who do not know some of the south Indian scripts. Some of the Kannaḍa passages, which have predominant percentage of Sanskrit words, can be easily followed by scholars in the North, if they are presented in Devanāgarī characters with a couple of special types. (v) From the present collection it is abundantly clear that the Jaina works contain a lot of historical material in their introductions and *prasaṅga*s. We wish that these sources in Prākṛit, Sanskrit, Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu might be tapped more exhaustively, and the data available would shed abundant light on the chronology of Indian history and literature. This would help us to get cleared a few of our hazy notions about the dates of some of the Tamil works of antiquity. (vi) The Sanskrit passages should be presented more accurately especially with regard to spacing etc. (vii) Lastly there should be an exhaustive Index of all the proper names. Perhaps the editor means to add it in the last volume.

It is Mysore that has given the world of scholars the grand volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, and there could not have been a better body than the University of Mysore to publish the sources of Karnāṭaka history. This handy volume is a pre-

cious possession for the student of Kārṇāṭaka history. We sincerely thank Prof. S. Śrīkanṭha ŚĀSTRĪ for his patient labour on the first volume and eagerly await the publication of subsequent volumes.

Kolhapur.

A. N. UPADHYE

Upaniṣad-Vākya-Mahākośa (or a concordance to 223 Upaniṣads) Vol. I (अ to न) by Gajanan Shambhu Sadhale SHĀSTRĪ. Published by the "Gujarati" Printing Press, Fort, Bombay, 1940, Pp 351, Price Rs. 7. Size —7½" × 11".

It is now 50 years since Col. JACOB published his *Upaniṣad-Vākya-Kośa* or a Concordance to 45 *Upaniṣads* in 1891. There is no Sanskrit Scholar in the world who has not utilised this valuable life-boat while navigating on the high seas of Sanskrit-literature during the last half a century. Now that this reference book is gone out of print there is a crying demand for a reprint of it from Sanskrit Scholars all over the world. We are, therefore, glad to find in the volume before us a similar concordance to five times the number of *Upaniṣads* used by Col. JACOB for his work. The present elaborate Concordance by Shāstrī SADHALE is projected in 2 Vols. of which Vol. I has just appeared and the work of bringing out Vol. II is in progress. The work of compiling such monumental work single-handed speaks volumes for the patience and learning of Shāstrī SADHALE, who is already running his 72nd year and we hope he would be encouraged by Sanskrit Scholars and learned bodies all over the world to complete Vol. II of this Concordance before long. There is no greater satisfaction to a scholar than that afforded by the completion of his life's work designed and carried out for the benefit of comrades in the field in a spirit of service and devotion to duty, which is characteristic of Indian Shāstris but which is now getting rare.

'God helps those who help themselves' and the labour of Shāstrī SADHALE on this *Mahākośa* has not been spent in vain. The new Ruler of Baroda, His Highness Maharaja Pratapsinha Gaekwar has already donated Rs. 3,000 towards the cost of publishing this work. This is a magnanimous gift and it is but in the fitness of things that the work is dedicated to the Maharaja. It gives us great pleasure to find Maharaja PRATAPSIṆHA following the best traditions of his grandfather His Highness Maharaja SAYAJI RAO GAEKWAR who had a soft corner for learned men and learning of any nation in the world and much more for Indian Scholars and learned bodies. It is also gratifying to note that the University of Bombay has donated Rs. 1,000 for the present work and thus evinced its appreciation for the work of Shāstrī SADHALE.

The wisdom of the *Upaniṣads* has saturated the entire field of Sanskrit learning and scholars carrying on historical research find it a baffling problem to trace quotations from the *Upaniṣads* to their sources. The philosophers of old had no sense of time and space as they were "*dik-kāla-anavachinna*" but the history of literature is based on *time* and *space*. There has sprung into being a host of *Upaniṣads* from the earliest times to the present day and consequently the task of determining even their relative chronology has become extremely difficult. It would be a red-letter day in the history of Critical Sanskrit Scholarship when the history of every Upanishadic quotation is proved and recorded with textual variations in an Encyclopaedia of Quotations. For such a history the present *Mahākośa* should prove extremely useful. Then again scholars who want to edit many Vedānta texts are unable to trace some of the Upanishadic quotations to their sources which are not available in a published form. For this purpose Shāstrī SADHALE has utilised many Upanishads which are at present available only in a Manuscript form.

To burden a scholar in his 72nd year with suggestions regarding the improvement of his work may be considered sacrilegious. However, in the interest of a wider

use of his valuable work of a life-time we feel it our duty to record one suggestion for his consideration viz the preparation of an *Index to the leading words in the Quotations recorded in the Mahākośa*, in the absence of which we find it difficult to make full use of the wealth of material garnered in these Volumes. In the Dictionaries of Quotations from English and other literatures we always find an Index of leading words appended to each Dictionary. Even in the *Hobson-Jobson* by YULE and BURNELL we find an exhaustive Index of 335 pp in a volume of 1021 pp. Such an Index is a necessary adjunct to a monumental work and should not be avoided if the work is to be used for frequent reference by every Sanskrit Scholar. With this suggestion we take leave of ŚAŚTRI SADHALE's labour of love put in neat printing by the Gujarati Printing Press of Bombay, to whom we offer our best thanks for the successful production of the present volume.

P. K. GODE.

Some Sayings of the Buddha (according to the Pāli Canon) Translated by F. L. WOODWARD, with an Introduction by Sir Francis YOUNGHUSBAND, Oxford University Press, London, 1939, Pp xxvi+356, (World's Classics No. 483) Price —2/6 net, Size —3½"×6½"

Some Sayings of the Buddha was first published in 1925. It was later published for the first time in the celebrated *World's Classics* in 1939. Buddhism arose as a vigorous re-action to Brahmanical Sacerdotalism. The oral tradition of Lord Buddha's teaching was handed down by his disciples and spread like wild fire in India and also in outside countries. It left an abiding impression on Indian life and thought. Buddha occupies a place for himself as a Hindu reformer and founder of a new religion.

This pocket edition of Buddha's Sayings before us now published in the *World's Classics Series* will help many a searcher after Truth who gets bewildered by diverse ways of thought and action and much more by the stupendous mass of literature on Buddhist religion and philosophy which enshrines the simple teaching of Lord Buddha. Buddha's teaching arose out of his experience of life and though it looks simple it is "exceedingly difficult to carry out" as Sir Francis YOUNGHUSBAND puts it in his excellent Introduction to the volume before us. All best thought is immortal and it exercises a vivifying influence on all introspective souls. The present volume contains the quintessence of Buddha's teaching arranged in 18 chapters and makes delightful reading, divested as it is of all technicalities and presented to the common run of educated minds in the pristine purity of Buddhist tradition as preserved in the Pāli Canonical literature. In short it is a pocket-size Buddhist Bible which reminds us of Dwight GODDARD's *Buddhist Bible*. May Buddha's message be carried to every mind in a reflective mood in all corners of the world through the efforts of Mr. WOODWARD and the Publishers of *World's Classics*!

Poona

P. K. GODE

CORRESPONDENCE

To

THE EDITOR, NEW INDIAN ANTIQUARY,
POONA 4

Sir,

On page 381 of your January issue, an inscription from Beyt has been reproduced. Mr. DISKALKAR, the editor of this Inscription, in his introductory note writes, "A question arises here how could Damaji, son of Pilaji, who ruled from v.s. 1788 to 1824 have built a tank in Beyt which was conquered by the Gaikwads in v.s. 1873 (1817 A.D.)" ?

The following letter from the Gaikwad ruler to his Kathiawad Subha corroborates the genuineness of the inscription.

यादी राजश्री विठलराव देवाजी सुभा प्रांत काठवाड यांचे नांवें पत्र कीं श्रीद्वारकेस बेद शंखोधारतीर्थी तीर्थस्वरूप कैलासवासी यांणीं तलाव बांधिला आहे. त्याची पाल शंभर गज पडली. ती नवी जाली पाहिजे म्हणोन तुम्ही पत्री लािा त्यास :—किले अमरोलीचे इमारतसर्चोपेकी सदरहू तलावाचे कामास दोन हजार रु. पावेतो खर्च करून तयार करवणें...सुा अर्वा अहार मया तेन व आलफ, छ २० माहे साखर.

(*Historical Selections from Baroda State Records*, Vol. V-46)

The date of this letter corresponds to 12th April 1814, three years earlier than the date of the conquest of Beyt by the Gaikwads assumed by Mr. DISKALKAR

The letter quoted above clearly shows that the Gaikwads were in power over Kathiawad before 1815 A.D.

Yours truly,
C. V. JOSHI

State Record Office,
Baroda, 19th February 1941.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

The *Report of the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan for 1940* just published shows commendable progress in the different spheres of academic activities in which this Research Institute has been engaged since its very inception two years ago. The Bhavan has at present Departments for research and instruction in (1) Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, (2) Prākṛitic Languages and Hindi, (3) Gujārātī, (4) Bhāgavata Dharma, (5) Jaina Studies, and (6) Indian History. The Professors in charge of these Departments, besides doing research work themselves, train post-graduate research students for the M.A. and Ph. D. degrees of the Bombay University. Besides these activities the Bhavan conducts a Sanskrit Pāṭhashālā, where students are trained for the several Sanskrit examinations in *Sāhitya*, *Vyākaraṇa* etc. conducted by Govt. Sanskrit College, Benares and the Bengal Govt. Sanskrit Association, Calcutta. To create popular interest in their work the Bhavan has been conducting a Department for instruction in *Jyotiḥ* and an Extension Lecture Series. Of more abiding interest to outside scholars are the Publications of the Bhavan, which comprise a research journal called the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, now running its Second Volume, and several other publications, including critical editions of texts and other original works now projected by the Bhavan. We feel confident that the progress shown by the Bhavan so far will gather momentum as years pass by and that this research institute under the able guidance of Shri K. M. MUNSHI and his learned collaborators like Muni JINAVIJAYAJI, Dr. PATEL and others will take its rightful place among premier research bodies of India at no distant date. India is now bristling with energetic young Indologists and the responsibility of directing their individual research effort to national enterprises in the academic sphere must be shouldered by learned bodies like the Bhavan. We therefore look forward with great interest to the preparation of the *National History of India* under the guidance of Shri MUNSHI contemplated by the Bhavan as stated in the Report under notice. It is high time for Indian scholars to apply themselves to the task before them with the tools kept at their disposal by research bodies like the Bhavan, the Bhandarkar Institute, the B. B. R. A. Society, the Deccan College Research Institute, to mention only a few from the Bombay Presidency. The days of Prize essays in research matters are now gone and the cause of research can only advance if the research worker sets himself to his task in a purely disinterested manner.

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The *Report of the Archaeological Department* of the Gwalior State for the year 1938-39 contains among other interesting notes a note on the exploration work of the Department (pp. 13-20) which would be read with interest by every lover of Indian Archaeology. The State of Gwalior, we are happy to note, sanctioned during the year of the Report the necessary funds for trial excavations on some sites selected by the Department viz. (1) the site of ancient Ujjayini popularly known as *Garh*, (2) the *Vaisya Tekri* and (3) *Kumbhar Tekri*. Ujjayini was once the centre of ancient Indian culture, though now a desolate waste and we are, therefore, curious to learn more about its culture from archaeological excavation to enable us to see how far the literary traditions about this culture are justified in the light of archaeological evidence. As a result of the excavation work carried out by the Department numerous interesting objects have been unearthed (pp. 73-78).

These objects of course belong to the different levels of the excavations and hence tell their own tale. We may mention a few of these finds such as bricks, pieces of pottery, coloured stone beads, bangles of lac, shell, copper and glass, coloured China ware, coins, square and round, punch-marked copper coins, funeral urns; earthen cups and beads, ear-rings of shell and copper, axes and spear heads, Avanti copper coin, Andhra copper coin, terra cotta toys, earthen vessels; a stone *pañca linga*; stone relic caskets; ivory caskets, conch ear-rings; Indo-Sassanian punch-marked cast; ivory objects (dice, toy dagger, casket); clay seals, earthen bangles; human skeletons, painted teeth of a skeleton, tooth of a camel, enamelled painted tiles, pottery lamps, carved brick, carved shell bangles etc. The correct valuation of these rich finds and their bearing on the history of Ujjaini will be given by the Department after the excavations are completed but the Govt of Gwalior will be fully justified in spending more money on the excavations and conducting them under the able and experienced guidance of Mr. M. B. GARDE, the present Director of Archaeology, who has done well in availing himself of the advice of Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, the Director-General of Archaeology in India in the selection of sites for excavation and the occasional inspection of the excavation work carried out on these sites. The Report under notice is richly illustrated, with not less than 32 plates containing photographs of excavated objects as also of the copies of wall paintings from Bagh Caves in the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior and hence deserves perusal by all lovers of Indian antiquities.

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On the 8th of March 1941 Indology lost one of its greatest sons, full of years and honours, in the personality of Sir George Abraham GRIERSON, the foremost authority on Oriental Languages, whose devoted labour for over sixty years bears witness to his versatile intellect and critical acumen in the study of Indian and Central Asian tongues. It was only in 1936 that a *Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies* was presented to him on his 85th birthday by fellow-workers all over the world and we all mourn his loss to-day, though we are proud of his monumental achievements in the form of the ponderous volumes of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, his innumerable papers on linguistics and his many grammars of known and unknown languages. Sir George belonged to the older generations of the Indian Civil Service, which he joined in his 23rd year and adorned by his ever increasing literary output culminating in the completion of his twenty volumes of the *Linguistic Survey of India* in his 77th year. It is difficult for us to do justice to his linguistic genius, his exemplary life and scholarly ardour in this short tribute to his memory. We hope to record at no distant date for the benefit of our readers a literary biography of this great linguist and a great man, whose service to the cause of Indian philology will continue to inspire Indian Scholars in the study of their neglected vernaculars in the generations to come. Sir George has firmly laid the foundations of such study and it behoves us now to erect a monument on them worthy of these foundations and worthy of the master-builder whose boundless energy and undimmed vision has already triumphed over all the basic difficulties in this field.

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The Vedas are the substratum of Hindu religion and culture. Leaving aside the average Hindu belief of old that they are divine in origin it is now granted by all educated Indians that they are the oldest records of the Aryan race and as such extremely valuable for a proper understanding of the Hindu culture and thought that has evolved during the last three thousand years. Barring the study of the Vedas by a few specialists, the average Hindu is absolutely ignorant of the nature

and contents of the Vedas. This state of things is anything but satisfactory and reflects no credit on us, the modern descendants of the ancient Aryans. The reasons which have led to this situation are mainly (1) the absence of cheap and accurately printed editions of the Vedas and (2) absence of ceaseless effort to take them to the homes of persons who are interested in them and who can afford to spend a little on this national heritage of theirs.

In view of this neglect of the Vedas by the average Hindu the efforts of Pandit S. D. SATAVALEKAR and his collaborators of the Svādhyāya Maṇḍal, Aundh (Dist. Satara, Bombay Province), to publish cheap and accurate editions of the Vedas and allied literature are most praiseworthy. He has succeeded in publishing so far the following texts: (1) *Rgveda-Samhitā* (Rs. 5), (2) *Sukla-Yajurveda-Vājasaneyī Samhitā* (Rs. 2), (3) *Sāmaveda-Samhitā* (Rs. 3), (4) *Atharvaveda-Samhitā* (Rs. 3); (5) *Kāṇva-Samhitā* (Rs. 3). Those who have seen these nice editions of the Vedas can easily vouch for the painstaking editing of these texts and the amazingly cheap prices at which they are placed on the market by the assiduous Pandit whose zest and tenacity in collecting funds for this labour of love has already evoked admiration from scholars and laymen in all parts of India. He hopes to bring out shortly a few more volumes such as (1) *Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā*, (2) *Kāṭhaka-Samhitā*, (3) *Taittirīya-Samhitā*, (4) *Sāmāgāna* (Kauthumī and Rānāyanī), (5) *Paippalāda-Samhitā*, (6) *Jaiminīya-Samhitā* of the Sāmaveda, (7) *Sāmāgāna* (Jaiminīya) and (8) *Kapṣṭhala-Samhitā*. Such literary projects involve considerable time and expense and require financial support from everyone in an unstinted manner so that Pandit SATAVALEKAR's efforts to popularise Aryan culture and thought should be crowned with success. Every library in India worth the name, if not every Hindu of average means, should possess a complete set of these Vedas. If we keep copies in our libraries of the Bible and the Quran with a view to understand the religious background of the Christian and the Muslim thought, there is greater reason for keeping a set of the Vedas among our literary possessions, as possession, though it means nine points in law, means ten points for people of studious minds.

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attention to the building of the theatre, to musical accompaniment, to action and to the delivery of the speech. Otherwise he could have stopped with *Rasa*, *Kāvya-bandha* and the *Daśarūpaka* chapters. When Abhinava says that it is from Drama that complete *Rasa*-realisation is got, he means the enacted drama, for he speaks here of the make-up, the intonation (*Kāku*) in the delivery of the speech etc. But the Sanskrit critics are not so uncritical like some European critics as to say that the dramatist is nothing, that the dramatist's glory is in finding out his actor to interpret his play and that acting, the stage paraphernalia, theatre architecture etc., are more important than dramatic poetry or literature.

The question has been long discussed in the West. Fortunately we have a fine article by J. E. SPINGARN on this very subject, giving us definite details on this very question, the title of the essay however being "Dramatic Criticism." First of all, it should be remembered that our Aristotle, namely, Bharata, dealt with drama not only as the art of the genius called poet but also as the art, in part, of the producer and actors. Bharata speaks of the appropriateness of dress, the *Nepathya-rasa* is one kind of *Rasa*, says Mātī-gupta;¹ but Bharata views that question as settled that drama is first the art created by the poet-dramatist and then the art presented by the actors. A serious controversy as seen in the West whether it is not the art only of the actor, whether it is not more an art of the actor than of the poet-dramatist or whether it is, as held by the other extremists, purely an art of the poet-dramatist, never faced the Sanskrit writers. Bharata's followers and commentators answered the question most sanely. Before coming to this answer, as seen in the works of Abhinava and Bhoja, we shall survey the views of the European critics.

Aristotle himself was responsible for starting the discussion. For he held the view that Tragedies might be acted and effectively too, but acting, dress etc., have really nothing to do with the greatness of the tragedy. Of *Āhārya-abhinaya*, dress and scenery, he said: "This has an emotional attraction of its own, but of all the parts it is the least artistic and connected least with the art of poetry. For the power of tragedy, we may be sure, is felt even apart from representation and actors. Besides, the production of spectacular effects depends more on the art of the stage mechanist than on that of the poet." In chapter xiv he said that a great drama need not be acted at all and can affect us even as it is read. Surely it is only inferior drama that needs light effects and spectacular scenery. Aristotle said: "For the plot ought to be so constructed that even without the aid of the eye, he who hears the tale will thrill with horror and melt with pity at what takes place." Again in chapter xxvi, he said that tragedy like Epic Poetry produced its true effect even without action, it revealed its power by mere reading.

¹ Quoted by Rūghava Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Śākuntala*—See p. 113, Vol. XI, *JOR*, Madras, my article on Number of *Rasas*.

One Lodovico Castelvetro, an Italian scholar who translated Aristotle with a critical commentary in A.D. 1570, disagreed with Aristotle. He said

(i) It is not true that tragedy produces equal effect when read as well as when acted

(ii) When acted, learned and ignorant alike follow it, whereas only the learned can follow and appreciate it by merely reading it

(iii) Drama is for the stage, to be acted, and this fact shall form the basis of any dramatic theory

This at least, Castelvetro said that when a dramatist wrote a drama he had to keep in view that it was to be acted before an audience. He granted that the cultured could feel its power by mere reading but he opined that acting the drama is the general rule, for all the world is not cultured. Another writer named Didotot went further and said in his work called "Entretiens" that the essential part of the play was not created by the poet at all but was created by the actor. Still further went the playwright, GRILLPARZER who attacked the "read drama", with relentless contempt for all fine writing, poetry, soliloquy etc., which, according to him, did not contribute to action. He considered that there can be no distinction between the theatrical and the dramatic. Then there was the age of "theatricalism rampant" beginning in France in the middle of the nineteenth century. SPINAYAN characterises this stage of dramatic criticism as "dramatic materialism".

As against this opinion, coming down to modern times from Castelvetro, there was a persistent view, promulgated by Aristotle himself, as pointed out above, which did not condemn stage, action, producer and actor but gave them their proper place, which was however only next to that of the poet-dramatist who created the Drama. And this view agrees perfectly with that of Bharata and Abhinava and other Sanskrit writers. Bharata, by his encyclopaedic treatment of 'Drama' as well as of 'Theatre', took into consideration both the poet and the actor.¹ Abhinava, his greatest exponent, says that Drama is the greatest form of literary art, for, from Drama alone is complete Rasa-realisation possible. Only when actors take parts and speak with appropriate dress, accent etc., do all emotional conditions get fully presented i.e., in Abhinava's language, the Sama prādhānya, equal importance, of Vibhāvas (excitants and object of emotion) Anubhāvas (ensuants) and Sañcāms (crossing feelings) is had only in the enacted drama. The fullest Rasāsvāda Rasa-āsvāda-utkarsa—is thus got *first in the enacted drama*. There is some truth in Castelvetro's contention that Drama needs to be enacted if one means to give its joy to the uncultured as well as the cultured. The cultured can, he ac-

1. Bhoja also is not an extremist. Though he considers the text of the Drama, the Kāvya, which is the work of the poet's genius, as greater than actors and acting, we know from reliable authorities like Śāradātanaya, Śārngadeva, Pārsvadeva and other Nāṭya and Saṃgīta writers that Bhoja wrote another work dealing with action and music and other subjects of Nāṭya Sāstra

cepts, relish a play by merely reading it whereas to the uncultured, presentation of play on the stage by the actors alone carries understanding. Somewhat similar is the position taken by Abhinavagupta. It all depends upon the nature of the audience. Everybody is infected with the emotions when a play is acted but he who can relish it by reading alone must be highly cultured. Says Abhinava that the more a man is Sahridaya,¹ the more he is attuned to aesthetic impression from literature by constant literary habit, the more mirror-like his heart is as a consequence of constant study of property, the more easily is this Rasa roused. Such a Sahridaya can enjoy drama even by reading it. Even when stray verses are read he quickly understands the setting etc., his mind fills up the missing emotional conditions, and he enjoys it completely, whereas for another of a less cultured and less attuned heart, a lot of prefatory explanation is necessary to make the stray verse relishable. Similarly a drama also, if it has to be understood by less cultured souls by mere reading, has to be explained.

“किन्तु समप्राधान्य एव रसास्वादस्योत्कर्षः । तच्च प्रबन्ध एव भवति, वस्तुतस्तु दशरूपक एव । यदाह वामनः—‘सन्दर्भेषु दशरूपक श्रेयः । तद्विचित्रम् । चित्रपटवद् विशेषसाकल्यात्’ (I-ii ३०-३२) । तद्रूपसमर्पणया तु प्रबन्धे भाषावेपप्रवृत्त्यौचित्यादिकल्पनात्, तद्रूपजीवनेन मुक्तके । तथा च तत्र सहृदयः पूर्वापरमुचित परिकल्प्य ‘इदमत्र वक्ता अस्मिन्नवसरे’ इत्यादि बहुतरं पीठबन्धरूपं विदधते । तेन ये काव्याभ्यासप्राक्तनपुण्यादिहेतुबलात् [इति] सहृदयाः, तेषां परिमिताविभावाद्युन्मीलनेऽपि परिस्फुट एव साक्षात्कारकल्पः काव्यार्थः स्फुरति । अत एव तेषां काव्यमेव प्रतीत्युत्पत्ति-कृद् अनपेक्षितनाट्यमपि ।” *Abhi Bhā* Chap VI, p 288, Gaek Edn I.

Even in the case of the Sahridayas, there are times when their hearts are turbid and minds distracted—*Kalusa vikṣipta*. So much so that not only do the dramas not infect them when read but they do not, even when enacted. Therefore it is that the Sanskrit critics first posit that to appreciate poetry and drama one has to be first of all a Sahridaya, and not all are Sahridayas, secondly even Sahridayas are not influenced by drama when they are distracted. Abhinava says that it is to remove such distractions, to increase receptiveness and even to make an Ahridaya into a Sahridaya that the preliminaries, music and other operative elements, and the peculiar atmosphere of the decorated theatre are intended. “*Niṣa sukhādi vivaśībhāva*” is a *vighna* or obstacle to Rasa-realisation and it has to be removed by music etc.

“निजमुखादिविवशीभूतश्च कश्च वस्त्वन्तरे संविद विध्रामयेदिति तद्रूपप्रत्यूहव्यपोहनाय प्रतिपदार्थेनिष्ठः साधारण्यमहिम्ना सकलभोग्यत्वसहिष्णुभिः शब्दादिविषयमयैः आतोद्यगानविचित्रमण्डप-विदग्धगणिकादिभिः उपरन्नं समाश्रित, येन अहदयोऽपि सहृदयवैमल्यप्राप्त्या सहृदयीक्रियते ।”

Abhi Bhā Gaek Edn I pp 282-283

1 The Sahridaya, Abhinava defines, as one whose heart has been made transparent (receptive) like mirror by constant ‘chewing’ of poetry and who is therefore able to become immediately the emotion that is portrayed.

“येषां काव्यानुशीलनाभ्यासवशाद् विशदीभूते मनोमुकुरे वर्णनीयतन्मयीभवनयोग्यता ते हृदयसंवादभाज सहृदयाः ।” *Locana on Dhva Ā* p 11

Therefore greater is the appeal of drama, greater in degree in the heart of a Sāhridaya, and greater in respect of the numbers of people to whom appeal is made. For the uncultured as well as the cultured (as well as the cultured who are not receptive in mind by their individual cares) are able to enjoy the drama when it is enacted.

“—इति न्यायेन सुतरां निर्मलकरणम् । अहदयाना च तदेव नैर्मल्यप्राप्तिः ।”

Abhi Bhā (Ack Edn I p 288

It is on this score that drama is the best form of literary composition

The drama is called Drśya, that which is seen, only so long as it is acted. But when it is not acted and is capable of being enjoyed by mere reading, it is simply Kāvya. Bharata uses the word Kāvya often to mean the text of the drama. The name Nāṭya refers to the Kāvya in a certain dramatic form, dialogues, division into acts etc and when it is enacted. The vocabulary of the Sanskrit critic has significantly no word for dramatist as distinguished from poet. To him everything is Kāvya, drama as well as epic poem. Drama versus Poetry is a problem as absent in Sanskrit Alamkāra Sāstra as Prose versus Verse. All these are Kāvya. What is it in essence? It is expression ensouled by Rasa—वाक्य रसान्मक काव्यम् i.e., expression which rouses emotional sympathy in a responsive heart. It is the representation of moods and feelings and this is its eternal, unchanging, essential and fundamental character. It has various forms like epic poetry, drama and lyric. In the drama, poet's explanation, description and narration are omitted and their absence is made up by the addition of the art of acting. For, this, in essence, is the difference between poetry, epic or otherwise, and drama. The one describes the emotional condition, the other presents the same through the actors.

अनुभावविभाषानां वर्णना काव्यमुच्यते ।¹

तेषामेव प्रयोगस्तु नाट्य गीतादिरन्नितम् ॥

SCHLEGEL also said the same thing as regards drama and poetry. He considered drama as dialogue with conflict or change but *without any explanation by the poet*. This lack of explanation makes it necessary that dramatic dialogue to be understood must be aided by the introduction of men, women

1. Quoted in Mahimabhatta's, V V p 20

This is from the point of view of the primary end of Kāvya or Nāṭya namely Ananda. Even from the point of view of the secondary purpose namely the didactic, the Vyutpatti in the form of Vidhi-Nisedha, there is no difference between Kāvya and Nāṭya. There is, as Mahima says, only difference in means' upāya. The drama is for educating the duller people whom Kāvya fails to influence. For, as said above, the drama when enacted is understood by less cultured people also. Further music, action etc, make drama a more charming medium of instruction, a sweeter pill to swallow.

“सामान्येन उभयमपि च तत् शास्त्रवद् विधिनिषेधविषयव्युत्पत्तिकलम् । केवल व्युत्पाद्यजन-
जाब्जाजाव्यतारतम्यापेक्षया काव्यनाट्यशास्त्ररूपोऽयम् उपायमात्रभेदः, न फलभेदः । etc”
p 20 *Vyakti Viveka*, I.

2. Vide SPINGARN'S essay on Dramatic Criticism

and scenery, otherwise an interpreter has to explain the sequences. Bhatta Tauta points out that Rasa is realised when the emotional conditions of Vibhāvas etc., are powerfully realised, they can be realised in that manner surely in a drama which depicts to the eye all those conditions rousing the Rasa. Drama gives a Pratyakṣa-sākṣātkāra which is not available from poetry but a powerful poet's expression, makes his descriptive and narrative poetry have such life as will equal the life which drama enacted before the eye has. Thus there is little *essential* difference between Kāvya and Nāṭya.

“प्रयोगत्वमनापन्ने काव्ये नास्वादसम्भव ।”

“वर्णनोत्कलिक्ताभोगप्रौढोक्त्या सम्यगर्पिताः ।

उद्यानकान्तान्द्राद्याः भावाः प्रत्यक्षवत्स्फुटाः ॥”

Bhatta Tauta quoted in the *Abhi Bhā* Gaek Edn I, p 292

Therefore to the cultured soul of the Sahridaya, there is no difference between un-acted drama and poem. When a drama is not acted but yet can be relished as keenly, by mere reading, it is only Kāvya and it is supremely the art of the poet's genius only. It gets its vitality by the genius of the dramatist. A great drama needs no actor, no theatre. Its greatness can be felt by mere reading in a corner of a room. As Aristotle says, “Tragedy like Epic Poetry produces its true effect even without action, it reveals its power by mere reading.” Dryden tells us that it is his ambition to be read which he considers as surely ‘the more lasting and nobler design’. A great French scholar, Dacier (end of the seventeenth century) admits that while stage decoration etc., add to the beauty of the play, they make the piece in itself neither better nor worse. In the middle of the next century Voltaire says (in the Notes to the Tragedy of Olympe) “What has the stage decoration to do with the merit of the poem? If the success depends on what strikes the eyes we might as well have moving pictures.” At the end of the same century, Pye, in his commentary on the Poetics, says that good tragedies affect us as forcibly even while read in a room. Their effect is independent of the stage effect. Lessing, the German writer, in his work on Dramaturgy, expresses himself similarly that “there is no real relation between elaborate scenery or splendid theatrical edifices and great drama itself.” Too much emphasis on the stage craft and scenic extravaganza is ‘theatricalism rampant’, this has nothing to do with drama. What have these to do with real dramatic worth when critics are of opinion that even such an important accessory as the art of acting itself has little to do with the greatness of the drama whose beauty can be realised even by reading? He is really a great poet who creates dramas whose influence is had even when he is read. LAMB even says that a great play cannot be properly acted. “A masterpiece is rarely as well represented as it is written, mediocrity always fares better with the actors.” Therefore by Anvaya and Vyatikea, it can be maintained that first and last, a great drama is the creation of the genius of the poet-dramatist. Really great dramas need no acting, and acting, however great, cannot make insipid plays great. According to Bhatta Tauta, the greater the poet's power

of description the lesser grows the need for presentation by actors. For Rasa-
realisation is had when we see things powerfully living before our eye, physical
or mental. And this can be accomplished either by acting and production
or by the inherent dramatic power of the piece. If it is not there already
as a result of the Praudhī of a poet's genius, no amount of Prayoga by
actors can create that Pratyakṣāyamānatva. Therefore all Nāṭya is Kāvya,
the art of the poet, and not of the actors. So it is that Bhoja says that more
than actors and acting, he esteems poets and poetry or drama.

“अतोऽभिनेतृभ्यः कवीनेव बहुमन्यामहे,
अभिनयेभ्यश्च काव्यमेवेति ।”

CHAPTER VIII

SĀHITYA

‘शब्दार्थौ महितौ काव्यम्’

Bhāmaha I. 16.

- I Introduction
- II Beginnings Early history of the concept, Bhāmaha, Mukula, Pratīharendurāja, Rājaśekhara and Ksemendra
- III Bhoja's conception of Sāhitya—Śrī Pra. & S K Ā
- IV. Śāradātanaya follows Bhoja
- V The Sāhityamīmāṃsā, its interpretation of Sāhitya following Bhoja, in a way; five stages of Sāhitya
- VI Kuntaka's definition of Sāhitya
- VII Bhoja's and Kuntaka's conception of Sāhitya: comparison and contrast Bhoja's Śabdārthaguna-‘Sammitatva’ compared to Kuntaka's Sāhitya
- VIII Conclusion MEYNEL, Vidyādharma, Nilakantha dīkṣita, Parāśarabhaṭṭa and Kālidāsa on this Sāhitya

The concept of Sāhitya had a grammatical origin. It became a poetic concept even as early as Rājaśekhara, as far as we can see at present, the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* is the earliest work to mention the name Sāhitya and Sāhitya vidyā as meaning Poetry and Poetics. Even after him, grammatical associations were clinging to the term up to Bhoja's time. Kuntaka, about the time of Bhoja himself, was responsible for divesting Sāhitya of dry grammatical associations and for defining it as a great quality of the relation between Śabda and Artha in Poetry. Sometime afterwards was written by Ruṣṣyaka or Manbhuka a work called *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā*, which was the first work on Poetics to have the name Sāhitya. Afterwards Sāhitya became more common and we have the notable example of the *Sāhitya-darpana* of Viśva-nātha.¹

Sāhitya is derived from the word ‘Sahita’, “united together” महितयो-र्भावः साहित्यम्। All literature is made of the material of word and sense united together and so also is Poetry. The earliest definitions of Poetry are material, giving us the substance of which Poetry is made, namely, Śabda and Artha. Bhāmaha says.

शब्दार्थौ महितौ काव्यम् K. A. I. 16.

This is the starting point and no one can ignore this essential element, so long as Poetry is a kind of expression, expressed through the medium of language. So Rudraja follows with his indication of the nature of Kāvya—

1 Vide my article on Kriyā Kalpa, with a Note on the Evolution of the Names of the Alamkāra Śāstra in the *JOR*, Madras Vol. VIII, part 2

ननु शब्दाथो काव्यम् and many later writers like Maṃvata and Vidyānātha define Poetry through Śabda and Artha. Even after the establishment of the Ātman of Poetry, Śabda and Artha were taken as the body of Poetry. The two are inseparable and always go together, the one meaning the other. No literature, no talking even, is possible without the two. But there seems to have been in the early period of Poetics a view on this grammatico-poetic question that of the two elements of Śabda and Artha, the former is more essential and important. It is perhaps to answer this view that Māgha says in his poem, the *Śūṣupālavadha*, that a discerning man will pay equal regard to Fate and Self-exertion, and a poet will, to both Śabda and Artha.

शब्दाथो गन्तविरिव द्वयं विद्वानपेक्षते । II 86

Māgha here emphasises that Śabda and Artha are of equal importance. It is to this same controversy that Bhāmaha refers in chapter I and replies like Māgha

रूपकादिमलङ्कार वाक्यमाचक्षते परे ।
सुपा निदां च व्युत्पत्तिं वाचा वाङ्मन्यलङ्कृतिम् ॥
तद्वेतदाहुः सौशब्दं नार्थव्युत्पत्तिरीदृशी ।
शब्दाभिधेयालङ्कारभेदादिष्टं द्वयं तु नः ॥

It is immediately after this that Bhāmaha says that both Śabda and Artha, united together, form Kāvya शब्दाथो सहितौ काव्यम् । It is meaningless to emphasise either Śabda only or Artha only, to call the one as Abhyantara and the other as Bāhya. Quoting the above-given verses of Bhāmaha and knowing full well the complete significance of the immediately following observation of Bhāmaha शब्दाथो सहितौ काव्यम्, Kuntaka thus concludes तेन शब्दाथो द्वौ समिलितौ काव्यमिति स्थितम् V J I p 10. Earlier also Kuntaka says 1

“शब्दाथो काव्यम् : वाचको वाच्यं चेति द्वौ समिलितौ काव्यम् । द्वाविकमिति त्रयानर्थवोक्तिः । तेन यत्केपादिनमतं कविकौशलकल्पितकमनीयातिशयं शब्द एव केवलं काव्यमिति, केपादिच वाच्यमेव रचनावैचित्र्यनमत्कारकारं काव्यमिति, पक्षद्वयमपि निरस्तं भवति । तस्मात् द्वयोरपि प्रतिनितिसिद्धं तैल, तद्विद्राष्टावकारित्वं वर्तते, न पुनरेकस्मिन् ।” V J I, p 7 Dr's Edn

In another way, the very late writer Jagannātha emphasises Śabda to start with, though he includes Artha also in his definition of Poetry. He defines Poetry as Śabda that gives such an idea, Artha, as is productive of non-worldly æsthetic bliss when contemplated upon रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकं शब्दं काव्यम्. Jagannātha further justifies himself that Śabda it is that is called Kāvya and not Artha also, because we say in the world ‘The Kāvya has been read but its Artha has not been understood’. But this is not a strong argument for, in the ordinary speech in the world one adopts a fictitious analysis of a single whole into its parts. The proper attitude however is what Kuntaka has stated, namely, that *both* Śabda and Artha *together* constitute Poetry

1. See also Namisādhū on Rudrata, II, 1

The emphasis on Śabda by a school which considered Artha as Bāhya was perhaps strongly influenced by the grammatical Śabda Brahman philosophy of the *Vākyapadiya* which holds Artha as a Vivarta of Śabda. Bhoja is a great follower of Bhartrihari and his *VP* which is quoted numberless times in the opening chapters of the *Śr Pra*. Bhoja takes trouble to explain that the acceptance of Dhvani does not bring any difficulty regarding the basic tenet that all Artha is the Vivarta of Śabda. He explains Dhvani also as a Śabda Vivarta (Vide infra, section on Bhoja and Dhvani). As against this view of Śabda prādhānya, it can be said that the Etymologists or Nanuktas considered the Idea or Artha as chief and Śabda, secondary in importance. Durgācārya on Yāska says

अथो हि प्रधानम्, तदङ्गुणं शब्दः । p 3, *Venkatesvara Steam Press Edn*

It is as a reply to this controversy that Bhāmaha says, शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् that both Śabda and Artha together constitute Poetry. This is the first significance of Sāhitya.

The old writers did not go further than defining Poetry as made up of Śabda and Artha, words and ideas. Anything said or written is of this nature and this does not define Poetry or, on the face of it, give us an idea of the nature of the charm in Poetry. The old writers described Poetry as linguistic composition (Śabda and Artha), divided it into Prose and Verse, Sanskrit and Prākṛit, Read and Acted, and so on. But at the same time they realised that Śabda and Artha in Poetry had a special beauty not found elsewhere, that, to put it briefly, the Śabda and Artha in Poetry had some speciality, Viśesa. It is a question of deciding this Viśesa that is the problem of Poetics. Some approached the problem from the outer expression, the garb called Śabda and Artha, some plumbed the content within, while others emphasised that, whether it be a Viśesa of the Śabdārtha or of the content within, everywhere in Poetry, in the Śabdārtha as well as the Ātman of Rasa and Dhvani, it is the poet's peculiar way, the work of his genius, Kavi Vyāpāra, that is the Viśesa. A fine sum up of the poetic theories from this point of view is thus made by Samudrabandha on the *Alambāra Sarvasa*

“उक्तं विशिष्टं शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् । तयोश्च वैशिष्ट्यं धर्ममुखेन, व्यापारमुखेन, व्यङ्ग्यमुखेन वेति त्रयं पक्षाः । आद्यऽप्यलङ्कारतो गुणतो वेति द्वैविध्यम् । द्वितीयेऽपि मणितिवैचित्र्येण भोगकृत्वेन वेति द्वैविध्यम् । इति पत्रम् । पक्षेषु आद्य उद्भटादिमिश्रकृतः, द्वितीयो वामनेन, तृतीयो वक्रोक्ति-जीवितकारेण, चतुर्थो भट्टनाथकेन, पत्रमः आनन्दवर्धनेन ।” Triv. edn p. 4

1 Both Kuntaka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka emphasise Kavivyāpāra but there seems to be an apparent difference. The former's Kavivyāpāra leans towards the old writers' view and approaches from the expression-side arriving at Bhaniti-vaicitrya. But Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Kavivyāpāra is related by him to the Rasa, to the content-school. But as explained in my paper on writers quoted in the *Abhinavabhāratī* (JOR. Madras, Vol VI, pp 212-214), Nāyaka also had much inspiration from Bhāmaha and the old school. As the Locana says, the Bhogakṛtva is preceded by

It is the analysis of this *Vīśesa* that engages our attention and it is the main theme in the history of Sanskrit Poetics. That it is some beauty is accepted by all. Replying to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Abhinava says that it is acceptable to him to say that the 'Soul' of Poetry is the realisation of beauty.

“यच्चोक्त—‘चाख्यप्रतीतिस्तिहं काव्यस्य आत्मा म्यात’ इति, तदज्ञाकुर्म एव । नास्ति खल्वयं विवाद इति ।”

Śabda and Artha that are 'beautiful', Ramanīya, are Kāvya. Within this Rāmanīyaka come Alamkāra, Guna (Rīti included in it), Rasa, Dhvani and Aucitya. These form the speciality of poetic speech, of the relation between Śabda and Artha in Poetry. In ordinary speech, Śabda and Artha are united, *Sāhitya*. Without this Sāhitya, no linguistic expression is possible. Then what is the meaning of Sāhitya with reference to Poetry? The Sāhitya meant is one of a special kind, an unusually beautiful relation between Śabda and Artha in Poetry.

“ननु च वाच्यवाचकसंयन्त्रस्य विद्यमानत्वात् एतयोः न कर्थादिपि गार्हत्यविग्रहः, सत्यमेतत् । किन्तु विशिष्टमेवेह साहित्यमभिप्रेतम् ।” Kuntaka V / p 10

Poetry is speech *par excellence*, and *Sāhitya*, relation *par excellence*. Thus to begin with, the word Sāhitya meant only the mere union of Śabda, the expresser, and Artha, the expressed—*Vācya vācaka sambandha*. This means correctness and purity of grammar on the one hand and logical sensibility on the other. Taking Śabda and Artha united as Kāvya, the early writers examined the varieties of Śabda, different languages, different kinds of words as Noun, Verb, Preposition etc., and sentences made up of words (पदसमूहात्मकवाक्य) and of types of compositions made up of Vākyas, like the Saigabandha, Nāṭaka etc. This analysis pertains to Śabda and is had in the first chapters of the works of Bhāmaha and Dandin. But there is no trace of any analysis of the Artha in Poetry in the texts of these two writers. The first writer who began to talk of more varieties of Artha than one, in Poetry, is Udbhata according to the evidence of the *Dhvanīyāloka* and the *Locana*. Analysis of Artha in Poetry begins here. In his *Bhāmaha*

Bhāvakatva which Abhinava says, as far as Kāvya is concerned, is due to certain elements of beauty in *expression*, Śabdārtha, namely, Gunas and Alamkāras.

भावकत्वमपि समुचितगुणालङ्कारपरिग्रहात्मकस्माभिरेव वितन्त व्यर्थते । *Locana* p 70

It is to this view of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka that Abhinava refers in his *Abhi Bhā*

अन्ये तु काव्येऽपि गुणालङ्कारमौन्दर्यातिशयकृत रसचर्चणमहुः । p 292, Gaek Edn. I.

If it is so, Nāyaka's view is not far distant from that of Kuntaka and of the old schools which defined the *Vīśesa* as a 'Dharma'. The difference between the three schools as analysed by Samudrabandha is that while the first sticks to the expression, the third to the expressed, the second comprehending both the expression and the expressed, emphasises the peculiar poetic activity of the poet's genius which shapes everything.

2 Vide my paper *Krīyā Kalpa* and the *Evolution of the Other Names of the Alamkāra Śāstra*, above referred to, the section on *Saundarya* and *Cārutva*.

vivarana, while commenting upon Bhāmaha, I 9 शब्दश्छन्दोऽभिधानार्थः Udbhata tries to interpret the two words Śabda and Abhidhāna as distinct and points out that in Poetry, besides the primary sense of the words, there is a second sense which is the secondary meaning

“—तथापि गुणवृत्त्या काव्येषु व्यवहारं दर्शयता ध्वनिमागो मनाक्स्पृष्टो (ऽपि न) लक्ष्यत इति परिकल्प्यैवमुक्तम्—” *Dhva Ā* p 10

‘दर्शयतेति । भट्टोद्भटवामनादिना । भामहोक्त ‘शब्दश्छन्दोऽभिधानार्थः’ इत्याभिधानस्य शब्दाद् भेदं व्याख्यातुं भट्टोद्भटो वभाषे ‘शब्दानामभिधानमभिधाव्यापारः, मुख्यो गुणवृत्तिश्च’ इति, वामनोऽपि ‘सा सादृश्यात् लक्षणा वक्रोक्तिः’ इति ।” *Locana*, p 10

Udbhata thus mentioned the Amukhya or Gauna Artha and Vāmana definitely speaks of Lakṣaṇā which gives the secondary meaning as underlying the beauty in certain expressions. Soon critical circles discovered the third and greatest variety of Artha, the suggested idea—ध्वनि or ध्वन्यमान अर्थ. Taking Śabda and Artha together, i.e., the two in Sāhitya, and leaving aside the grammatical aspects of their mutual relation, it was found out that in Poetry the relation between the two consisted of some beauty analysable into Alamkāra, Guna etc. In such a manner, in course of time, Sāhitya which at first meant only the inevitable grammatical and logical relations between Śabda and Artha in any kind of linguistic expression came to mean those things which form the distinguishing characteristics of Poetry as different from the other utterances. Soon Sāhitya came to be used as a synonym of Poetry.

We do not know when and how exactly the word Sāhitya came into existence and came to be used in the sense of Poetry. We have an old verse which uses the name Sāhitya for Poetry.

साहित्यमङ्गीतकलाविहीनः साक्षात्पशुः पुच्छविषाणहीनः ।

but its date is not decided. In Bhāmaha we have only the qualifying adjective ‘Sahitau’ from which Sāhitya is derived सहितयोर्भावः साहित्यम् । Mukula uses the word (Pp 21-22)

पद्मावयप्रमाणेषु नदेतत् प्रतिविवितम् ।

यो योजयति साहित्ये तस्य वाणी प्रसीदति ॥

Commenting on this, he himself mentions Sāhitya twice as a Śāstra (Poetics) along with Mimamsā, Vyākaraṇa and Tarka. Mukula's pupil and commentator on Udbhata, Pratihārendurāja, while describing his Guru in the closing verse of his commentary on the KASS mentions the word in the sense of Poetics साहित्यं श्रीमुरारेः । In Rājasekhara's KM we find Sāhitya-vidyā meaning Poetics as one of the Vidyās पञ्चमी साहित्यविद्या इति यायावरीयः । सा हि चतुष्टयमपि विद्यानां निष्पन्दः । He explains Sāhitya derivatively as the Vidyā of Śabda and Artha placed together in the proper manner

“शब्दार्थयोर्यथावत् सद्भावेन विद्या साहित्यविद्या ।” *K. M* p 5

In section 3, describing the legend of Kāvya Purusa and his descent into the world, Rājasekhara mentions Sāhitya-vidyā as the spouse of Kāvya Purusa

“—तदंतस्य (काव्यपुरुषस्य) वशीकरणं कामपि धियः सृजामीति विनिन्यन्ती साहित्य-
विद्यावधूमुदपादयत्, आदिशच्चैना-एष ते स्या धर्मपतिः पुनः प्रतियुज्यते, तदनुवर्तस्व, एनं निव-
र्तय च ।”

From the first quotation it appears that by Rājasekhara's time it is definitely settled down in books that Sāhitya is synonymous with Poetry or Poetics. Abhinava's pupil, poet and critical writer, Kṣamendra, uses Sāhitya twice as meaning Poetics, the subject which he studied under Abhinava

श्रुत्वाभिनवगुणाम्ब्यात् साहित्यं बोधवार्त्तम् ।

आचार्यशेखरसणे विद्याविवृतिकारिण ॥ *Bhāṭkathāmañjarī* p. 260

It is only when we come to the eleventh century that we see the concept of Sāhitya entering into its 'Bhāgya daśā'. It begins to loom larger and gets two exponents for itself, one in Malwa and another in Kashmir, Bhoja and Kuntaka two of the names among first rank Vāṅmānīkas who must be specially noticed in a history of Sāhitya. It is striking that both Bhoja and Kuntaka start with Bhāmaha's definition- अच्चार्यो साहित्यं काव्यम्. Before we compare and contrast the two expositions of Sāhitya by Bhoja and Kuntaka, we shall see what Bhoja means by that term.

We have already said that Poetry being speech supreme, Sāhitya is between the two parts of language Śabda and Artha relation supreme. Thus, Sāhitya first means all linguistic expression and the general and inevitable grammatical and logical relations between word and sense, and then it means Poetry and the poetic relations between the two. Bhoja means by Sāhitya both kinds of relation and he not only deals with Poetry but with language also. At the lower levels, lies language with its general Sāhitya. Higher up the language has risen above itself and has bloomed into Poetry and here, the Sāhitya is poetic relation between word and sense. Bhoja defines Kāvya as the Sāhitya or unity of word and sense.

“तत् (काव्यं) पुनः अच्चार्यो साहित्यमामनन्ति । तद्यथा- ‘अच्चार्यो नहि नो काव्यम्’ इति ।

It is to a treatment of this Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha that the *Śr. Pra* is devoted. Bhoja calls his work itself *Sāhitya Prakāśa* in chapter 3.

यस्मिन्नक्षेपविद्यास्थानार्थविभूतयः प्रकाशन्ते ।

सहस्रं, न साहित्यप्रकाश एतादृशो भवति ॥

Chap. xi, p. 430 *Śr. Pra*, Vol. II

The scheme of the whole work is contained in the definition, “Śabdārthan sahitau kāvyam” and under the edifice of the *Śr. Pra* lies the foundation and system called Sāhitya. This has been already pointed out by me in

a previous section Sāhitya is thus defined by Bhoja. It is the relation between Śabda and Artha and is of twelve kinds. Eight of these twelve Sāhityas can be called general and the last four are special and can be classed as the poetic Sāhityas

किं साहित्यम् ? य. शब्दार्थयो संबन्धः । स च द्वादशधा, अभिधा, विवक्षा, तात्पर्यम्, प्रविभागः, व्यपेक्षा, सामर्थ्यम्, अन्वयः, एकार्थीभावः, दोषहानम्, गुणोपादानम्, अलङ्कारयोगः रसावियोगश्चेति । ”

Again, at the beginning of chapter vii which begins the treatment of Sāhitya, Bhoja repeats these twelve-fold relations between Śabda and Artha as constituting Sāhitya

“ तत्र अभिधा-विवक्षा-तात्पर्य-प्रविभाग व्यपेक्षा-सामर्थ्य-अन्वय-एकार्थीभाव-दोषहान-गुणोपादान-अलङ्कारयोग-रसावियोगरूपा शब्दार्थयो द्वादश सम्बन्धाः साहित्यमुच्यते ।

Vol I, p 428, Śr. Pra.

Even the earlier work of Bhoja, the S K Ā, contains indications of this conception of Sāhitya of Bhoja. The first verse of the work ध्वनिर्वर्णाः पदवाक्यम् etc covers part of contents of chapters i-vi of the Śr. Pra and the second verse of the S K Ā gives the last four-fold poetic Sāhitya, दोषहान, गुणादान, अलङ्कारयोग and रसावियोग or रसान्वयः; commenting on the above-said first verse of the S K Ā, Ratneśvara who is acquainted well with Śr. Pra says

“ तदयमत्र तात्पर्यसंक्षेपः—साहित्यस्वरूपनिरूपणाय किल एष ग्रन्थारम्भः । साहित्यं च शब्दार्थयो संबन्धः । तत्र शब्द एव क इत्यपेक्षायामयं विभागो ध्वनिरित्यादि । अर्थस्तु स्तम्भकुम्भादिलक्षणं लोके शास्त्रे च प्रसिद्धः । सम्यन्त्रः कश्चिदनादिः । सर्वस्वायमानस्तु संबन्धः नान्यत्रेति अस्मिन्नायनते । न चतुर्विधं—दोषहानम्, गुणोपादानम्, अलङ्कारयोगः रसमि (वि) योगश्चेति । ”

Ratneśvara on S.K Ā I, 1

“ निर्दोषं गुणवत्काव्यम् अलङ्कारैरलङ्कृतम् । रसान्वितं कविः कुर्वन् कीर्तिं प्रीतिं च विन्दति ”

S K Ā I, 2.

There is the well-known eternal, external grammatical relation between Śabda and Artha but these are subjects pertaining to grammar. As far as Poetry is concerned, the relation is of a superior kind, *Viśīṣṭam Sāhityam* as Kuntaka says, or *Sarvasvāyamānah sambandhah* as Ratneśvara says. Sāhitya is thus really the poetic relation only, or rather it is necessary to investigate the poetic Sāhitya only, leaving aside the well-known external Sāhitya. But, with a suggestion of the historical origin of the concept of Sāhitya in grammar, and, as in most places, writing here also under the great influence of the Śāstra of grammar, Bhoja takes at first Sāhitya as merely relation between Śabda and Artha and includes under it two sets of relations, grammatical and poetical. Among the eight grammatical relations, four are classed together

“तत् (काव्य) पुनः शब्दार्थयोस्साहित्यमामनन्ति । तद्यथा—‘शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम्’ इति ।”

This would mean that Sāhitya is neither the sum-total of all the twelve relations, grammatical and poetical, nor the sum-total of the first eight only but that it is only the four-fold poetic relation of Dosa-hāna, Gunādāna, Alamkāra-yoga, and Rasa-aviyoga,—a view that will correspond to that of Kuntaka and Ratnesvara. The second view of Sāhitya that it is the sum-total of the eight śabda-sambandha-śaktis is the view of the work called *Sāhityamāmānsā* which we shall notice presently.

Bhoja wrote without a systematically thought-out unitary idea of Poetry. He borrowed from all, accepted all and somehow accommodated every writer from Bhāmaha to Ānandavardhana and the Daśarūpakakāra in his big berth of *Śr Pra*. Bhoja accepted Alamkāra as expounded by Bhāmaha and Dandin. Following the former, he took his stand on his definition of Poetry, “śabdārthau sahitaū kāvyam.” Following the latter, he completely incorporated the *Kāvya-darśa* into his own work. He followed Vāmana on Gunas and their relations to Alamkāras. As a matter of fact, the chapter heads, Doṣa-hāna and Gunādāna, are taken from Vāmana’s Sūtra, स दोषगुणालङ्कारद्वानादानाभ्याम् । 1, 13. He follows Bhāmaha in another respect also, i.e., in considering all Alamkāras to be of the form of Vakrokti. (See below section on Alamkāra and on Vakrokti.)

“अस्मिन् सति सर्वालङ्कारजातयो वक्रोक्त्यभिधानवाच्या भवन्ति ।

तदुक्तम्—

वक्रत्वमेव काव्यानां परा भूषेति भामह ।

श्लेषः पुष्पाणि सर्वांस्तु प्रायो वक्रोक्तिषु श्रियम् ॥ *Śr Pra* Vol II, p 372

Following both Bhāmaha and Dandin, Bhoja considers Rasas and Gunas also as Alamkāras.

“एवमवस्थापिते गुणरगतदाभावभावानामलङ्कारत्वे पदप्रकारोऽलङ्कारमङ्गलः सम्भवति ।”

Śr Pra Vol II, p 388

(See also Pp 612-3 S K Ā. See also below sections on Guna, Alamkāra, and Rasa.) Bhoja then follows Vāmana and says that, of the two, Guna and Alamkāra, the former is more important. He quotes the two verses of Vāmana on this point.

“तत्र च गुणोपादानालङ्कारयोग्यो गुणोपादान गरीयः । अतः तदेव प्रथममुच्यते । यदाह—
यदा भवति वपुश्च्युत गुणम्य ” etc etc, (Vāmana) | *Śr Pra* Vol II, p 211.

“गुणयोगस्तयोर्मुक्त्य गुणालङ्कारयोग्यौ ।”—*S K Ā* I, 59, p 42

As a follower of the Rasa-school also, he considers that the last aspect of Sāhitya called Rasa-aviyoga or non-divorce from Rasa is the most important. It is the greatest factor of beauty in Kāvya and the three preceding it, only serve it.

“निर्दोषस्य गुणवतोऽलङ्कृतस्य काव्यशरीरस्य कामिनीशरीरस्येव गोमतिशयनिष्पत्तौ रसावियोग एव प्रकृष्ट उपयोगी ।” *Śr Pra* Vol II, p 352

In the *S.K.Ā.*, among the three Uktis which comprehend the whole field of Poetry, namely, Svabhāvokti, Vaktiokti and Rasokti, he assigns the greatest place to Rasokti

वक्तोक्तिश्च रसोक्तिश्च स्वभावोक्तिश्च वाच्यम् ।

सर्वासु ग्राहिणी ताम् रसोक्तिं प्रतिजानते ॥ *S.K.Ā.* V. 8

He also adopts as much as possible verses on Ānanda, which subject I have separately examined in a further section on Bhoja and Ānanda. Thus, in brief, is the plan by which Bhoja improvises a system called Sāhitya, in which is envisaged his conception of Poetry as speech made more attractive by four factors, namely absence of grammatical, logical and literary flaws (*Doṣahāna*), securing of stylistic qualities of Śleṣa etc. which are of prime importance and which must necessarily be present (*Guṇadāna*), adornment with Alamkāras which is optional and is intended for further beautification (*Alamkāra-yoga*), and above all, seeing that no part of Poetry is devoid of Rasa (*Rasa-anuyoga*). This is his definition of Poetry also

निर्दोष गुणवन्काव्यम् अलङ्कारैरलङ्कृतम् ।

रसान्वित कवि कृद्वन् कीर्तिं प्रीतिं च विन्दति ॥ *S.K.Ā.* I, 2

‘एतेन काव्यलक्षणमपि कटाक्षितम् ।’ —Ratneśvara on the above.

Thus, if it can be granted that there is some thought system of Poetics in Bhoja's *Śr. Pra.*, it must be this system of Sāhitya

Śāradātanaya, in his *Bhāvapra-kāśa* (chapter vi, p. 145, Gack Edn.) follows Bhoja's conception of Sāhitya. He gives the twelve fold Sāhitya in a clear, classified and succinct manner. The three fold classification of the twelve relations indicated by us above is also made by him. The verses in the *Bhā. Pra.* on pp. 145-152 form a good metrical summary of chapters vii-ix of Bhoja's *Śr. Pra.*

वाक्यार्थत्वं (रसस्य) च शब्दार्थमन्वाद्बन्धम्यते ।

सम्बन्धा द्वादशविधः स्मृतः शब्दार्थयोर्बुधे ॥

द्वादशधा सम्बन्धः शब्दस्यार्थस्य यस्य साहित्यम् ।

त्रिस्कन्धः स चतुर्भिस्तनुभिस्स्यात् चतुर्भिश्च ॥

वृत्तिविवक्षा तात्पर्यप्रविभागाविहोदितौ ।

ततो व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्यान्वयार्थकार्थभावनौ ॥

दोषहानं गुणादानं तथा लङ्कारयोगिता ।

रसावियोग इत्येते सम्बन्धा कथिता कृधे ॥ p. 145

See also Mr K. S. RAMASWAMY SASTRI's Introduction to the Gack Edn. of this *Bhā. Pra.* pp. 42-43. Following the phraseology of the (anti Dhvani) Tātparyavādins headed by the Daśarūpakakāra, Śāradātanaya calls here Rasa the Vākyārtha, towards the comprehension of which the Padārthas named Bhāvas help. The Vibhāvas etc., are 'Vākyārthapara', i.e., Rasapara. Their Tātparya is Rasa, the Vākyārtha. Bhoja follows Dhvani as well as Tātparya, reconciling the two somehow and uses the phraseology of Padārtha-vākyārtha for Bhāvas and Rasas.

“किन्तु अन्यपरतया ते (विभावादयः) उपादीयमाना तत्रैव न्यग्भवन्ति । न वाक्यार्थप्रति-
पत्तां पदार्थां पृथक् स्मरन्तीति ।”—*Sr Pra Ch XI.*

Śāradātanaya, who follows Bhoja, says that this Vākyaārtha of Rasa is got at by the Sambandha between Śabda and Artha

काव्यादिवन्धवत्स्य रसस्य स्थायिनोऽपि च ।

वाक्यार्थत्वं च शब्दार्थसंबन्धादगदम्यते ॥

संबन्धो द्वादशविधः स्मृतः शब्दार्थयोर्वै ।—p 145

This Sambandha helping the manifestation of the Vākyaārtha of Rasa is the twelve-fold Sāhitya of Bhoja, out of all of which Bhoja himself says that the last, namely, Rasa-aviyoga is the most important Bhoja says that it is for securing Rasas that such Gunas as Kānti, the absence of such flaws as Gāmyatā, the adding of such Alamkāras as Kaiśikī vṛtti and Vaidarbhi rīti etc., are resorted to by poets

“तयोः वाक्यविषय (रसावियोग) अश्लील-अमङ्गलवृणावर्धं ग्राम्यम् इत्यादि दोषहानेन,
दीप्तरसत्वं कान्तिः इत्यादिगुणोपादानेन कैशिकीवैदर्भ्याद्यलङ्कारयोगेन च etc.— ।”

Sr Pra Mad MS Vol II, p 356, Ch. XI.

Thus according to Bhoja, the Vaiśiṣṭya of Śabda and Artha (in Samudrabandha's terminology), which is responsible for making ordinary Śabdārtha into Kāvya (*Viśiṣṭau Śabdārthau kāvyam*), is Sāhitya If the Alamkāra-school and the Guna-rīti school define the peculiarity (Viśeṣa) about Poetry by 'Dharma', if Kuntaka's Vakrokti defines it as a Kavi-vyāpāra, if Ānanda's system defines it by the suggested Rasa, Bhoja, whose position contradicts that of none, arranges all the views suitably and says that the Viśeṣa is Sāhitya which comprehends all these—Alamkāra, Guna-rīti, Dhvani and Rasa Kāvya is Śabda and Artha with a special kind of beauty, Śobhā, i.e., the Vaiśiṣṭya or Viśeṣa of Samudrabandha The Kāvya-śarīra is the point from which Bhoja studies Kāvya Kāvya is understood as 'Śabdārtha', जगत् तादलिप्रार्थव्यवच्छिन्ना पदावली ' of Dandin is accepted The Śobhā of the Śarīra of Śabdārtha is due, in Bhoja's opinion, to the absence of flaws, the presence of excellences, the addition of ornaments, and the non-divorce from emotion Of these, the first is the negative element of Śobhā in the form of absence of flaws Regarding the other three, Bhoja completely follows Dandin, his greatest Guru, quotes his text काव्यशोभाकरान् ध्वनौलङ्कारान्प्रचक्षते and says that whatever is responsible for the charm in the Śabdārtha of Kāvya is Alamkāra, be it Guna, Alamkāra (figure) or Rasa Rasa may be the most important, Guna may be more important than Alamkāra which is the least important of the three but functionally, all the three are identical in that they contribute to the charm of the expression, in being Kāvya-śobhākara-dharma Thus, in another way, we arrive at this conclusion that, in Samudrabandha's phraseology, Bhoja is one who would put the speciality of Kāvya as a 'Dharma', as Alamkāra. Bhoja goes with the ancient Bhāmaha and Dandin and is of opinion that even as the Rasa,

the way of saying things in Kāvya through suggestion (he accepts Dhvani as functioning supremely in Poetry—*ध्वनिरेव काव्ये*) beautifies only expression. Therefore, to sum up, Bhoja considers the speciality about Poetry as a *Śobhā*, which is due to *Sāhitya*, this *Sāhitya* is *Alankāra*, analysable into *Rasa*, *Guṇa* and *Alankāra*. This is a solution which is really an arrangement or an adjustment of the various items, a synthetic or eclectic theory.

Bahurūpamiśra is a very late commentator on the *Daśarūpaka* and his work deserves notice here as one of those which follow Bhoja's theory of *Sāhitya*. Bahurūpamiśra drew upon Śāradātanaya and he had direct access to Bhoja's *Śr Pra* also. In his commentary on the *D R*, the MS of which is available in the Madras Govt Oriental MSS Library, he quotes Bhoja and his *Śr. Pra* often¹. In the commentary on the fourth chapter of the *DR* dealing with *Rasa*, he gives us the concept of *Sāhitya* as expounded by Bhoja and as reproduced by Śāradātanaya in his *Bhā Pra*. He says

ननु रसस्य स्थायिनो वा काव्येन क सवन्धः, येन वाक्यार्थः स्यात् ! उच्यते, साहित्यम् । XXX
द्वादशविधो हि गन्धार्थयोस्सवन्धः साहित्यमित्युच्यते । चतुर्विधस्तुभि सवन्धः त्रीणि पक्षाणि ।
स च वृत्तिविवक्षानात्पर्यप्रविभाग (व्यपेक्षा) सामर्थ्यान्वयैकार्थभावा (दोषहान्युपादान-अलङ्कारयोग)
रसावियोगा इति ।—p 73, Mad MS R 4188

Bahurūpa explains each with definition and illustration and most of the illustrative verses are those found in the *Śr Pra*. This portion of his work is a clear summary of Bhoja's vast treatment of *Sāhitya* in nine chapters. Both Śāradātanaya and Bahurūpa made a slight emendation and gave Bhoja's first item called *Abhidhā* as *Vitti*. As we shall notice presently, the *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* also adopts the name *Vrtti* and thereby, confusion is removed; for *Abhidhā*, which Bhoja gives as a general name for the three *Vittis* of *Mukhyā*, *Gauṇī* and *Lakṣanā*, is generally used only to denote the first, name *ly Mukhyā*.

The *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* on *Sāhitya*

There is a MS of a work called *Sahitya-mīmāṃsā* (henceforth written as *SM*) in the Tanjore Library, a copy of which has been secured for the Madras MSS Library. The work is short and incomplete, in *Kāṅkās* and *Vitti*. A copy of the work is available in the Curator's Library at Trivandrum and the work has now been edited in the most careless manner as no 114 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The following account of *Sāhitya* according to the *SM* is based in the Tanjore MS and its Madras copy.

The work *SM* may strike one, as it has struck the Editor of this work in the TSS, as the same mentioned in the *Alankāra-sarvasva* and the commentary on the *Vyakṛti vveka*. We know of a *SM* by Viṇūca miśra, fifth ancestor of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara (end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th cent), mentioned in the long colophon at the end of Lakṣmīdhara's

1 See *JOR*, Madras, VIII, pp 321-334, my article on Bahurūpamiśra's *Daśarūpakavyākhyā*

Saundaryalaharī vyākhyā, Mysore Edn) A S M is quoted by Rājacūdāmaṇi in his *Kavya-darpana*. This MS of S M does not bear the name of either Ruyyaka or Mankhuka. What is plain is that the work is later than Bhoja, Kuntaka and Ksemendra¹. The work as its name shows, discusses regularly, for the first time in the history of Sanskrit Poetics, as far as we know now, the subject under the name Sāhitya. The work states its scheme thus: it treats of Sāhitya and Pariskāra, i.e., of the (four and four) eight relations of Vṛtti, Vivaksā, Tātparyā, Pravibhāga; and Vyapekṣā, Sāmarthyā, Anvaya and Ekārthibhāva, and then the Pariskāra, consisting of the last four items of Bhoja, namely, Doṣahāna, Guṇādāna, Alamkāra-yoga and Rasa-aviyoga. Next the work speaks of different kinds of poets and different kinds of Rāsikas but our interest at present is in the discussion on the term Sāhitya. The author of the work is not only well acquainted with Bhoja's *Śr Pra* and Bhoja's method of treating Poetics, but reproduces also long passages from the *Śr Pra*. The S M accepts Bhoja's conception of Sāhitya as the sum-total of the general relations between Śabda and Artha from Vṛtti to Ekārthibhāva coming under two heads of four,—four Kevala and four Sāpekṣa Śabda-sambandha-śaktis. There is, however, this definite difference that this S M makes. It restricts the name Sāhitya to the first eight items of Bhoja and calls the rest, Doṣahāna etc., by a new name Sāhitya Pariskāra or Śab-dārtha Pariskāra or Prasādhana (polish or refinement).

The work says

साहित्यं सपरिष्कारं कविना परिकल्पितम् ।
भावयन् रसिको लोके सुखमत्यन्तमश्नुते ॥
वृत्त्यादीनां समष्टिस्स्यात् साहित्यं तत्त्वनिः (तत्परि) ष्कृतिः ।
शब्दार्थयोः परिष्कारः कविस्तस्य प्रसाधकः ॥

अर्था वृत्त्याद्यस्तत्र परिष्कारश्चतुर्विधः ॥

—S M. Mad MS p 1, (TSS Edn, pp 1-2).

The 'Vṛttyādi Asta' consisting of the four Kevala and the four Sāpekṣa Śabda śaktis constitute Sāhitya in the opinion of this S M. It again says so :

एषा समष्टिरर्था (या) ना साहित्यमिति निर्णयः । —p 5 TSS Edn, (p 11)

The MS briefly explains these eight, following Bhoja, but with some slight difference. Dhvani is not mentioned under Tātparyā as is done by Bhoja and the work follows the Daśarūpaka and holds Rasa as the Vākyārtha and the Tātparyā.

वर्तते यत्परः शब्दः स वाक्यार्थ इति स्थितिः ।

एतद् रमस्य प्रस्तावे परस्तात् साधयिष्यते ॥ —p 3 (TSS Edn p 7)

It is on the basis of this Tātparyā and Vākyārtha view of Rasa that we have to doubt strongly that this S M is different from that believed to be

1 The work reproduces from all these three authors. If only this fact had been realised by the editor, the work would have been edited better.

written by Ruyyaka or Mankhuka, both of whom are staunch Kasimmin followers of Ānanda's theory of Dhvani

To return to this *SM*'s view of Sāhitya, it is after word and meaning are united through these eight relations, that the poet handles them and now begins the fact of Poetry by virtue of the poet refining this 'Word-Idea', Śabdārtha, having Sāhitya

तत्परिष्कृतिः । शब्दार्थयोः परिष्कारः कार्यस्तस्य प्रगल्भः ॥

Mad MS p 1 (TSS Edn p 1)

This Panskāra or refinement is all the activity of the poet. It is of four kinds—Doṣahāna, Guna-ādāna, Alankāra yoga and Rasa-avyaya. Thus, the work says, comes in due course

साहित्यस्य परिष्कारः पारंपर्येण सिद्ध्यति ।

TSS Edn p 12

Therefore, Sāhitya according to this work is not the art of Poetry but only language and linguistic expression, it is not the poetic qualities that characterize Poetry and its words and ideas but is only the inevitable general relations, syntactic etc., between word and meaning

साहित्यं नाम सवन्व सा(साऽ)ष्टधेति मनीषिणः ।¹

शब्दार्थवद्विषयैः सम्बन्धन्तः परस्परम् ॥

+ + +

श्रुत्यादयस्ताः कथ्यन्ते शक्तयः पुनरष्टधा ।

श्रुतिस्तद्विषयवशा च तात्पर्यं च विभागवत् ॥

चतस्रः केवला ह्येताः शब्दसवन्वशक्तयः ॥

याकाशा यच्च सामर्थ्यमन्वयो यश्च तैर्मिथः ।

(एकार्थोभवनं चेति) सापेक्षा शब्दशक्तयः ॥

SM Mad MS pp 56, (TSS Edn p 12)

The *Vitti* more clearly says that Sāhitya means only the eight relations of *Vitti* etc., and that Doṣahāna etc., are excluded. We have here the concept of Sāhitya again sinking back into its original grammatical meaning. The text of the *Vitti* runs thus

“श्रुतिविषयवशां साहित्यान्तर्भावो दोषहानगुणालङ्काररसवन्वस्य वर्तमानं च गह्वरुक्ताह ।”

—p 6 Mad MS (TSS Edn p 12, passage corruptly printed)

This however is not Bhoja's view. As Ratneśvara explains the second verse of the *SKĀ*, and as Kuntaka would take it, Sāhitya is really Poetry and the poetic relation between Śabda and Artha, the Panskāra as this *SM* calls it. This consists of the four qualities, Doṣahāna etc., which alone Bhoja deals with in his smaller and earlier work, the *SKĀ*. In the *Śr Pra* however, which is a larger work with a greater scope, grammatical relations in

1 The *vitti* mentions Bhoja. See TSS Edn p 12

addition to the poetic, are included and thus Sāhitya is made to mean not only the four-fold poetic relation but also the eight-fold grammatical relation. It was also pointed out above that in an opening passage at the beginning of chapter 1 of the *Śr. Pra*, Bhoja describes *Kāvya* as the Sāhitya between Śabda and Artha and not exactly all kinds of expression in language. In that case, Bhoja would seem to agree with Ratneśvara and hold only *Dosa-hāna* etc., as Sāhitya. Again it was pointed out before that the third view, now found to be held by the *S M* that the 'Vrttyādi Asta' alone form Sāhitya and that *Doshāna* etc., represent a separate department, is also warranted by one sentence of Bhoja at the beginning of chapter ix

“तत्र अभिधाविवक्षादिभि निरूपिते शब्दार्थयोः साहित्ये, वाक्यस्य प्रयोगयोग्यता प्रयोगानर्हे-
ता च निर्धार्यते । यदाह—‘एकशब्दः सम्यक्प्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुक् भवति ।’ दुष्प्रयुक्तः पुनर-
धर्माय सपद्यते । सम्यक्प्रयोगश्चास्य तदोपपद्यते यदा दोषहानम्, गुणोपादानम्, अलङ्कारयोगः,
रसावियोगश्च भवति ।” —*Śr. Pra*. Ch 9, Mad MS. Vol II, p. 144.

It is from this passage that the *S.M* must have taken its inspiration. The phrases of Bhoja, *Prayoga-yogyatā*, *Prayoga-arhatā* and *Samyak-prayoga* which are to be secured by the four means of *Doshāna* etc., exactly correspond to the *S M*'s *Pariskāra* or refinement of the language that has already come into being with the eight-fold Sāhitya

The *S.M.* then reviews another view of Sāhitya

शब्दार्थयोः सहस्थान साहित्यमपरे जगुः ।
श्रिया (द्वयोः) परस्परस्वार्थाः (स्वर्था) युक्तयोः काव्यसजितम् ॥
साहित्यमनयोः गोभागाद्विभक्तां प्रति काव्यसौ ।
अन्यूनानतिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिण्यवस्थितिः ॥

V J p 27), *S.M* p 7, Mad MS (T.S.S. Edn p 13).

This represents the view of Kuntaka, the author of the *Vakrokti-jīvita*. The *S.M* clubs together the *Kārikas* of the *V J* with the *Saṅgraha* and the *Antara Ślokas* in the *Vitti* of the *V J*. The work quotes the two sets of *Antara Ślokas* of Kuntaka found on pp 28-29 of the *V.J.* Of these two only the first set of three verses on p 28 are on Sāhitya and the other set of four verses on p 29 are on *Vakrokti*. But the *S.M* puts the two sets together and takes the description of *Vakrokti* also as one of Sāhitya. It concludes its review with the remark that this view does not differ from that first described, i.e., the slightly modified view of Bhoja

“एतन्मतमपि प्रायो मतमस्माकमश्नुते ।

अमेद व्याप्यते तत्र किन्तु साहित्यकाव्ययोः ॥

एतन्मतमपि अस्मन्मतमेव आप्नोति । इदमन्तरम् । [स] परिष्कारं (रः) साहित्यमिहे
(त्यमिति) तेषा मतम् । वयं तु शब्दार्थयोः समिलनमात्रयोः मिलनमात्रयुक्ते रूप साहित्यम् । तत्
शास्त्राध्यानादिसाधारणम् । अन्यद् यत् परिष्कारविशिष्टं तत् काव्यमिति मन्यामहे ।’

(T.S.S. Edn p. 15)

The difference also has been stated by the work. According to Kuntaka Sāhitya is Kāvya, the embellished or refined Śabdārtha, the Pariskāra only. But the *SM* says that Sāhitya is not Poetry, it is a grammatical fact, common to all utterances, of Poetry, of Śāstra and of Ākhyāna, it is the grammatical relations, Vṛtti etc., which all linguistic expression inevitably means. What brings in Poetry after the coming into existence of language and Sāhitya is Pariskāra. This view of the *SM* is a degradation of the idea of Sāhitya and a sinking back of the concept to its original meaning. With Kuntaka's view agrees Bhoja's view implicitly expressed in the *SKĀ*, I, 2, and expounded by Ratneśvara. It is only in the *St. Pra* that the concept of Sāhitya is expanded to embrace also the grammatical and the logical relations between word and idea. This itself seems to be a degradation of the poetic concept of Sāhitya but the *SM* has dragged it down further by separating the grammatical and the poetical relations, by conferring the name Sāhitya on the former only and by creating the new name of Pariskāra for the latter.

The reason why Bhoja considered Sāhitya as literature in general besides Poetry and as the general and the inevitable relations also, besides the four poetic relations, is Bhoja's great love for the Vyākaranā Śāstra which is in evidence all through this big work of *St. Pra*. It is no surprise that in many places in Bhoja, there is more grammar than real Poetics. The fact can be realised by a comparative study of the conception of Sāhitya according to Bhoja and Kuntaka and the difference can be seen to be immense. Even while beginning the poetic part of Sāhitya in chapter iv, Bhoja does not say 'beautiful expression' but only 'good and correct expression'—*Samyak prayoga, Prayoga योग्यात्, Prayoga arhatā*. And here, Bhoja quotes the text which refers to the Apūva resulting from the grammatically pure expression, a text quoted in the Vyākaranā Śāstra तद् जन्तुः सम्यक् प्रयुक्त etc. This makes all the difference, it shows how again and again it is grammar that is Bhoja's fascination. In this connection even the author of the *SM* is more imaginative and poetic. To give Vedic prāmānya for Poetry, he quotes the beautiful text मद्रपां लक्ष्मीर्निदिताभिवान्ति, which Bhavabhūti has adopted into a verse of his in his *Uttarāramacarita* (IV 18). The *SM*, says

“तदेव काव्यार्थमावनया रमेन [स्य] निरतिशयानन्दलामस्य कविवचनम् मद्रया लक्ष्म्या निधानस्य च श्रवणात् कविकाव्ययोः महत्त्व, रसिकस्य च प्रयोजनं श्रुतिमिदंमेवेति सर्वं समग्रग्राम ।”
—pp 49 and 50, Mad MS (TSS Edn, p 161)

Thus to sum up

(1) Sāhitya rose as a grammatical concept denoting the eternal and well-known united character of Śabda and Artha, comprehending the general Sambandhas of Vṛtti etc., between the two

(2) As far as Poetry is concerned it seems to have emphasised on Bhāmaha's observation शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् that neither śabda alone nor Artha alone is Poetry but both together are Poetry. There is no question of superiority, as between the two Māgha and Kuntaka are clear on this point.

(3) The third stage is represented by Bhoja's view according to which the grammatical or ordinary Sāhitya between śabda and Artha has expanded to embrace the poetic qualities in the relation of the two in Poetry. Bhoja fully expounds this view, taking Sāhitya to mean ordinary expression as well as poetic expression, ordinary śabdārtha sambandha as well as the peculiar poetic śabdārtha sambandha.

(4) Kuntaka can be said to represent the fourth stage. Even very much earlier than Bhoja, the name Sāhitya had come to mean Poetry and Poetics, e.g., in Rājasekhara's *KM*. Kuntaka recognises that Sāhitya surely means, primarily, only the ordinary relation of śabda and Artha as Vācaka and Vācya but he says that the word in Poetics is restricted to the poetic relation, Viśiṣṭa Sāhitya, which is the same Vācya Vācaka sambandha made finer. Sāhitya is considered at this stage as above Pada-vākya-pramāṇa and only as a poetic concept. This view of Kuntaka we shall presently examine in detail.

(5) The next stage it is that the anonymous *SM* represents. It is the direct opposite of Kuntaka's view and between its view and that of Kuntaka stands that of Bhoja embracing both. The *SM*'s Sāhitya is a return to that of stage No. 1, where it is a purely grammatical concept meaning the śabda śaktis etc. Poetry and poetic relations between śabda and Artha fall out of its scope and come under the separate head named Paṛīkṣā.

Kuntaka on Sāhitya

The eleventh century was a favourable time for the concept of Sāhitya. Ideas are in the air and at a certain time they seem to descend on our earth and reveal themselves for the good of humanity through certain chosen persons. It happens often that laws and discoveries in all departments of knowledge have their destined time when they come to light and more than one 'Seer' sees those truths. So it is that many discoveries, though going in the name of one noteworthy personality, are really found out to have been at the same time or a little earlier or later revealed to certain others also. The same is the case with Ideas. When Bhoja was defining the concept of Sāhitya, Kuntaka was doing the same thing in Kashmir. Kuntaka is a great name in Sanskrit Poetics. Besides his new doctrine of Vakrokti, there are many other points on which his genius made special and valuable contribution. One such point is Sāhitya.

Like Bhoja, Kuntaka is a follower of the ancients whom he re-interprets. Like Bhoja, Kuntaka starts with Bhāmaha's definition of Poetry—*Śabdārthau sahitaū kāvyam*—and accepts it by adding it to his own Vak-

rokti. He says that both word and sense together, having Sāhitya, are Kāvya, when set in Vakrokti.

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्तव्यव्यापारशब्दौ ।

वन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विद्वान्दत्तार्कणि ॥ V J, p 7

Thus, language or word and sense become Poetry by virtue of what we might call a Guna called Sāhitya and an Alamkāra called Vakrokti, both the words Guna and Alamkāra being used here in a large sense. Thus Sāhitya is the prime requisite. It is only Kuntaka who has given us a full and significant exposition of the concept of Sāhitya. He himself says that though people have been using the word Sāhitya for a long time, no writer ever systematically thought out its full significance and expounded it in any treatise. Kuntaka rightly takes credit for having done this work.

“यदिदं साहित्यं नाम, तदेतावन्नि निर्मसीमान् समवाचनान् गार्हत्यन्त्यमन्त्रेण प्रसिद्धम् । न पुनरेतस्य कविकर्मकौशल्यकाव्याधिरुद्धिरमर्णयस्य अद्यापि कश्चिदपि विपर्ययः अयमस्य परमार्थ इति मनाडुमात्रमपि विचारपदमवतीर्णम् । तद्वच्च सरस्वतीहृदयारविन्दमकरन्दार्धन्दुगन्धद्विषुन्दगाणा सक्त-विवचसामन्तगमोदमनोहरत्वेन परिस्फुरद्वेतन् महद्यपटचरणोचरता गीयते ।”

Sāhitya literally means the relation between word and sense. ‘गार्हत्यो-र्भाव साहित्यम् । Kuntaka, p 27 ‘सहितौ सहितभावेन गार्हत्येन अवस्थितौ’ *Ibid*, p. 10

This relation is eternal and there is no language without it, i.e., without the word and sense being united together as the expressing and the expressed (*Vācaka* and *Vācya*). This Vācya-vācaka sambandha comprehends the consideration of the structure and varieties of the Vācaka, the Pada, of the syntactic import of a succession of words in a Vācya and of the logicity of the idea, i.e., Pada, Vācya and Pramāna. These are present in all kinds of expression and form the original meaning of Sāhitya.

शब्दार्थौ सहितौव प्रतारौ स्फुरन् यदा ।

गहिताविति तावेव किमप्ये निगीयते ॥

This original Sāhitya which is निर्गर्भाज्ज्ञानाद्यसम्बन्ध becomes Sāhitya of a superior kind by the operation of the poet's genius or Kavi-vyapara. It is this superior Sāhitya that is discussed in Poetics. It is the magical quality pertaining to the words and ideas coming from a poet which makes ordinary utterance with Pada, Vācya and Pramāna into Poetry. It is not present in either Śāstra or the ordinary utterances of the world but is seen in Poetry only. It is Pada-vācya-pramāna-atmika. It is not the Sāmānya but is the Vīśiṣṭa Sāhitya.

“ननु च वाच्यवाचकसम्बन्धस्य विद्यमानत्वाद् एतयो न कथा नदपि गार्हत्यविरहः, मय्यमेतत् । किन्तु विशिष्टमेव साहित्यमभिप्रेतम् ।” V J p 10

Kuntaka defines this Sāhitya as the quality of Śabda and Artha vying with each other in the suggestion of Rasa, or, to put it generally in enhancing the beauty of Poetry. He gives this Sāhitya as applying to all the ele-

ments in Poetry, it is something like Aucitya First of all kinds hitya comes the Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha, their mutual commensurateness

समसर्वगुणो मन्तौ मुहुरावि सङ्गतौ ।

परपरस्य शोभायै शब्दार्था भवतो यथा ॥ V J p 11

There must be beautiful expression as well as beautiful idea The question of whether form or content is important in Poetry does not arise Mere idea or emotion is the subject of psychology As long as Poetry is *expression*, the form is unquestionably important It has to contain also an Artha that is equally charming This is the first kind of Sāhitya of Kuntaka He takes Śabda as a whole meaning expression and Artha as a whole meaning the sense He examines some verses and points out the presence or absence of this commensurateness between the expression and the expressed. Inadequate expression and expression devoid of idea are both bad Beautiful expression without beautiful idea and a beautiful idea not couched in an equally beautiful expression are both bad The fault on the one side affects the other also.

‘द्वयोरप्येतयोर्द्वयाहरणयोः प्राधान्येन प्रत्येक एकतरस्य साहित्यविरहो व्याख्यातः । परमार्थतः पुन उभयोरपि एकतरस्य साहित्यविरहः अन्यतरस्यापि पर्यवस्यति । तथा च अर्थः समर्थवाचक-असद्भावे स्वान्मना स्फुरन्नपि मृतकल्प एव अवतिष्ठते । शब्दोऽपि वाक्योपयोगिवाच्यासम्भवे वाच्यान्तर-वाचकस्मिन् वाक्यस्य व्याधिभूतः प्रतिभानीत्यलमतिप्रसङ्गेन ।” V. J p 14

Idea insufficiently expressed is ‘dead’ and expression without idea or expressing something other than the intended idea is ‘disease’—Mṛtakalpa and Vyādhībhūta Thus, the first Sāhitya is the complete harmony and commensurateness between expression and expressed, form and content

The second Sāhitya is that between one word and another in the expression and between one idea and another in the expressed.

गदितार्थव्युत्पत्तिरपि यथायुक्ति स्वजातीयापेक्षया शब्दस्य शब्दान्तरेण, वाच्यस्य वाच्यान्तरेण च साहित्यम्, परस्परस्पर्धित्वलक्षणमेव विवक्षितम् ।” V J p 12

The first Sāhitya takes Śabda and Artha as a whole meaning expression and expressed while the second Sāhitya emphasises that in the expression itself the several units, namely the Padas, must have mutual Sāhitya and that similarly, the various Artha-units, in the expressed. Thus Sāhitya is defined at length in Kārikas 16-17 and the Vṛtti thereon

“गदितार्थोभावं साहित्यम् । अनयोः शब्दार्थयो या काव्यलौकिकी चेतनचमत्कारकारिताया कारणम् अवस्थितिः, विचित्रैव विन्यासभेदी । कीदृशी अन्यनानतिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिणी, परस्परस्पर्धित्वरमणीया । यस्या द्वयोः एकतरस्यापि न्यूनत्व निक्षेपो न विद्यते, नाप्यतिरिक्तत्वमुत्कर्षो वा अस्तीत्यर्थः । ननु च तथापि सम्भूतं द्वयोरपहतयोरपि संभवति इत्याह—शोभाशालिता प्रति । शोभा सौन्दर्यमुच्यते । तथा गच्छते श्लाघ्यते यः स शोभाशाली, तस्य भावः शोभाशालिता, तां प्रति सौन्दर्यश्लाघिता प्रतीत्यर्थः । सैव च सहृदयाह्लादकारिता । तस्यां स्पर्धित्वेन यासाववस्थितिः परस्परसास्यसुभगम् अवस्थानं सा

अन्यनानतिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिण्यवस्थितिः ॥ V. J. I, 17

गदितार्थोभावं साहित्यम् । अनयोः शब्दार्थयो या काव्यलौकिकी चेतनचमत्कारकारिताया कारणम् अवस्थितिः, विचित्रैव विन्यासभेदी । कीदृशी अन्यनानतिरिक्तत्वमनोहारिणी, परस्परस्पर्धित्वरमणीया । यस्या द्वयोः एकतरस्यापि न्यूनत्व निक्षेपो न विद्यते, नाप्यतिरिक्तत्वमुत्कर्षो वा अस्तीत्यर्थः । ननु च तथापि सम्भूतं द्वयोरपहतयोरपि संभवति इत्याह—शोभाशालिता प्रति । शोभा सौन्दर्यमुच्यते । तथा गच्छते श्लाघ्यते यः स शोभाशाली, तस्य भावः शोभाशालिता, तां प्रति सौन्दर्यश्लाघिता प्रतीत्यर्थः । सैव च सहृदयाह्लादकारिता । तस्यां स्पर्धित्वेन यासाववस्थितिः परस्परसास्यसुभगम् अवस्थानं सा

साहित्यमुच्यते । तत्र वाचकस्य वाचकान्तरेण वाच्यस्य वाच्यान्तरेण साहित्यमभिप्रेतम्, वाक्ये काव्य-
लक्षणस्य परिसमाप्तत्वादिति प्रतिपादितमेव ॥” V J p 27.

Word and sense must be so set that neither of them is dull, they are to be of the same power; they are to be so set that they mutually vie in enhancing the beauty of the poem. The expression and the expressed are to be neither more nor less than the other but must be most precise and equally powerful. In the matter of promoting the Rasa and the Camatkāra of the Sahridaya each should emulate the other. This is the first Sāhitya. Similarly one word should vie with another and one idea with another. This is what Kuntaka means by defining Sāhitya as Paraspara-spardhā of Śabda and Artha. He compares the sympathetic co-operation between the two to the understanding between two friends - मृदुदाविव सदात्ता¹

तस्माद्वेतयोः शब्दार्थयोः यथास्व यस्या स्वरापत्तामर्गसमुदायः गहदयहदयहदकारा परस्पर-
स्पर्धया परिस्फुरति, सा काचिदेव वाक्यविन्यासपत् साहित्यव्यपदेशभागमवर्तते । V. J. I p 27

The Sāhitya between one word and another which is one part of Kuntaka's second Sāhitya can also be described in his simile of two intimate friends. The Vaiṣṇavite writer, Parāśarabhaṭṭa, (c 1123-1151 AD) speaks of this Sāhitya between one word and another in a composition in another telling simile in a verse of his. He compares the beautiful way in which words in a good composition help each other and together help the main idea commonly, to the best brotherly feeling, Saubhāratā

अनाश्रान्तावय बहुगुणपरीणाह मनरां
दुहान सौहार्द परिचितमिवाथापि गहनम् ।
पदानां सौभ्रात्राद् अनिषिपनिषेव्य श्रवणयोः
स्वमेव श्रीमह्यं बहु मुखस्य वाणीविलम्बितम् ॥

Sāṅkaranarāṇakaśa Śl 8

Thirdly, Kuntaka speaks of this Sāhitya with reference to other elements in expression like Mārga or Rīti, Vitti, Guna, Alamkāra and Vakratā in general. Every part or aspect of expression has to vie with the other towards enhancing the beauty of the poem

किन्तु विशिष्टमेवेह साहित्यमभिप्रेतम् । कीदृशम् ? वक्रताविचित्रगुणालङ्कारसपदां
परस्परस्पर्धाविरोहः ।” V J p 10

“मागानुगुण्यमुभय माधुर्यादिगुणोदय ।
अलङ्करणविन्यास वक्रतातिशयान्वित ॥
वृत्त्यौचित्यमनोहार रसानां परिपोषणम् ।
स्पर्धया विद्यते यत्र यथास्वमुभयोरपि ॥
सा काव्यवस्थितिः तद्विदानन्दस्पन्दमुन्दरा ।
पदादिवाकपरिस्पन्दसारः साहित्यमुच्यते ॥”

V J p 28

1 Kuntaka adds that Śabda and Artha should be such as to beautify each other, they must be for each other's beauty—परस्परस्य शोभायै. To adopt Kālidāsa's words, they are equally so beautiful, that between the two, it is difficult to decide which is the beautifier and which, the beautified.

अन्योन्यशोभाजननाद् बभूव साधारणो भूषणभूयभावः । K S 1

Thus Kuntaka's conception of Sāhitya in general is that the expression (*Vācaka śabda*) and the expressed (*Vācya artha*), as also the several units in either part of Poetry, must be set in a glorious race, competing with each other in making the poem beautiful. This notion of Sāhitya has to base itself on the beauty of the poem or the relish of the Sahrdaya as the test, according to Kuntaka. In this respect the concept means the appropriateness and power of the Vācyavācaka in suggesting the Rasa. For, Rasa, Kuntaka accepts as supreme. Therefore, this conception of Sāhitya generally likens it to the other concept of Aucitya which also figures very much in Kuntaka. Criticising the introduction of Śabdālamkāras with special effort, Kuntaka says that this would result in the loss of Aucitya and through that would mean an over-emphasis on śabda-saundarya and a loss of Sāhitya.

“व्यसनितया प्रयत्नविरचने हि प्रस्तुतौचित्यपरिहाणे वाच्यवाचकयोः परस्परस्पर्धित्वलक्षण-साहित्यविरहः पर्यवस्यति ।” *V J II p 84*

Kuntaka has thus brilliantly expounded the concept of Sāhitya as a great principle in Poetry, as the greatest perfection in expression a poet should attain, namely, the harmony between the expression and the expressed. When Rājaśekhara slightly explained Sāhitya as the proper equipoise between Śabda and Artha—“शब्दार्थयो यथावत्सहभावेन विद्या साहित्यविद्या ”—p. 5, we must understand him as having had in his mind ideas similar to what Kuntaka has expressed. The word Sāhitya is derived from *Sahita*, united. Another explanation can be given bringing out this same significance, namely, the equipoise between Śabda and Artha, the harmony of Kuntaka. The word *Sahita* contains the affix ‘*Sa*’ standing to denote ‘*Samam*’ (समम्) ‘equally’—and the main word is the past passive participle of ‘*Dhā*’, to put, place or set. Thus ‘*Sahita*’ means equipoised word and idea.¹

A comparison of Kuntaka's exposition of Sāhitya with that of Bhoja reveals interesting points. Firstly, Bhoja and Kuntaka start with the same definition of Bhāmaha शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम्. The difference is, Kuntaka emphasises by Sāhitya, a quality of Śabda and Artha resembling Aucitya. Besides that, Kuntaka mentions Rasa, Dhvani, Mārga, and above all Vakrokti. That is, Kuntaka adds to Bhāmaha's definition of Poetry (that Śabda and Artha united, are Kāvya), the Vakrokti in which the Śabda and Artha having Sāhitya, must be set वक्रकव्यापारशालिनि । बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ । *V J I 7*

Thus, though all the varieties of Vakrokti also as forming aspects of expression have to observe Sāhitya, they are not included in Sāhitya. Therefore

1 The author of the Sanskrit introduction to the *Nirnaya Sāgar* Edn of the *Sāhitya Darpana* suggests another derivation for the word Sāhitya. He says that the ‘*Sahabhāva*’ means that Poetry has in it all the eighteen Vidyāsthānas. And he quotes the verse of Bharata and Bhāmaha containing that idea—*Na sa śabdō na tad vācyaṃ* etc.

there are two ideas, Sāhitya and Vakrokti, in Kuntaka's definition of Poetry. Bhoja's conception of Sāhitya differs in being very wide. It means Poetry as a whole in Bhoja, whereas it is a supreme quality of Poetry that has to be present along with Vakrokti according to Kuntaka. Bhoja's Sāhitya means all the manifold activities of the poet's genius, namely elimination of flaws, style and its qualities, figures and diction, and finally making every point of expression the embodiment of Rasa. That is, Bhoja's Sāhitya comprehends not only the whole of Kuntaka's Vakrokti also, but every other thing in Poetry. Beyond Śabda and Artha, the only other fact in Poetry is Sāhitya and under it comes everything else. In another way also Bhoja's Sāhitya is very much wider than that of Kuntaka. For, Sāhitya means all literature and all kinds of Śabdārtha-sambandhas to Bhoja, while to Kuntaka, it means Poetry and a poetic relation only, though he also recognises that ordinarily Sāhitya refers to the Sambandha between Śabda and Artha in general as Vācaka and Vācya. Only, Kuntaka leaves out the consideration of language itself and its inevitable Śabdārtha-sambandhas related to Pada, Vākya and Pramāṇa, and treats only of the poetic Sambandha above all these. Just as Poetry is finer speech, Sāhitya is the finer Sambandha between Śabda and Artha. Rājaśekhara calls Sāhitya or Poetry as the finest essence of all the four Vidyās—*ता हि चतुर्गुणमपि विद्यानां नागन्दः* (p. 4) even as Wordsworth says that Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge. We can say with reference to Sāhitya here, making a slight change, that Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of language.

It is not the concept of Sāhitya in Bhoja that has any exact correspondence to Kuntaka's Sāhitya. It is interesting to note that almost the same idea contained in Kuntaka's Sāhitya, is found in Bhoja's Guṇa called Sammitatva. *शब्दार्थपदत्वं च समित्वमुदाहृतम् । S K Ā I 74*

It is the avoidance of verbiage or 'over expression', it is the use of words enough for the idea on hand. Bhoja further explains this Śabda-sammitatva as the quality of Śabda and Artha being as if held in a balance.

अत्र अर्थस्य पदानां च तुल्यार्थतत्त्वं तुल्यत्वेन समित्वम् । S K Ā I p 58

This is what Kuntaka means by his Sāhitya which he describes as Anyūna-anatmikṭatva of word and idea being neither more nor less than each other. Sammita means well-adjusted or harmonised utterance. The above-given definition is of the Śabda-guṇa, Sammitatva, and Bhoja has the same Guṇa for Artha also. The difference between the two is that in the former the poet weighs the adequacy of expression from the point of view of Artha and in the latter, *vice versa*.

शब्दार्थो यत्र तुल्यो स्त समित्व तदुच्यते । S K Ā I 86

Ratneśvara comments on this :

“अर्थस्य विमज्ज तुल्यार्थतत्त्वं प्रतिनिवेश समित्वमिति । अर्थमुद्दिश्य शब्दतुल्यं काव्यभाव-
वीचं शब्दगुणः, शब्दमुद्दिश्य त्वर्थतुल्यमर्थगुणश्च ।” S K Ā I p 71

All qualities of precision, powerfulness, clarity, and such others are comprehended in this weighing of word with idea. Its breach brings in a train of flaws—verbiage or Vithā pallava, Apustārtha, Neyārtha, the Avakara of Mahima Bhatta and so on. When we have too much of words we have Avakara, Pādapūrāṇa, Aprayojaka, etc. When we have inadequate expression we have the Dosa, Neyārtha, by which Prasāda and Arthavyakti are lost. This is perhaps the greatest quality of poetic expression, the peak of perfection of poetic art as Kuntaka says—कविकर्मकौशलकाग्रधिरुडि । V J p 26

This quality is variously called, descriptively and metaphorically. Kuntaka calls it Sāhitya, Anyūna-anatukṭatva or Paraspara-spardhā between Śabda and Artha. The Śabda and Artha having this quality are compared by him to two friends united in some glorious task. Parāśara Bhatta calls them 'brothers' with the best Saubhṛātra feeling. Bhoja calls the same as Śabda-artha-sammitatva and gives the imagery of the poet weighing Śabda and Artha in the scales of a balance. A greater comparison comes from Kālidāsa himself, who gives the simile of the ideal prime divine couple Pārvatī and Parameśvara, the prototype of Man and Woman, in *Raghuvamśa*, I 1. The Sāhitya or Samparka between Śabda (Vāk) and Artha is compared by Kālidāsa to that between Pārvatī and Parameśvara or to the ideal Sāhitya laid down by the Smṛitis between wife and husband. There is no question of inferiority or superiority between the two. Their marriage is sacred and they enter the holy union for the service performed together to Dharma to which they are both and equally subordinate. Rasa or 'beauty' of Kāvya can be likened to that Dharma and Śabda and Artha to the married couple. It is not likely that the great poet wrote the above verse merely to mean by Vāg-artha samparka the well-known and eternal Śabdārtha sambandha. He might have meant it also, but he powerfully suggests here the Viśiṣṭa Sāhitya or the Viśiṣṭa sambandha. Similarly there is no 'Sārasya' or credit to the great poet to say that by 'Vāgartha pratipatti,' Kālidāsa prayed for the attainment of proficiency in lexicography, in words and meanings. The compound is often explained by Mm Professor Kuppaswami Sastrī as meaning the same as Kuntaka's Sāhitya or Spardhā between Vāk and Artha or the understanding between the two वागर्थयो परस्परप्रतिपत्तिः । It is for this great quality of Poetry that Kālidāsa prays for. He describes it with the simile of the prime divine couple, Ardhanaṛiśvara, as Śabda and Artha fused together or wedded in perfect sympathy and harmony. It is this same Sāhitya that Wilfred MEYNEIL speaks of in the same conjugal metaphor, in his biographical note attached to a selection of the poems of Francis THOMPSON. He says (of the particular poem, "Sister Songs") : "Sister Songs is a poem to be read aloud, for sound and sense herein celebrate their *divine nuptials*." The same is conveyed by Kālidāsa's comparison of Poetry to Ardhanaṛiśvara. Vidyādhara describes the Śabda and Artha in Poetry in the same metaphor :

बन्धोऽर्धनारीश्वर—

The goddess Pārvatī is Vāk or Śabda, god Paramesvara is Artha,¹ their union as Ardhanārīśvara signifies the greatest ideal of Poetry variously emphasised as Sāhitya, Sammitatva etc., by the above-noticed writers, and by Nīlakantha Dīkṣita, by the following verse

सव्यं वपुः शब्दमय पुरारे-
रथात्मक दक्षिणमामनन्ति ।

अङ्गं जगन्मङ्गलमेश्वरं तद्
अर्हन्ति काव्य कथमल्पपुण्याः ॥ *Śivalīlāmara* I. 15

and which Kālidāsa kept before him when he wrote his immortal poetry

वागर्थाविव संपृक्ता
वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे
पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥²

1. “अर्थः शंभु शिवा वाणी” इति लिङ्गपुण्यम्” quoted by Viśveśvara in the *Kavindrakarmābharaṇa*, p 52, K. M. GUCCIARA 8 रुद्रोऽर्थोऽक्षरस्मोमा तस्मै तस्यै नमो नमः । *Rudrahṛdyopaniṣad*, Adyar Edn of Śaiva upaniṣads, 1925, p 151

2 Kālidāsa is charmed with this idea. He says in his *Kumāra sambhava*, VI 79 तमर्थमिव भारत्या मुतया योक्तुमर्हसि and Mm Prof S. KUPPUSWAMY SASTRI loves to dwell on this passage and to speak of the birth of ‘रम-नकन्द’ as a result of the union of शब्द-पार्वती and अर्थ-परमेश्वर. Since Rasa is ‘अवाच्य’ the poem, K S, stops with the marriage of शब्द and अर्थ, leaving रम-स्कन्द’s birth as a matter of course to be suggested.

CHAPTER IX

UKTI

‘उक्तिविशेषः कान्यम्’

Rājaśekhara, *Karpūramañjarī*, Prologue.

Very intimately related to Bhoja's Alamkāra-synthesis is another synthesis of Bhoja which can be called the *Ukti*-synthesis. Besides the systems of Sāhitya and Alamkāra, there is also a system of Ukti in Bhoja's *Śr Pra*. The history of this concept of Ukti is a very interesting study.

Ukti can be translated as poetic expression or poetic speech as distinguished from expression or speech, either of the ordinary work-a-day life or of the scientific laboratory, the scholastic class room and the philosophical text book. As we say in the Doṣa-prakarana that poetic words are to be neither Grāmya or Loka-mātra-prayukta, ordinary, vulgar, colourless words of our daily routine life, nor Apratīta or Śāstra-mātra-prayukta, technical and pedantic, so also we can say of poetic expression as a whole that it is in that place which is too sanctified for either the Grāmya and the Pāmara or the pure pandit and pedant. It is the very essence of speech, language beautified, a high-power communication. That poetic expression possesses this peculiar beauty or power not found in ordinary talk or writing, scientific treatises or mere historical documents can be seen by every person. That this beauty and power pertain to the *method of expression* can also be seen easily; for, poetic expression or the poetic form depends upon how a thing is said and not upon what is said. The emphasis on what is said is in ordinary talk where we are careless regarding the manner of saying, as also in mere narration of story or history, and in mere recording of scientific or philosophical truths. The same is the case with Law also where again the emphasis is not on how beautifully the thing is expressed. In the history of Sanskrit Poetics¹ it was given to the great critic, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka to enquire into this subject and formulate the following as the difference between Poetry on the one hand and Śāstra and Ākhyāna (Veda and Narration) on the other.

शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः ।

अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः ।

द्वयोर्गुणत्वं व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यमीर्भवेत् ॥ Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.

1 I have discussed this aspect of the question in relation to what the Western writers like ABERCROMBIE have to say on the difference between poetic and other expression in a separate paper on a comparative study of the Sanskrit Alamkāra Śāstra and Western Literary Criticism. Here I deal only with the ideals of the Sanskrit writers on this subject.

“ गात्रं गच्छप्रधानत्वमितिहासेषु (इतिहासेऽर्थे) निष्ठता । आसन्धाया प्रधानत्वात् काव्य ताभ्यां विभज्यते ॥
Agm Purāna, 357 2-3

The Veda is Śabda pradhāna, the Purāna, Artha pradhāna, Kāvya or poetry makes both Śabda and Artha apradhāna, unimportant, and makes Vyāpāra, the most important. The Vyāpāra of Bhāṭṭa Nāyaka is the poet's peculiarly beautiful expression, embellished with Guna and Alamkāra, capable of becoming universalised and producing delight to the reader, i.e., Abhūdā, Bhāvakatva and Bhojakatva

“ भावकत्वमपि समुचितगुणलङ्कारपरिग्रहात्मकमस्माभिरेव चिन्तय्य वक्ष्यते । ”

Locana, p 70.

This beauty of form or the peculiar grace in poetic expression can be called the characteristic poetic Abhūdā vyāpāra, using Abhūdā here in a wide sense. While commenting on the section on the Lakṣanas in Bharata, Abhinavagupta quotes in his *Abhi. Bhā* the above-quoted lines of Bhāṭṭa Nāyaka and equates the idea contained therein with Bhāmaha's conception of Vakrokti. Abhinava also quotes here Bhāmaha -*Sasā sarvaiva vakrokti* etc. Bhāṭṭa Nāyaka distinguished Poetry from Veda whose words cannot be changed at all, and from Ākhyāna, story or semi-historic narration in which the story or the events (Artha) alone count. But in Poetry one looks to the beautiful way in which a story is told and the words are used. The 'beautiful way of expression' is the thing. As mere expression it has to interest us. In all other expressions related to our daily life, scientific literature etc., we are interested more in the Artha. The Artha is the 'Tattva' in those cases; in poetry, the manner in which the poet has said those things is the 'Tattva'. It is only an inelegant way of saying this that is contained in the following given as Udbhaṭa's observation in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara

“ अस्तु नाम निस्सीमा अर्थमार्थ । किन्तु द्विरूप एवामो, विचारितमुक्ता, अविचारितरमणीयश्च । तयोः पूर्वमाश्रितानि शास्त्राणि, तदुत्तर काव्यानि ’ इत्यौदुष्टा.¹ । *K M*, p 44

The Vastu svarūpa is comparatively less important than the Bhaṅgi Bhaṅgi, the beautiful manner of poetic expression. Says Rājasekhara's wife, Avantī-sundarī .

“ वस्तुस्वभावोऽत्र कथंरतन्त्र गुणगुणवृत्तिवशेन काव्ये ।

स्तुवन्निवन्नात्यमृताशुमिन्दु निन्दस्तु दोषाकरमाह धृति ॥ ”

and “ ‘विदग्धमणिनिर्मलनिवेद्यं वस्तुनो रूपं न नियतस्वभावम्’ इति अवन्तिमुन्दरी । ”

K M, p 46

The same idea is stressed by poet Nilakantha Dikṣita in a verse in the first canto of his *Śvalīlānava mahākāvya* .

यानेव शब्दान वयमालपाम यानेव चार्थान वयमुल्लिखाम ।

तैरेव विन्यासविशेषमर्थैः समोद्दयन्तं कवयो जगन्ति ॥ I 13

1. Is this from Bhāmaha Vivaraṇa, on Bhāmaha, V, 33

‘तत्र लोकाश्रय काव्यमागता तत्त्वदर्शिनः ।’ ?

This Vinyāsa viśesa is the secret of Bhatta Nāyaka's Vyāpāra It is what Bhāmaha calls Vakra-ukti and Rājasekhara, Ukti.

To Rājasekhara, I think, must go the credit of making important the word Ukti We find in the list of Alamkāras given by Bhāmaha, Samāsa-Ukti, Atiśaya-Ukti, Svabhāva-Ukti, Viśesa-Ukti and Saha-Ukti, and above all Vakra-Ukti In all these we find the Viśesa as Ukti qualified by different attributes Here it is that the conception of Ukti was born Ukti as such came to mean poetic utterance and soon there was felt to be no need to qualify Ukti by the attribute of Vakra to mean poetic expression as a whole Rājasekhara, while describing the Kāvya Purusa, says that his speech is rich in Ukti : उत्तिष्ठन्ते वचः । K M p 6 All Alamkāras are Vakrokti to Bhāmaha but poetic expression itself is denoted by Ukti What we have now as the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* is only the first chapter thereof named *Kavirahasya*. According to Rājasekhara himself, his next chapter dealt with Ukti औक्तिम् उत्तिष्ठन् । It is a pity that we have lost the bulk of Rājasekhara's treatise. It must be in that chapter on Ukti that Rājasekhara classified the various Uktis into which poetic expression could be brought Classifying poets, he says on p 27 (1 5) that there is a class of poets called Ukti-Kavis and on p. 28 he illustrates his Ukti-Kavi thus :

उक्तिकविः—

‘उद्गमिदमनिन्द्य मानिनीश्रासलाग्य
स्तनतटपरिणाहो दोलताल्लङ्घसीमा ।
स्फुरति च वदनेन्दुः दृक्प्रणालीनिषेयः
तदिह मुदृशि कल्याः केलयो यौवनस्य ॥’

This is an intensely animated description full of specially graceful expressions teeming with the Samādhi guna This is Ukti in a restricted sense Another instance of Ukti in a restricted sense is found in what Rājasekhara calls Śāstra-Ukti—सेयं ज्ञात्वाऽक्तिः (p 3) regarding the verse द्वा मुपर्णा सयुजा etc. In another context also Ukti in a restricted sense is mentioned by Rājasekhara

“या शब्दग्रामम्, अर्थसार्थम्, अलङ्कारतन्त्रम्, उक्तिमार्गम्, अन्यदपि तथाविधमधिहृद्य प्रतिभासयति, सा प्रतिभा ।” p 11, K M

From this restricted sense, the larger concept of Ukti developed even as the concept of Vakrokti Ukti in a general sense emphasising the beauty peculiar to Poetry as distinguished from other writings is found used by Rājasekhara himself in a verse in the Prologue to his *Karpūramanjari*

अर्थविशेषो. त एव शब्दास्त एव परिणमन्तोऽपि ।

उक्तिविशेषः काव्यं भाषा या भवतु सा भवतु ॥

Neither is the idea (Artha) the point, nor the mere word (Śabda) but the manner of expressing that idea in words, Ukti-viśesa, is the thing which makes for Poetry This verse and that of Nīlakantha Dīkṣita quoted above correspond exactly Abhinavagupta, while elucidating Bharata's concept of Laksana in his *Abhi Bhā* equates Bhāmaha's Vakrokti with Bhatta Nāyaka's Vyāpāra

and these with the concepts of Bandha, Gumpā, Bhaṇṭi, and lastly Laksana (See p 65, Vol VI, *J.O.R. Madras*, my article on Laksana) To these concepts meaning the peculiar poet's expression, the concept of Ukti gets equated

The word Ukti occurs in Bhoja both as a Guna and as an Alamkāra The Guna of Ukti has two varieties, one of the Śabda, the other of the Artha The Śabdaguna Ukti is defined by Bhoja as a graceful turn of expression—*Viśiṣṭa bhaṇṭi*

विशिष्टा भणितिर्या स्याद् उक्ति तां कवयो विदुः । S K Ā I p 60

In his *Vṛtti* and comments on the verse illustrating this Śabda-Ukti Bhoja uses the phrase Ukti Bhaṅgi One asks another about somebody's welfare and instead of saying straight whether she is well or ill, the other person says 'she lives', and the whole verse delicately portrays the lady's pitiable plight That mode of expression powerfully suggests her suffering, describing her as simply living, *Jīvita-mātra-śeṣā* This is the excellence of expression, Ukti guṇa, and it is a mode of expression as a whole, a mode that is characteristic of poetry as such. Not altogether different from this Śabda guṇa of Ukti is Bhoja's Artha guṇa, of that same name The beauty is achieved more by words, comparatively speaking, in the Śabda guṇa whereas, in the Artha guṇa of Ukti, the idea is given in subtle turns and shades and is expressed or suggested by peculiarly graceful elaborations.

उक्तिर्नाम यदि स्वार्थो भङ्ग्या भव्योऽभिधीयते ।

अत्र अभीष्टस्य नायकनायिकासंगमस्य भङ्ग्या भगनमुक्तिः । S K Ā I p. 73

Between *Viśiṣṭa Bhaṇṭi* or Ukti Bhaṅgi and Bhaṅgyā bhaṇana, there is no fundamental difference These two classes of Ukti are not mere Gunas appearing in a part of a specific piece of poetry but constitute the distinguishing mark of poetic expression itself.

Besides these two kinds of Ukti of Śabda and of Artha, which is a Guna, Bhoja recognises a Śabda-Alamkāra called Ukti It is defined in S.K.Ā. II, 42 (p 146) and is held as the several kinds of expression named by Bhoja in the following manner *Vidhi-Ukti*, *Nisedha-Ukti*, *Adhikāra-Ukti*, *Vikalpa-Ukti*, *Niyama-Ukti* and *Paṇsankhyā-Ukti* Under his Śabda-Alamkāra called *Chāyā* also Bhoja gives a set of Uktis *Loka-Ukti*, *Cheka-Ukti*, *Arbhaka-Ukti*, *Unmatta-Ukti*, *Polā-Ukti* and *Matta-Ukti* Keśava, in I 2 of his *Alamkāra-śekhara*, makes Bhoja's *Chāyā* his Ukti, and classifies this Ukti into the Uktis of *Loka*, *Cheka*, *Arbhaka* and *Unmatta* This Ukti which Keśava derives from both the Śabdālamkāras of Bhoja, Ukti and *Chāyā*, is constituted by Keśava as one of three 'Bahirangas', external parts, of poetic expression He says at the end of I 2 that of this and of how these are to be related to *Rasa*, he has spoken at length in his other Alamkāra treatise named *Alamkāra-sarvasva* which unfortunately is not available to us now. Perhaps it is Rājaśekhara who described Ukti as a 'Bahiranga' along with *Rīti* and Keśava might have followed him. It has been pointed out in the notes to the Gaek Edn of the *K M* of Rājaśekhara that a quotation from

the lost Alamkāra section of the *K M.* is quoted in this Keśava's work, *A Śekhara* I have spoken of this elsewhere, in the section on Alamkāra, in this thesis

The meaning of the term Ukti in both the Śabdālamkāras of Chāyā and Ukti is very narrow ; but both the Śabda and the Artha Guṇas of Ukti, though Bhoja restricts their meaning by some sort of definition, show how the term means the poetic mode of expression in general, Viśistā Bhaṇti and Bhangyā Abhidhāna Ratneśvara's comments make this clear Under the Śabdaguṇa Ukti, he says

“ लोकोत्तराः सन्ति हि भणितिप्रकाराः (,) लोकप्रसिद्धाः (द्वाश्च) । यथा, सुप्तोऽसीति प्रश्ने गृहे देवकुले वेत्यादि । एतत्प्रसिद्धिव्यतिक्रमेण तु या काचित् कविप्रतिभया भणितिराकृष्यते, सा भवति लोकोत्तरा । तथा च प्रतिभाकृष्टतया चमत्कारित्वाद् गुणत्वम् । अत एव कवय इत्याह । कविमहृदयानामेव तादृगोक्तिपरिचयसंभवात् । ” p. 60.

Under the Arthaguna Ukti, he says

“ स्वीयोऽभीष्टोऽर्थः, स्वार्थः, तस्य साक्षात्प्रतिपादनमनुचितमपि अर्थान्तरभङ्गिभि प्रतिपादन-मर्थगुणः । ”

Expressing in a manner uncommon in ordinary talk, expressing not straightly and baldly but imaginatively, giving a turn to the expression, giving the idea a hiding and revelation through deft suggestion—these constitute Ukti and thus it is clear that the Ukti Guṇa of Bhoja rises above itself and means poetic expression in general

Bhoja does mean that Ukti refers comprehensively to poetic utterance He agrees with Rājaśekhara who says ‘Ukti viśeṣaḥ kāvyaṃ’ and restates Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka that while Śāstra is Śabda Pradhāna and Itihāsa, Artha Pradhāna, *Kāvya* is *Ukti Pradhāna*. This, Bhoja clearly says in his description of his Śabdālamkāra called Adhyeya, where Bhoja distinguishes Kāvya, Śāstra and Itihāsa He says (*S. K. A.* p 260) :

“ तदिदम् उक्तिप्रधान्यात् काव्यमित्युच्यते । ” “ शब्दस्य प्रधान्यमिति शासनात् शास्त्रमिदम् ” “ अतीतार्थप्रधान्याद् इतिहासः । ”

In the same context Bhoja says more briefly in the *Śr. Pra* (Vol. II, p 285) :

“ तेषु उक्तिप्रधानं काव्यम् । ” “—शब्दप्रधानं शास्त्रम् । ” “ अर्थप्रधानं इतिहासः । ” Earlier also while dealing with Vivakṣā, Bhoja says in the *Śr. Pra*

“ तत्र शब्दप्रधानमपौरुषेय, मन्त्रो ब्राह्मण च । + + अर्थप्रधानमाधे, स्मृतिरितिहासश्च । (उभय) प्रधानं पौरुषेय च । ”

remarks which closely correspond to what Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka has said.

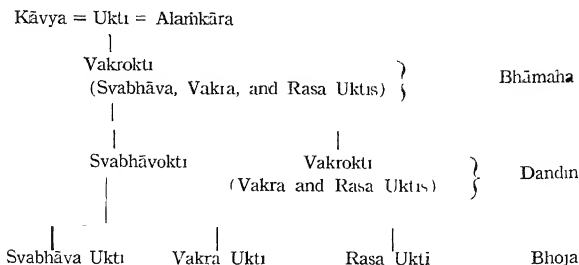
In another place, in chapter xi of the *Śr. Pra*, Bhoja synthesises the whole realm of poetic expression in the concept of Ukti, in an attempt which achieves at the same time another synthesis in Alamkāra In a separate paper on Svabhāvokti (*Indian Culture*, V, pp 147-165) and in the section on the Svabhāvokti according to Bhoja in this thesis also, I have gone into the ques-

tion in great detail and here I briefly cover the ground. Bhāmaha had an Alamkāra-synthesis namely Vakrokti. Poetry had something strangely beautiful and it was diagnosed as Vakrokti. Within this Vakrokti Bhāmaha had figures like Upamā and Rūpaka, Rasas, and Natural Description. Alamkāra, Rasavad Alamkāra and Svabhāvokti. I am of opinion that Bhāmaha did recognise Svabhāvokti as an Alamkāra, but he differed from Dandin in this point. Even though a given instance of natural description is devoid of that amount of Alamkāra as is seen in other turns of ideas and expression found in other Alamkāras, it is all the same Alamkāra since even this natural description has a special charm born of the poet's genius and, in an unmistakable degree differs from ordinary bald non-literary utterance. Rasas are considered Alamkāras because they also go to beautify expression only. This is the stage in Bhāmaha. Dandin represents the next. Dandin realises that Svabhāvokti cannot be strictly included in Vakrokti, for, in it, Vakratva or 'out-of-the-way-ness' is least. So he divides Kāvya-Ukti into the two Uktis of Svabhāva-Ukti and Vakra-Ukti.

मित्र द्विधा स्वभावाक्तिं वक्रोक्तिश्चेति वाचमयम् ।

He however retains expressions dominated by Rasa. Rasavad Vacah under expressions beautified by Alamkāra, the Rasavad alamkāra. He follows Bhāmaha but amplifies by treating of all the eight Rasas in Rasavad alamkāra. Dandin however is aware of a strange superiority in expressions dominated by Bhāvas and Rasas; he sees that the three cases of Preyas, Rasavat and Ūrjasvi Alamkāras are superior Alamkāras as compared to other Vakroktis. Hence he says—युक्तोत्कर्षं च तत् त्रयम् ।—II 275

Bhoja takes the suggestion contained here in Dandin's remark युक्तोत्कर्षं च तत् त्रयम् । and makes a logical analysis of poetic expression into three departments, Natural Description of objects, Figurative Description and Delineation of Emotion. Svabhāva-Ukti, Vakra-Ukti and Rasa Ukti. All these three are kinds of Ukti and Bhoja means by Ukti 'poetic expression' which he calls by the name Alamkāra also. For, to Bhoja, Gunas and Rasas also are Alamkāras, thus Ukti means Alamkāra, the beautiful poetic expression as a whole.



Says Bhoja in Chapter XI of his *Śr Pra*

“त्रिविधः खल्वलङ्कारवर्गः, वक्रोक्तिः, स्वभावोक्तिः, रसोक्तिरिति । तत्र उपमायलङ्कारप्राधान्ये वक्रोक्तिः, सोऽपि गुणप्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः, विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसयोगात् रसनिष्पत्तौ रसोक्तिरिति ।”

In Chapter V of his *S K Ā* also, Bhoja says :

वक्रोक्तिश्च रसोक्तिश्च स्वभावोक्तिश्च वाङ्मयम् ।

सर्वासु ग्राहिणी तासु रसोक्ति प्रतिजानने ॥ —V 8

It was noted above how it was Ukti or Bhaṅgi Bhaṅgi that distinguished poetic utterance from other utterances. The equation of Ukti with such concepts as Vakrokti, Alamkāra and Nāyaka's Vyāpāra was also made. The observation of Rājāśekhara, ‘Ukti viśeṣaḥ kāvyam’ was taken as defining Poetry on the basis of this conception of Ukti. It was interpreted as the peculiar poetic manner of expression and as the most important factor and mark in Poetry as compared to the elements of Śabda and Artha, both of which are subordinate to it. It was shown how this definition was similar to Nāyaka's definition based on Vyāpāra prādhānya.

The observation of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is re-stated by Mahima Bhaṭṭa with a change. Mahima Bhaṭṭa holds that Poetry is utterance in which neither Śabda alone nor Artha alone is important but both together. He says that Kāvya is Ubhaya-pradhāna instead of saying like Nāyaka that Kāvya is Vyāpāra-pradhāna and Ubhaya-apradhāna. He says

“त्रिविधं हि शास्त्रम्, शब्दप्रधानम्, अर्थप्रधानम्, उभयप्रधानं चेति । तत्र शब्दप्रधानं वेदादि, अध्ययनादेव अभ्युदयश्रवणात्, मनागपि पाठविपर्ययं प्रत्यवायश्रवणाच्च । अर्थप्रधानमितिहासपुराणादि, तस्य अर्थवादमात्ररूपत्वात् । उभयप्रधानं सर्गवन्वादिकाव्यम्, तस्य रसात्मकत्वात्, रसस्य च उभयौचित्येन परिपोषदर्शनात् । काव्यस्यापि शास्त्रत्वं प्रतिपादितमेव ।”

V V III, p. 122 T. S S See also I p 20

Bhoja must be said to follow Mahima Bhaṭṭa's modified statement of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's distinction between Kāvya on the one hand and Śāstra and Ākhyāna on the other. For, as has been noted above in the text quoted from chapter VII of the *Śr Pra* Bhoja also does not say that in Poetry both Śabda and Artha are subordinated (made Apradhāna or Guna) to something else but says that in Poetry both are Pradhāna.

“तत्र शब्दप्रधानमपौरुषेयं × × × अर्थप्रधानमापौरुषेयं × × × (उभय) प्रधानं पौरुषेयम् ।”

Vol. II, p 18

The charm of a poet's verses is lost when their words are changed and ideas modified. Thus it is that Poetry is Ubhaya-pradhāna. This is called by another as maturity of expression—Kāvya Pāka—when the poet has written such lines that even a slight change spoils the effect. Says Rājāśekhara

पदनिवेशनिष्कम्पता पाकः इत्याचार्याः । तदाहुः—

‘आवापोद्धरणे तावद् यावद्दोलायते मनः ।

पदानां स्थापिते स्थैर्ये हन्त सिद्धा सरस्वती ॥’

इति वामनीयाः । × × × × पदानां परिवृत्तिवैमुख्यं पाठः ' इति वामनीयाः । तदाह —

‘यत्पदानि त्यजन्त्येव परिवृत्तिरादृष्टान्तम् ।

तं शब्दन्यायनिष्णाताः शब्दपाकं प्रचक्षते ॥’ (Vāmana, I 3) ”

K M, p 20

In this Kāvya Pāka which means the ‘unchangeability’ of the words in Kāvya, is emphasised the same idea as is contained in Mahirva Bhaṭṭa's and Bhoja's remark that Poetry is Ubhaya-pradhāna

This maturity of Ukti or poetic expression — Kāvya, Pāka or Ukti Pāka — is given by Bhoja as a Guna called Praudh of Śabda and Artha immediately after the Guna, Ukti

That we are justified in finding such an Ukti-synthesis or a system of thought called Ukti in Bhoja can be granted when one sees what Bahurūpa-misra, a latter-day commentator on the *Daśarūpa*, who reproduces many ideas from Bhoja's *Śr Pra*, has to say. Bahurūpa chooses the word ‘Sūkti’ instead of ‘Ukti’ and shows Bhoja's three-fold classification of it and relates to this viewpoint, as we have ourselves done above, the Abhidhā-prādhānya of Poetry of Nāyaka and the Vakrokti-idea of Poetry of Bhāmaha. It is a pity that the text of Bahurūpa's *Daśarūpa vyākhyā* in two volumes in the Madras Govt Oriental MSS Library comes to an abrupt end here. Bahurūpa says .

“केचित् शोभाकरत्वं-अविशेषात् रसगुणयोरलङ्कारत्वं मन्यन्ते । तन्मते त्रिविधा सूक्तिः स्वभावोक्तिः, वक्रोक्तिः, रसोक्तिरिति । तत्र गुणप्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः, उपमाहृपकायलङ्कारप्राधान्ये वक्रोक्तिः, विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद् रसनिष्पत्तौ रसोक्तिः । अतः शब्देन अर्थप्रतिपादनं भूषयितुं यत् कविना उपादी (यते, तत्सर्वम् अलङ्कारः) । अत एव भट्टनायकेन अभिभाव्यापारः (काव्ये प्रधानमित्युक्तम्) ।

(शब्द) प्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र गार्हं पृथग्विदुः ।

अर्थे तत्त्वेन युक्ते तु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः ।

द्वयोर्गुणत्वे (व्यापारप्राधान्ये) काव्यमेव तत् ॥

मामहेनापि— ‘मैषा सर्वेव (वक्रोक्तिरन्यार्था) विभाव्यते ।’

.....

| ” pp 107-8, Mad Ms Bahurūpamiśra's *D R Vyā* I 341

APPENDIX

(1) The *Agm Purāṇa*, in 337|2-3, states Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's remark on the difference between Kāvya, and Śāstra and Itihāsa thus

शास्त्रे शब्दप्रधानत्वमितिहासेषु (इतिहासेऽर्थ) निष्ठता ।

अभिधायः प्रधानत्वात् काव्यं तान्या विभियते ॥

(2) Commenting on Dandin II, 13, that in Śāstras it is all one statement of things as they are—Svabhāva ākhyāna—and that in Poetry also there are a few cases of this Svabhāva ākhyāna—

शास्त्रेष्वस्यैव साम्राज्यं काव्येष्वप्येतदीक्षितम् ।

The *Hṛdayaṅgamā* points out that Śāstras are Tattva Pradhāna or concerned with truthful statement of facts and things as they are, but Poetry is *Var-nanā Pradhāna*, Poetry emphasises the mode of giving the thing, 'description' or 'expression' as such

“शास्त्रेषु धर्माधर्मादिशास्त्रेषु अनृतवचनाभावात् अस्थैव स्वभावालङ्कारस्य साम्राज्यं संपत्ति-
र्भवति । काव्येषु वर्णनाप्राधान्याद् असत्यवचन कल्पितमपि च अस्ति ।”

K Ā, p 64, Mad Edn

(3) Vidyādhara thus explains Bhatta Nāyaka's remark in his *Ekāvalī*

शब्दप्रधान वेदाम्ब्य प्रभुसंमितमुच्यते ।

ईपत्याठान्यथापाठे प्रत्यवायस्य दर्शनात् ॥

इतिहासादिक शास्त्रं मित्रसंमितमुच्यते ।

अस्यार्थवादरूपत्वात् कथ्यतेऽर्थप्रधानता ॥

ध्वनिप्रधानं काव्यं तु कान्तासंमितमीरितम् ।

शब्दार्थो गुणतां नीत्वा व्यञ्जनप्रवणं यतः ॥

I 4-6.

As a follower of Ānanda and Abhinavagupta, Vidyādhara has interpreted the Vyāpāra as Dhvani, following Abhinavagupta's observation to that effect in the *Locana*

“तेन यदाह भट्टनायकः ‘शब्दप्राधान्यं + काव्यधीर्भवेत् ।’ इति तदपास्तम् । व्यापारो हि
यदि ध्वननात्मा रसनास्वभावः, तन्न अपूर्वमुक्तम् ।” *Locana*, p 27

CHAPTER X

BHOJA AND VAKROKTI

‘वक्रोक्तिरेव काव्यानां परा भूषेति मामहः ।’

Bhoja Śi Pra Ch. XI

The history of the concept of Vakrokti must be older than Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, for, we find it used with settled connotation in the works of both writers. It is needless to point out here the very well-known passages on Vakrokti in Bhāmaha. To him, Vakrokti means Alamkāra

वाचां वक्तृशब्दोक्तिरलङ्काराय कल्पते । V 66

युक्त वक्रस्वभावोक्त्या सर्वमवैतदिष्यते । I 30

In his description of the Aśīyukti Alamkāra (II, 85) he has used the word Vakrokti as a synonym of Alamkāra. Therefore according to Bhāmaha, the whole realm of poetic expression is permeated with Vakrokti, striking, deviating expression. In II, 86-87, Bhāmaha refutes Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa, that they do not deserve to be called Alamkāra because, in them, the expression as a whole has no Vakrokti in it

समुदायमिधानस्य वक्रोक्त्यनभिधानतः । II, 86

This Vakrokti is the one requisite and it distinguishes poetic expression as such. In its absence, Bhāmaha says, we have no Kāvya, but only insipid narration, speech or mere news called Vārtā

गतोऽस्तमको भर्तान्दु यान्ति वामाय पक्षिण ।

इत्येवमदि किं काव्य ?—वातांभेना प्रचक्षते ॥ II, 87

Therefore the distinction in Bhāmaha is between ordinary and poetic expression, Vārtā and Vakrokti. This point as well as another that Bhāmaha does accept Svabhāvokti as an Alamkāra has been elaborately explained by me in my paper on Svabhāvokti (*Indian Culture*, V, pp 147-165). None can deny that ‘natural description’ or Svabhāvokti is a striking and powerful portraiture, and as such, differs from mere report of news or ordinary dull speech. Mammata points out that it is this amount of strikingness and effect in Svabhāvokti that we take as Vacītrya and count it as an Alamkāra. Even the opponent of Svabhāvokti as an Alamkāra, Kuntaka, who refuses to consider it as an Alamkāra on the plea that Vastu svabhāva is not Alamkāra but is Alamkārya,—even he accepts that instances of graceful and effective pen-pictures of Nature, men, and things as they are found, constitute Vastu Vakratā (III Unmesa). It is by virtue of this element of Vakratā in it that Bhāmaha also considers it as one of the Alamkāras coming under Vakrokti. It is not unreasonable to hold Svabhāvokti also as an Alamkāra and Vakrokti,

when one can accept delineation of Rasa as a Vakrokti-variety called Rasavat Bhāmaha, thus, has one universe of Vakrokti, falling into three departments, the description of things as they are (अर्थस्य तदवस्थायं, -स्वभावोक्तिः) more definitely deviating striking expression deserving the name Vakrokti to the greatest degree, Rūpaka, etc., and thirdly, delineation of Rasa, Rasavad Alamkāra

In Dandin, there appears a clearer analysis Svabhāvokti no doubt involves strikingness, but strikingness is least in it. It is almost the starting point for further Alamkāra or Vakrokti. So it is that Dandin separates it and calls it the first Alamkāra, *Ādyā Alamkṛtiḥ*. He classifies poetic expression into Vakrokti and Svabhāvokti, description of things as they are and figurative description. The cases of Rasa-delineation, Dandin still keeps like Bhāmaha within Vakrokti.

The third stage is reached in Bhoja who makes a further analysis of poetic expression. Elsewhere, in the sections on Ukti, Alamkāra and Svabhāvokti, I have spoken of this subject. Bhoja takes the suggestion directly from Dandin and by Bhoja's time, Rasa has become sufficiently important. Though he described the three Alamkāras of Preyas, Rasavat and Ūrjasvi as Vakrokti, Dandin realised that they, as related to Bhāvas and Rasas, are of a special nature and of greater appeal. Hence it is that he said of them that they were superior युक्तोत्कर्षचतुत्रयम् । Bhoja includes Preyas and Ūrjasvi under Rasavat. He constitutes a class called Rasavad Alamkāra which is the delineation of Rasas and Bhāvas, and he separates it from other kinds of Vakrokti. This is a better treatment, for, delineation of Rasa has greater affinities with Svabhāvokti than with Vakrokti. As Jayaratha on Ruyyaka and Ruyyaka himself also point out, the Sahridaya has a Samvāda in Poetry and it is of two kinds Citta Samvāda and Vastu Samvāda. The former refers to delineation of Rasa and Bhāva, and the latter, to descriptions of Artha or objects. Both are natural non-figurative descriptions and are Rasavad-Alamkāra and Svabhāvokti. Though Bhoja, following Bhāmaha, Dandin and Vāmana would call the whole realm of poetic expression Alamkāra, he would restrict the name Vakrokti to figures beginning with Upamā. Improving upon both Bhāmaha and Dandin, he would separate and exclude the Rasas from it. Thus he says in his S. K. Ā Chapter V :

वक्रोक्तिश्च रम्योक्तिश्च स्वभावोक्तिश्च वाङ्मयम् । śl 8.

In Chapter XI of the *Śi Pra* he says that an instance like 'धूमोऽयमग्नेः' is no Alamkāra, because, the necessary Vakratā or poetic beauty is not seen in it. He speaks here of Vakratā or Vakrokti as Alamkāra-sāmānya-laksana, Kāvya śobhā as such.

“न चैतद्वाच्यं ‘धूमोऽयमग्नेः’ इत्यात्रार्थान्तरन्यासः प्रसजेत् । यद्यपि धूमस्य उत्पादस्य साधनसमर्थोऽग्निः, तथापि

‘काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मान् अलङ्कारान्प्रचक्षते’

इत्येतदपि सर्वालङ्कारसाधारणं लक्षणम् अनुसर्तव्यम् । आत्मगतं गतिं सर्वालङ्कारजातयो
वक्रोक्त्यभिधानवाच्या भवन्ति । तदुक्तम्—

वक्रत्वमेव काव्यानां परा भूयति मामह ।

ऋष. पुष्पाति सर्वांगु प्रायो वक्रोक्तिषु त्रयम् ॥¹

नन्वेव सति विभावानुभावव्यभिचारितयोऽप्यद् रसानुपपत्तिरित्यादिना न भवितव्यमेव अलङ्कार-
रेण नैवम् । त्रिविधः खलु अलङ्कारवर्गः, वक्रोक्तिः, स्वभावोक्तिः, रसोक्तिरिति । तत्रापि साधारण-
प्राधान्ये वक्रोक्तिः, गोऽपि गुणप्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः, विभावानुभावव्यभिचारितयोऽप्यद् रसानुपपत्ति-
रसोक्तिरिति ।” *Sr Pra Mad. Ms Vol II chap XI pp 371-2*

Thus Bhoja uses Alamkāra in the sense in which Vāmana used it in his Sūtra I. 1 2. सौन्दर्यमलङ्कारः meaning poetic beauty in general. In this same sense Bhoja uses the concept of Vakrokti also and in this respect he follows Bhāmaha. Therefore in Bhoja we find Vakrokti used in two senses, the major and the minor, the former meaning poetic expression in general and the latter, only the figures of Upamā, Rūpaka etc. In its second sense we have to trace its history as indicated above through Dandin who first restricted Vakrokti to Rasas and figures like Upamā. Finally, Bhoja restricted it to the figures Upamā etc.

It is not enough if one finds in an expression the presence of the technical features of a particular Alamkāra. Besides conformity to the definition, the expression has to exhibit the primary requisite of an all-pervading beauty which alone makes the expression deserve the name of

1 On p 23 of his *Theories of Rasa and Dhvani* Dr A SANKARAN takes this verse as a quotation from Dandin. The first line mentioning the name of Bhāmaha is absent in the printed texts of the *Kāvya-darsa*. Dr SANKARAN feels some gap in Dandin's text as it is in II 362, which gap he says this line in Bhoja's quotation fills up.

The text as printed does not seem to have any gap, secondly, if this half verse is added to the text of Dandin, the 362nd verse at the end of this chapter will have to be ended like an epic Anuṣṭubh with three feet, or, the line भिन द्विधा स्वभावोक्ति वक्रोक्तिश्चेति वाच्यमयम् must stand single. Thirdly, Vakrokti is certainly old enough for use in Dandin as in the line भिन द्विधा etc., but, when one sees the history and the rise and the time of the currency of various words in the Alamkāra Śāstra, one can see that the concept under the bracket name 'Vakratā' or 'Vakratva' is very much later than even Ānanda. My feeling is that, if this is a quotation by Bhoja, it is from some later writer who adapted and incorporated into his text parts of the texts of older writers, making the necessary changes. If one goes through the *Sr Pra* one comes across numerous instances of Bhoja giving verses of old writers with the necessary changes, he quotes Vāmana's Anuṣṭubh on the Vaidarbhī Ritu changing the first line. The Doṣa and Guṇa sections are full of such reproductions with necessary changes from Bhāmaha, Dandin and Vāmana. Therefore it is extremely likely that this verse वक्रत्वमेव काव्यानां परा भूयति मामह is Bhoja's own. One need not be troubled by the introductory words 'तदुक्तम्' which may suggest that the verse is a quotation from another author. We have instances of Bhoja quoting himself with the words 'तदुक्तम्'.

Alamkāra, for Alamkāra is a thing of beauty Bhoja considers this beauty as Vakratva, Vakrokti and Sōbhā and gives a very significant interpretation to Dandin's definition of Alamkāra.

काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मान् अलङ्कारान् प्रचक्षते ।

Herein lies the defence of the Alamkāra school I have spoken of this in my paper on Kriyā Kalpa and Other Names of the Alamkāra Śāstra, published in the *JOR*, Madras (Vol VIII pp 130-132) Taking the idea of Cārutva or beauty as essential from the text of Ānanda, Abhinava elaborates the idea with illustrations in his *Locana* on the third Uddyota of the *Dhvan-yāloka* in the following manner.

“तथाजानीयानामिति—चारुत्वातिशयवतामित्यर्थः । सुलक्षिता इति यत् किल एषा तद्विनिर्मुक्तं रूपम्, न तन् काव्ये अभ्यर्थनीयम् । उपमा हि ‘यथा गौः तथा गवयः’ इति । (रूपकं हि) ‘गौर्वाहीकः’ इति । श्लेषः ‘द्विर्वचने (ऽ चि’ इति) तन्त्रात्मकः । × × × × एवमन्यत् । न चैवमादि काव्योपयोगीति ।” *Locana*, p. 210

Appayya Dikṣita emphasises similarly that expressions derive their life as Alamkāras by being graceful—Hrḍya Otherwise they are not Alamkāras.

“सर्वोऽपि ह्यलङ्कारः कविसमयप्रसिद्धचतुरोधेन हृद्यतया काव्यशोभाकर एव अलङ्कारतां भजते । अतः ‘गोमदशो गवयः’ इति नोपमा । ‘गौर्वाहीकः’ इति न रूपकम् ।”

Citrāmimāṃsā. p. 6.

This has been pointed out by Dr S K De also in the Introduction to his edition of the *Vakrokti Jivita* pp xlvī-lvii The truth has been realised by Bhoja and by Abhinava as the texts above quoted clearly show Hence, it cannot be contended by Dr De that Sanskrit Poetics and the study of the theory of poetic figure owe this idea and its importance to Kuntaka (p. xlvii V. J. Introduction) But it can be accepted that new importance and new enthusiasm for Vakrokti in the post-Ānanda period are due mainly to Kuntaka and his V. J Bhoja takes up the Vakrokti from Bhāmaha and Dandin, independent of any other writer and without any knowledge of Kuntaka. Bhoja and Kuntaka were writing at the same time and it happens in the history and destinies of ideas and subjects, that, at different places, different scholars happen to work at the same idea The current of Vakrokti coming down from the hull of Bhāmaha had two courses There is one culmination in Bhoja and another in Kuntaka Regarding Kuntaka and how he developed the doctrine of Vakrokti or Vakratā as the life of Poetry, there is little need to devote any part of this study.

Though Bhoja definitely put down Vakrokti as a general name for all figures beginning with Upamā, he retained the substance of Bhāmaha's conception of poetic expression as Alamkāra to which also Bhoja applied the name Vakrokti To avoid confusion Bhoja restricts the word Vakrokti to the minor sense of figures Upamā etc., and generally applies the name Alamkāra to the larger concept The use of the word Vakrokti in the larger sense is only rare in Bhoja Elsewhere however Bhoja uses the concept

and name Vakratā in the larger sense of poetic expression as such, forming the very distinguishing mark of Poetry. It seems that Bhoja turns back to concur verbally also with Bhāmaha. It is surprising how Bhoja's standpoint agrees so remarkably with that of Kuntaka. We shall now examine this aspect of the question.

It is in connection with Dhvani, and this again is strange and suggestive, that Bhoja talks of Vakratā. Bhoja holds Dhvani as a variety of Tātparya and also as the poetic counterpart of the prosaic factor of Tātparya. The intention of the speaker in ordinary affairs and expressions is called Tātparya whereas the same, as far as Kāvya is concerned, is called Dhvani. He says 'तात्पर्यमेव वचनि ध्वनिरेव काव्ये' and a perusal of the section on Bhoja and Dhvani will elucidate the point. Bhoja asks himself—wherefore this classification of expression into two kinds, Laukika and Śāstriya on the one hand and poetic on the other? He speaks of Vacas, ordinary expression, and as against it, of Kāvya. He does not say that Dhvani marks off the Kāvya, for, he considers Dhvani as part of Tātparya and as obtainable in ordinary expression also, Dhvani being only another name for Tātparya. Then, what is it that Bhoja finds out as the element which distinguishes the poetic and the non-poetic expression? He says that beauty or poetic charm called Vakratā distinguishes the two. In the ordinary speech there is a blunt straightforwardness in expression and there is no regard for beautifully saying things. The manner of saying things in a beautiful and embellished way is discounted and is considered as an extravagance. When, of course, one praises or abuses, he heightens or lowers and resorts to his powers of praising or damning by the power of his expression. Literary expression now results

“—तात्पर्यं, यन्म्य काव्येषु ध्वनिरिति प्रसिद्धं । तदुक्तम्
'तात्पर्यमेव वचनि ध्वनिरेव काव्ये'

कः पुनरनयो काव्यवचनोः ध्वनितात्पर्ययोः विशेषः / उच्यते

यदवक्रं वचः शास्त्रे लोके च वच एव तत् ।

वक्रं यदर्थवादादौ तस्य काव्यमिति स्मृतिः ॥

Śr Pra Vol I p. 127 chap VI

Again, at the end of his treatment of Dhvani, Bhoja says

“कः पुनः काव्यवचनोः ध्वनितात्पर्ययोः विशेषः / ननु न पुनस्तान् -

यदवक्रं वचः शास्त्रे लोके च वच एव तत् ।

वक्रं यदर्थवादादौ तस्य काव्यमिति स्मृतिः ॥

Śr Pra Vol II p. 42 chap VII

This is almost a definition of Kāvya in terms of Vakratā or Vakrokti and in this respect, Bhoja would use Vakrokti or rather the name Vakratva in the sense of Bhāmaha's Vakrokti, comprehending all the three Uktis of Svabhāva, minor Vakra, and Rasa. Thus Bhoja has a major and a minor

Vakrokti and corresponding to the two, a major and a minor Alamkāra. The conception of two Alamkāras, the major one meaning Saundarya or poetic beauty, and the latter minor Alamkāra meaning only figures like Upamā, corresponds to Vāmana's view. In Bhoja's opinion Dhvani as such does not distinguish Poetry so much as this primary Vakratā without which Kāvya will only be mere Vacas, and as noted earlier, even Alamkāras cease to have any right to deserve that name. Therefore even Dhvani will cease to be poetic when it is not the case of an expression which is essentially beautiful. This insistence on an essential and primary beauty lying at the very basis of poetic expression is accepted by Abhinava also. This has been pointed out by me in the paper on Kriyā Kalpa. With regard to Dhvani, Abhinava says that even Dhvani has to be beautiful

“नन्वेव ‘सिंहो वट्टः’ इत्यत्रापि काव्यरूपता स्यात् । × × × × गुणालङ्कारौचित्यसुन्दर-
शब्दार्थशरीरस्य सति ध्वननात्मनि आत्मनि काव्यरूपताव्यवहारः ।” *Locana* p 17.

“—तेन सर्वत्रापि न ध्वननसद्भावेऽपि तथा व्यवहारः ।” *Ibid* p. 28

This Guṇālamkāra-aucitya-saundarya of the Śabdārtha or the Śarīra of Poetry is held by others as comprehended in the composite concept of Vakratā, Vakrokti or Alamkāra. This is a strong point for the Vakrokti and the Tātparya schools of thought and a somewhat weak point for the Dhvanivādins. Take for instance the implication or the suggestion of a prohibition from an expressed injunction—Niṣedha from Vidhi—as in the well known Gāthā, भ्रमं भ्रमिञ्जु etc. The Dhvani-theorist who refutes the Lakṣanāvādin stresses this as the chief point everywhere that Dhvani cannot be Lakṣanā, since in the latter, the primary sense is incompatible whereas in Dhvani, the primary meaning also is acceptable and as such forms part of the intention of the speaker. If the cleverness of the lady of the Gāthā speaking to the pious man is the point in the verse, if her clever speech is of importance as much as her final intention of preventing him from frequenting the banks of the Godāvarī, if much, if not all, of the poetic beauty of this Gāthā is due only to the way in which the clever lady told the prohibition in the form of an injunction, if the primary sense also matters, the ground is let to the Vakrokti-vādin who considers the out-of-the-way, strange and beautiful expression, Vakra-Ukti, as such, as the life of Poetry, and Dhvani as one of the many elements helping this Vakratā or resulting from this Vakratā. Śrī Harsa, the poet, makes this “reconciliation”, if it can be called so, between Vakrokti and Dhvani, in his own characteristic way of introducing Śāstraic ideas into his poem

निषेधत्रेपो विधिरेप तेऽथवा

तवैव युक्ता खलु वाचि वक्रता ।

विजृम्भित यस्य किल ध्वनेरिदं

विदग्धनारीवदन तदाकरः ॥

N C IX. 50

As one of those following the ancients and as one who emphasises the expression-aspect or the form in the terms Alamkāra and Vakratā, Bhoja considers Dhvani also as an embellisher of expression, as the Guna called Gāmbhīrya (Hence Dhvani is an Alamkāra, for, Bhoja holds all the Gunas as Alamkāras) And Rasas also are taken as Alamkāra by Bhoja. Thus, Rasa, Dhvani, and everything go to make the beauty called Vakratā that is Poetry. So Bhoja will accept Dhvani and will consider it as holding a supreme position in Poetry, 'वर्नरेव काव्यं', but he will at the same time emphasise Vakratā.

BHOJA AND KUNTAKA

There are many similarities between Bhoja and Kuntaka. First of all there is agreement to a notable degree regarding the concept of Vakti or Vakratā considered as the life of Poetry or the very distinguishing mark of Kāvya. In Bhoja, however, there is but a verse on this Vakratā, Kuntaka works out the idea into a whole work. Kuntaka defines Poetry as Śabda and Artha in unison and set in Vakti.

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्त्रकविव्यापारशालिनि ।

बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्यदकारिण ॥ I. 7 V J

2. Bhoja will not deny that his Vakratā which distinguishes Kāvya from Vacas, is synonymous with Alamkāra. He classifies this Vakratā or Alamkāra into Gunas (Svabhāvokti), Arthālamkāras (Vakti in a restricted sense), and Rasas (Rasokti). Kuntaka is a similar reviver of the old Alamkāra. His Vakrokti which is of six kinds is equated by him with Alamkāra. He says that there are only two factors in Poetry, Alamkārya and Alamkāra, the latter is Vakrokti.

काव्यस्यायमलङ्कारः कोऽयम्पूर्वो विधीयते । I. 2 V J

उभावेतावलङ्कारौ तथो पुनरलङ्कारानि ।

वक्त्रोक्तिरेव वैदग्ध्यमङ्गी मणितिरुच्यते ॥ I. 10 V J

To Kuntaka also, therefore, Dhvani which comes under certain aspects of his Vakratā, is Alamkāra. Kuntaka says actually that Gunas also are Alamkāras.

“अलङ्कारशब्दः गरीस्य गोभातिशयकारित्वान् सुन्यतया कटुकारित्वं वर्तते, तत्कारित्वसामान्याद् उपचारादुपमादिषु, तद्वदेव च तत्सदृशेषु गुणेषु—।” --- V. J p. 3

Though Kuntaka expressly refutes at length the older view that Rasas are Alamkāras and accepts mostly the new ideas on Rasa, as on Dhvani, he treats of Rasa as if it is also part of Vakratā, the poet's peculiar mode of expression, as part of his Vastu vakratā. III, 7, pp. 150-3. On the surface one must say that Kuntaka differs from Bhoja, for, while Bhoja follows Bhāmaha's and Dandin's view of Rasa as Rasavad Alamkāra, Kuntaka criticises Bhāmaha on this point. III, 10, pp. 156-166. He holds Rasas as Alamkāryas. But Bhoja and Kuntaka agree in the main that Poetry is

distinguished by Vakratā, that Vakrokti or Vakratā means Alamkāra in general and that Gunas and Dhvani also form part of it. If one can grant that anything coming under Poetry is directly or ultimately a manifestation of the poet's Vakra vyāpāra or Vakratā according to Kuntaka, and if all Vakratā is, as Kuntaka himself says, Alamkāra in a general sense of the term, he can see that Bhoja and Kuntaka completely agree with each other. Bhoja brings under Śabdālamkāra the proper choice of the form of composition, of appropriate language, of appropriate medium of verse or prose, the adopting of the proper Vṛtti and Rīti etc. Most of these are generally comprehended in one or the other of the sub-varieties of the six kinds of Kuntaka's Vakratā. Any element of poetry, Rīti, Dhvani, Śabdālamkāra or Guna, Kuntaka must deal under some kind of his Vakratā.

3 Another point of striking similarity between Kuntaka and Bhoja is that they both recognise the factor called Alamkāra of "Prabandha". Bhoja, it will be explained at length in the Alamkāra section, considers that Gunas and Alamkāras are of two kinds, those of Vākya and those of Prabandha. He gives a set of Gunas and Alamkāras for the work as a whole. This corresponds to some aspects of Kuntaka's Prakaraṇa vakratā and Prabandha vakratā. Thus the second aspect of Prakaraṇa vakratā given by Kuntaka

तद्वृत्तप्रयुक्तेऽपि कथावैचित्र्यवत्सने ।

उत्पाद्यलवलावण्यादन्या भवति वक्रता ॥

corresponds to what Bhoja describes as Prabandha doṣa hāna, avoiding the Anaucityas in the source by new imaginative creations and deviations from the original. *Śr. Pra* chapter xi

Then Kuntaka gives प्रकरणानामनुग्राह्यानुग्राहकभाव as a Prakaraṇa vakratā pp 225-6. Bhoja similarly speaks of Suśliṣṭa sandhitva (सुश्लिष्टसन्धिः) which is explained with reference to Mahākāvya as the unity and the mutual help between the various cantos and subject-divisions forming part of the one unity—Ekavākyaṭā and Prabandha-upakāntva P 431, chapter xi, Vol II, *Śr. Pra*

Kuntaka explains his Vakratā with reference to Kāvya also in IV 9 (P 231)

“कथावैचित्र्यपात्र तद् वक्रिमाणं प्रपद्यते ।

यददृग् सर्ववन्धादेः सौन्दर्याय निवर्धते ॥”

“—यददृग् सर्ववन्धादेः सौन्दर्याय निवर्धते । यज्जलक्रीडादिप्रकरणं महाकाव्यप्रभृतेः उपशोभा-निष्पत्त्यै निवेद्यते ।

Bhoja considers these as Artha-alamkāras of Prabandha

“नगराश्रमशैलमैत्र्यावारणवादिवर्णनम्, ऋतुरात्रिदिवाकास्तमयचन्द्रोदयादिवर्णनम्, नायक-नायिकाकुमारसहायवाहनादिवर्णनम्, मन्त्रदूतप्रयाणसप्राप्ताभ्युदयादिवर्णनम्, वनविहारजलक्रीडामधु-पानमानापगमरतौत्सवादिवर्णनमित्यर्थालङ्काराः ।” P 431. Vol. II. *Śr. Pra*.

The next Vakratā of Prakarana in Kuntaka is about Rasa, the Angin and the Anga, chief and accessory IV 10 pp 232-3 Bhoja considers this as an Artha guna of the Prabandha and calls it "Rasa bhāva niran-taratvam" He explains this as richness in emotions. The one main interest of a single Rasa is like eating one kind of dish continuously, it produces Vairasya, therefore there are to be many subsidiary emotional interests

“रसभावनिरन्तरत्वमित्यनेन रसग्रहणं नापि तद्व्यवहाराणां भावानां परिग्रहेण × ×

× × × × ×
भोजनस्यैवैकरसस्य प्रवन्धस्यापि वैरस्यमपादयति । p 432 Vol II.

Another Vakratā of Prakarana is explained by Kuntaka as the introduction of episodes.

प्रधानवस्तुनिष्पत्त्यै वन्वन्तराजचित्रता ।

यत्रोच्छति मोक्षेणा वापरायस्य वकता ॥ Pp 233-4 V J

This is taken up by Bhoja under two heads. पताकाप्रकर्षादिकल्पनम् and कथान्तरा-नुपपन्नम्, two Ubhayālamkāras of Prabandha (p 443 Vol II. *Sr. Pra*).

Another feature of beauty in a work is the introduction of a drama within a drama Says Kuntaka.

कचित्प्रकरणस्यान्तः स्मृत प्रकरणान्तरम् ।

सर्वप्रवन्धसर्वस्वकलां पुष्पाति वकताम् ॥ p 235 V J

Bhoja counts the same feature as one of the items of his Ubhayālamkāra of Prabandha—गर्भाङ्कविधानम् (p 422 Vol II *Sr. Pra*) Both Kuntaka and Bhoja cite the same instance of the drama within the third act of the *Bālā-rāmāyana* called Sītā svayamvara, श्रवणं, श्रव्यमनं etc (III 12).

The last Prakarana vakratā prakāra spoken of by Kuntaka (p 236) is the well-knit expression of the plot in a drama or in a story, through the successive stages of the development of the purpose in the Sandhis

मुखामिसन्धिसन्ध्यादिसाविधानकवन्धुरम् ।

पूर्वोत्तरानुसङ्गत्या (प्यङ्गा) ना विनिवेशनम् ॥

Bhoja has, corresponding to Kuntaka's phrase 'साविधानकवन्धुरम्' the phrase 'सम्यक्शृङ्खलयोगेन साविधानमुत्तृता' (p 411 Vol II *Sr. Pra*) and corresponding to this Prakarana vakratā, Bhoja has the Ubhayālamkāra बीजचिन्दुपताकाप्रकरी-कायोपकल्पनम्" (p 431) The Śabda guna of Prabandha called Suśiṣṭa sandhitva also refers to this (P. 431)

The last kind of Prabandha vakratā in the text of the V J (as now available in Dr De's Edn) refers to the Vyutpatti derived by a spectator or a reader, the spiritual, ethical, or the social end

नूतनोपायनिष्पन्नयवत्सोपदेशिनाम् ।

महाकविप्रवन्धानां सर्वेषामस्ति वकता ॥ V J p 245

This Bhoja calls as the Mahāvākyaārtha which helps man's attainment of the four aims of virtue, desire, material prosperity, and spiritual salvation. Bhoja holds this Mahāvākyaārtha as a transformation, Viparināma, of the Śabda Brahman.

“यस्तु तद्वपराभायणादिप्रवन्धार्थानाम् अवधारणेन उपहितसंस्कारस्य” “रामवद् वर्तितव्यं, न रावणवद्” इत्यादिविधिनिषेधप्रतिभाविशेष उपजायते, स समस्तविश्वव्यापी चतुर्वर्गैकहेतुः. परो महा-वाक्यार्थः अर्थमूर्त्या विपरिणतमनादिनिघनम् अखण्डं शब्दब्रह्मेति उच्यते ।

अखण्डं सैव वाक्यार्थः शब्दब्रह्मेति गीयते ।

शब्दब्रह्मणि निष्ठातः परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥

इदमाद्य पदस्थानं सिद्धिसोपानपर्वणाम् ।

इयं सा मोक्षमाणानामजिह्वा राजपद्धतिः ” ॥ (Vākya-padīya).

P 143 Chap. VIII. Vol II *Śr Pra*

Of this Mahāvākyaārtha, Bhoja speaks at greater length in chapter vi (Vol I, p. 407 onwards) .

“सर्वं हि वाक्यं विधिनिषेधयोरेव पर्यवस्यति । × × किञ्च महावाक्यैरपि रामायणादिभिरिदमेव व्युत्पाद्यते । रामस्य पितुराज्ञां पालयतः वननिवासिनोऽपि तथाविधोऽभ्युदयः सञ्चतः, रावणस्य परदारान् अभिलष्यतः त्रैलोक्यविजयिनोऽपि तथाविध उच्छेदः । तस्मात् पितुराज्ञा पालयेत्, परदारान् नाभिलष्येत्, रामवद्वर्तेत, न रावणवद्, इति ।”

He speaks of this twice again in his two Prabandha-features—

‘चतुर्वर्गफलायत्तत्त्वम्’ and ‘विधिनिषेधव्युत्पादकत्वम्’ p 430. Vol II.
a Prabandha guṇa and a Prabandha alamkāra.

“चतुर्वर्गफलायत्तत्त्वमित्यनेन चत्वारो धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाः, त एव व्यस्ताः समस्ता वा फलतत्सा-धनोपायविषय महाकाव्यादीति ज्ञापयन् मुक्तकादिभ्यो भेदमाचष्टे ।” p 431.

“विधिनिषेधव्युत्पादकत्वेन तु गुणवतो नायकस्य उत्कर्षप्रकाशनेन दोषवतश्चोच्छेदप्रदर्शनेन जिगृष्णा गुणवतैव भाव्यम्, न दोषवत इति व्युत्पादयति ।” p. 432.

4 Another important concept on which Kuntaka made a valuable contribution is Sāhitya. It is again remarkable how, almost at the same time, the same concept possessed another writer and clamoured for definition. Bhoja and Kuntaka are the two most important names in the history of Sāhitya, which have been dealt with in the section on Sāhitya. Here it is necessary to point out only a few facts of similarity regarding that concept between Bhoja and Kuntaka. Both start with Bhāmaha's definition—शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् । Secondly, Bhoja analyses this Sāhitya between Śabda and Artha into twelve relations, eight of which are grammatical and the last four of which refer to poetical relations. If we leave aside the first eight and take into consideration the last fourfold literary Sāhitya in the shape of avoiding of flaw, taking of Gunas, adding of ornaments, and securing the eternal presence of Rasa, we can see that Bhoja will not refute us if we equate his Sāhitya with Alamkāra. For, to Bhoja, Gunas, figures and Rasas are all Alamkāra. Similar is the case with Kuntaka's Sāhitya. Though Kuntaka describes Sāhitya in

his own way, it can be contended that his Sāhitya also is a kind of Vakratā ; and Vakratā, we have already pointed out, is Alamkāra. In Poetry, Kuntaka says, there are, to begin with, three factors - Śabdārtha, Sāhitya and Vakratā. Sāhitya can be merged in Vakratā and finally only two categories remain, Kāvya which is Alamkārya and Alamkāra which is Vakratā. In I. 17, which defines Sāhitya, Kuntaka gives it as कविर्द्वयवाक्यविन्याससंपत् साहित्यव्यपदेशभाग् भवति ।” p. 27.

Thus there are many points of similarity between Bhoja and Kuntaka, two great writers of the post-Ānanda period, who accepted Dhvani and Rasa, with all their suprimacy, but took up the old concept of Alamkāra and Vakrokti and elaborated systems out of them. But there is a good deal of difference also between the two writers. In the concluding part of chapter vi while dealing with Vākyārtha, and in the middle of chapter xi while beginning the treatment of Prabandhas, Bhoja considers the significance of the names of works like *Jñanī-karana*, *Kamara sambhava*, etc. In the former context at least, there is some amount of literary treatment of these names as giving to us the idea of the poem, the Vākyārtha. But in the latter context i.e., in chapter xi, Bhoja goes into these names as a grammarian enquiring what Samāsa is involved in them. Compared with these two treatments of names of works, Kuntaka's Prabandhavakratā referring to the significant and beautiful titling of a composition, exhibits greater literary value.

आस्तां वस्तुषु वैदग्ध्यं काव्ये कामपि वक्रताम् ।

प्रधानमविधानाद्वक्रतापि कृते कविः ॥ V J IV 21

See also Vrtti on p. 243 V. J.

In the same manner Kuntaka's treatment of Sāhitya is very much superior to that of Bhoja. Kuntaka relegates the question of Pada, Vākya, Artha, Tātparya etc., to an alien sphere and considers in his work Sāhitya from a purely poetic standpoint. Again, Bhoja has devoted chapters to a consideration of Śabda and Artha and his treatment of these two is purely grammatical. Compared to it Kuntaka's treatment of Śabda and Artha in the definition—*Śabdārthau sahityau kāvyam*—contains very beautiful ideas of great literary value, V J I 8-9, Pp. 14-22, Śabdārtha pūamārthya.

To return to Bhoja and Vakrokti the only Sūtra-like verse of Bhoja on Vakrokti as a 'definition' of Poetry is the above-referred to verse

यद्वच वच शब्दो लोके च वच एव तत् ।

वक्त्रे यदर्थवादादौ तस्य काव्यमिति स्मृतिः ॥

What exactly Bhoja comprehended under the 'etc' in the word 'Artha-vādāda' is not known. Arthavāda, Bhoja defines elsewhere in the midst of the several Vākyadharmas, as praise or abuse and turning the idea to suit

either. Anyway, an Arthavāda is an exaggeration this way or that, an Atiśayokti¹

“स्तुतिनिन्दार्थमतिशयोक्तिरर्थवादः । तद्यथा—मनोजवोऽश्वः, विश्वव्यापिनी तृष्णेति । यथा च स्तुतौ—

कवीना मानसं नौमि तरन्ति प्रतिभांभस्ति ।

यत्र हसवयासीव भुवनानि चतुर्दश ॥

यथा वा निन्दायाम्—

येषा प्राणिवधः क्रीडा नर्म मर्मच्छिदो निरः ।

परापवादः कर्तव्यं ते मृत्योरपि मृत्यवः ॥

Vol II. p 156 Mad Ms Chap 9.

This kind of approach to Poetry seems to correspond to what Rājaśekhara records as Yāyāvārīya's opinion that in Poetry things are not what they are, but what they are to the mind of the poet or of the poet's characters—Pratibhāsa nibandhanam (pp 44-45 *KM*) and as the opinion of his own wife, Avantisundarī, who says, “there is no constant nature of things, so far as Poetry is concerned, for, the poet's artistic mind and the poet's turns of expressions conceive of things in all sorts of ways” The scientific nature of a thing which is the fact does not matter for the poet; he makes things good or bad by his conception and expression; he praises the moon and calls it the ‘nectar-rayed’, and if he has to say against it, he calls it ‘dosa-kara’

“‘विदग्धमणतिभिर्दृग्निवेद्यं वस्तुनो रूपं न नियतस्वभावम्’ इति अवन्तिमुन्दरी । तदाह—

‘वस्तुस्वभावोऽत्र कवेरतन्त्रः गुणागुणवृत्तिवशेन काव्ये ।

स्तुतन्नियन्त्रात्यमृतशुभिन्दु निन्दंस्तु दोषाकरमाह धूर्तः ॥’ ” P. 46. *KM*.

This can also be compared to what Yāyāvārīya says on p. 25 that in Poetry there is no question of things being true or untrue, Satya and Asatya. It is all one Arthavāda.

“नामत्यं नाम किञ्चन काव्यं यस्तु स्तुत्येष्वर्थवादः ।

य न परं कविकर्मणि स्तुतौ च शास्त्रे च लोके च ॥”

This verse throws some light on Bhoja's brief utterance on Vakratā, Kāvya and Arthavāda. Even in Veda, Śāstra and Loka, cases of Arthavāda are cases of Poetry. By the *etc*—Ādi—in the statement ‘Vakram yad arthavādādau’, Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri suggests that Bhoja may mean Mantra, the Stotras and descriptive Rks, since they form Poetry. But the word *Ādi* seems to me unnecessary and Arthavāda, by itself, seems to give some kind of definition of Poetry. In Arthavāda, we cast away the face-sense, and so also in Poetry. We take the intention or the real sense which is either Stuti (Praise) or Nindā (Condemnation). In Poetry also, there are

1 Cf. Bhāmaha's idea that all poetic expression involves Atiśayokti. Bhāmaha II, 85, Daṇḍin II, 220, Ānanda III Pp 207-8

only two facts —heightening of objects and lowering them, Utkarṣa and Apakarṣa, according to the context or the theme, Artha and Rasa Says Mahima Bhaṭṭa also .

विना उरुषोपकर्षाभ्यां स्वदन्तेऽर्था न जातुचिन्ता ।

तदर्थमेव कवयोऽलङ्कारान् पर्युपासते ॥ V I p 33 S K S

Ratneśvara, commentator on Bhoja's S K Ā, as has been already proved, is acquainted with Bhoja's *Śr Pra* well . He explains somewhat Bhoja's notion of Vakratā . He quotes this Amustubh krikā of Bhoja on Vakratā, namely, *Yad avakram* etc, in his commentary on the S K Ā. Bhoja has a 'flaw' among his Dosas called Aritmat which is the reverse of the nine Gunas, Śloṣa, etc . One kind of this Aritmat is the reverse of the Guna of Audārya Audārya viparyaya which Bhoja describes as *Analam-kāra*.

“यस्तु रीतिरनिर्वाह्य आदित्यस्य विपर्ययः ।

वाक्यं तदनलङ्कारमलङ्कारविदो विदुः ॥

Vṛtti :

तदिदमपुत्रार्थत्वाद् अनुकृष्टविशेषणमनुदात्त निरलङ्कारमाचक्षते गोऽयमौदात्यविपर्ययः—।”

S K A I p. 30

Here, in the word Analamkāra, the name Alamkāra is used to mean the common, minimum, or prime requisite of beauty necessary for making any utterance poetic . Bhoja uses the word in the very general sense in which he uses it when he classifies it into Svabhāvokti, Vakrokti and Rasokti . A similar instance of Bhoja's use of the word Alamkāra in this wider sense is Bhoja's Vākyaṛtha Dosa called *Niralamkāra* . Under this Dosa also, Bhoja emphasises the same point . Any expression to be poetic must have 'Alamkāra', otherwise it is bald . Ratneśvara, while commenting on the Audārya viparyaya, explains this point . He says that without Vakratva there is no possibility of Poetry . Thus run his comments .

“यस्तु रीतिरिति । काव्यरूपताप्रयोजकं शब्दार्थयोः वक्रता उदायता । न हि वक्रता-
मन्तरेण काव्यपदवीप्राप्तिः । तदाह—

‘यत् (द) वक्र वचः शास्त्रे लोके च वच एव तत् ।

वक्र यदनुरागादौ तत्र काव्यमिति श्रुतिः ॥’ (Śr Pra)

तदेतदलङ्कारमासादन्यस्याभावे निरलङ्कारता भवतीत्याह—अनलङ्कारमिति । ..प्रकृतोदाहरणे
द्वयोः (शब्दार्थयोः) अवकल स्फुटयति ।” P 30 S K Ā

Ratneśvara has here quoted the verse of Bhoja on Vakratva, 'Yad avakram etc.,' given by him twice in his *Śr Pra* . The context in which Ratneśvara quotes it and the purpose for which he quotes it make the meaning of the verse pretty plain . Ratneśvara says that Alamkāra signifies the prime essential element of beauty and is synonymous with Vakratva which is the condition that makes for Poetry—Kāvya rūpatā prayojaka, and it is to supplement this that Ratneśvara quotes the Kārikā of Bhoja on Vakratā from his *Śr Pra*

The Kārikā as quoted by Ratneśvara, reads in the first line यत्तु वक्रम् for यद्वक्रम् and is a clear mistake. In the last quarter there is an insignificant change तत्र for तस्य and ध्रुति- for स्मृतिः. But a really noteworthy change is in the third quarter which substitutes the word 'Anurāgādaṁ' for 'Arthavādādaṁ'. Perhaps both mean the same thing. Anurāga means love and consequently praise and by 'Ādi' is meant Dveṣa or dislike and consequently abuse. Thus 'Anurāgādaṁ' also we may take as meaning Stuti and Nindā.¹

Under the Vākyārtha doṣa called Nirālamkāra, Ratneśvara explains Bhoja in the following manner. Without Vakratā, there can be no Alām-kāra, hence no Kāvya. Such Vakratā is the product of the poet's genius and is delectable to the Sahridayas. Even Svabhāvokti has got this Vakratā, hence it is that Svabhāvokti also is an Alām-kāra. But there are bald utterances like 'गोरपत्य बलीवर्द' which do not come under Svabhāvokti or Jāti, being devoid of Vakratā or Alām-kāra. Such cases of 'baldness' form the Doṣa called Nirālamkāra.

“वक्रताव्यतिरेकेऽलङ्कारसामान्यमेव न स्यादिति निरलङ्कारमित्युक्तम्। × × ×

ततो जात्यलङ्कारेण वक्रत्वमाक्षिप्यते। × × × स्वरूपं चमत्कारिकविप्रतिभामात्रप्रकाशनीय रूप तदेव अलङ्कारकक्षामधिशेते। × × ×

कथं तर्हि वक्रताभावरूपदीर्घपुच्छ इत्यादिः शब्ददोषाद् भिद्यते × × × शब्दानामेव वक्रताव्यतिरेकेण अपवादः इति शब्दद्वेषणम्; इह तु न तथा। किन्तु उक्तमेव स्वरूपं न वक्रम् इति वाक्यार्थ एव दुष्टः।” P 38. S. K. Ā Vyā

The previous instance of Audārya viparyaya or Analām-kāra emphasises śabda vakratā as essential and this Vākyārtha doṣa of Nirālamkāra, Artha vakratā

Earlier also, while commenting on the opening part of the flaw Arīmat, Ratneśvara has some introductory remarks where he points out that the nine Guṇas, Śleṣa etc., secure the requisite Vakratā without which an expression cannot be called Poetry

“एतद् (ऋषादिनवगुण) योगात् वक्ररूपताम् आसाद्य काव्यव्यपदेश लभते।” P. 24.

Both Bhoja and Ratneśvara follow Vāmana on the difference between Guṇas and Alām-kāras. In the larger sense of the term Alām-kāra as Saundarya or Kāvya-śobhākara-dharma, Guṇa also is Alām-kāra. But Guṇa is a necessity, Nitya, and Alām-kāra or figure like Upamā is only optional, Anitya. In the absence of the former, there is no Kāvya; the latter is only to add additional grace. Thus the basic beauty or Vakratā is due to the Guṇas. This Vakratā increases by addition of Alām-kāras like Upamā. Hence it is, by the way, the reason why Vakrokti and Alām-kāra though they mean Guṇa also, mean, par excellence, figures like Upamā which add the more easily perceptible Vakratva

1 There is also the third state of Mādhyasthya which means neither Praise nor Abuse. See Pāyākīrti's view on p 46 Rājasekhara's K M.

Under the śabda-guṇa Samādhi, Ratneśvara explains Vakratī as underlying Samādhi

“सम्यग्ज्ञान आशेषेण समाधिः । सम्यक्त्वं च वक्रता, लोकातिगम्यम् --।” P. 54

Under the Artha-guṇa, Śleṣa, Ratneśvara takes Vāmana's Kautilya as Vakratī

“—तत्रैव कौटिल्यं लोकातिगमिनी वक्रता । अयकपो जगदादिषु वचनमात्रव्याप ।”

P. 63

The second sentence is a paraphrase of Bhoja's dictum that Kāvya and Vacas are Vakra and Avakra

Again under the Guṇa, Samata of Artha, Ratneśvara remarks that Vakratā is absolutely essential

“वक्रता चात्र विशेषणमृद्भायम् ’ अन्यथा गुणत्वा वजरीत्यन हो निमित्तं रक्षत । ” P. 64

On the Vaiśeṣika-guṇa of Analamkāra, he says

“अनुगतेन वक्राभावेन तत्त्वमर्थान्ता । ” P. 109

Under the Vaiśeṣika-Guṇa, Niralamkāra, Ratneśvara straightly puts Vakratva as Alamkāra

“—वक्रत्वं च अलङ्कार इति । × × गामान्येन वक्रता प्रकाशत एव । ” P. 109

The Vakrokti-alamkāra.

Side by side with this larger concept of Vakrokti, which meant poetic speech and Alamkāra in general, there must have been a kind of poetic figure of this name involving clever dialogue turning on ordinary and word-split (Bhanga-śleṣa) puns. We do not meet with Vakrokti as a special figure in Bhāmaha and Dandin, both of whom use the word as a common name for Alamkāra in general. But, when Dandin says that in Vakrokti in general, Śleṣa adds charm, he seems to minimise the scope of Vakrokti for it is not all kinds of Vakrokti that involve Śleṣa. But much cannot be made out of this remark of Dandin, who simply says that Śleṣa is an element which *can* beautify many other Alamkāras. In theoretical writings, it is only when we come to Rudraṭa that we find the first writer who gives the smaller Vakrokti. Rudraṭa never speaks of Vakrokti as a name of Alamkāra in general. He gives a śabdālamkāra called Vakrokti, which is a dialogue involving intonation cleverly employed to change the meaning and another variety of the same which employs word-split pun (II 14-17). The variety employing Kāku soon ceased to be considered as an instance of Vakrokti and Rājaśekhara criticises it in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*. In Ānanda's time, we have poet Ratnākara writing his minor poem *Vakrokti-pancāśikā*, which contains Vakrokti involving Bhanga-śleṣa, one of the two varieties of Rudraṭa. Mammata accepted Rudraṭa completely and gives both the Bhanga-śleṣa and Kāku Vakrokti in the śabdālamkāra section. Hemacandra, following Rājaśekhara, refuses to accept Kāku as a variety of Vakrokti, as follower of Ānanda, he places Kāku

under *Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* and accepts only *Bhaṅgaśleṣa-vakrokti* as a *Śabdālamkāra*. Mammata has added *Abhaṅgaśleṣa* also to what Rudrata gave and, on this point, Hemacandra follows Mammata. Ruyyaka accepts (p 175) Mammata's position and gives both *Śleṣa* and *Kāku Vakrokti*s, though he takes them over to the *Arthālamkāra* section. Ruyyaka decides the future for this *Vakrokti*; Vidyānātha follows him (p 296. Bāla Edn.) and so also Appayya Dikṣita. Viśvanātha however chooses to follow Mammata completely in retaining *Vakrokti* as a *Śabdālamkāra*.

Thus, after the time of Rudrata, the word *Vakrokti* was signifying both the particular poetic figure of *Śabda* or of *Artha*, and the general concept of *Alamkāra* as such. It is likely that, as a name for that kind of dialogue in which one outwits another by word-split puns, the history of the word goes far back into those days of Poetics of which we have no work left to us. It is very intelligible how this kind of speech came to be called *Vakra-ukti*, crooked speech. How by Bhāmaha's time the name *Vakrokti* came to mean *Alamkāra* in general, so much, that we do not see any trace of the particular figure going by that name, is not known. But it cannot be settled whether *Śabdālamkāra* *Bhaṅga-śleṣa Vakrokti* expanded into the larger *Vakrokti* or the larger *Vakrokti* of Bhāmaha and Dandin sank to the level of the mere *Śabdālamkāra* of that name in Rudrata. In the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānanda, *Vakrokti* as meaning the larger common name of *Alamkāra*, is met with in Ud II. Ruyyaka says that the word means both.

“वक्रोक्तिशब्दश्च अलङ्कारसामान्यवचनोऽपि इह अलङ्कारविशेषे संज्ञितः।” P. 177.

and Vidyānātha also says regarding the *Vakrokti-arthālamkāra* :

‘उक्तिवक्रत्वे कथञ्चित्संभवत्यपि एवविधलक्षणाभावात् सर्वालङ्कारेभ्यो मिश्रते।’ P. 296

In Bhoja, we meet with this smaller *Vakrokti* meaning a particular poetic figure also, alongside of the larger concept of that name. Bhoja, in common with Mammata, follows Rudrata in accepting Rudrata's *Vakrokti* as given by him as a *Śabdālamkāra*. But Bhoja makes it a sub-variety of a new class of *Śabdālamkāra* constituted by himself. All instances of *Vakrokti*, as seen in *Alamkāra* texts and in such examples of it as the *Vakrokti-pancāśikā* are dialogues and this element of dialogue is taken and made a major type of *Śabdālamkāra* called *Vākovākya* by Bhoja.

उक्तिप्रत्युक्तिमद् वाक्यं वाक्योवाक्यं विदुर्बुधाः। II 143 p 252 S. K. Ā.

One of the six varieties of this dialogue and repartee called *Vākovākya* is *Vakrokti*. Bhoja accepts only the *Śleṣa* variety of *Vakrokti* of Rudrata. The *Kāku* variety he has separated, *Kāku* by itself is brought under another *Śabdālamkāra* called *Pathitī* by Bhoja, which is more intelligible (P 164, S. K. Ā.) *Śleṣa-vakrokti* is divided by Bhoja into two kinds—*Nirvyūdhā* and *Anirvyūdhā*. The former is sustained *Vakrokti* running to the end of the verse, the latter is not so sustained. Bhoja cites Rudrata's illustration for *Śleṣa-vakrokti* for his *Nirvyūdhā* variety. S. K. Ā., P. 253

Thus in Bhoja's work *Vakrokti* means

(1) *Alamkāra*, *Vakratā*, the characteristic poetic expression in general; the very definition of *Kāvya*

(2) One variety of no. 1. That is, the *Alamkāra* beginning with *Upamā*. The two other varieties are *Svabhāvokti* and *Rasokti*. These three comprehend the whole realm of poetic expression

and (3) One of the varieties of the *Sabdālamkāra* called *Vakroktīkya*.

Vakrokti and the Lakṣanā vṛtti

In the history of *Vakrokti*, *Vāmana* holds a striking position, standing somewhat aloof with a singular opinion. *Vāmana* is the first writer in whose work we meet with the term *Vakrokti* with the restricted sense, as the name of a particular figure of *Artha*. *Vāmana* holds a position altogether different from that of *Rudrata* who, though he also gives *Vakrokti* only as the name of a particular figure, gives it as a *Sabdālamkāra*. *Vāmana* gives it as *Arthālamkāra*, involving similarity, *Upamā*, an *Arthālamkāra* which is the same as *Dandin's* *Samādhi-guṇa*, being based on the transference of attributes of one to another on the basis of similarity. मादृश्यादृश्या वक्रोक्तिः । IV. iii 8. *Vāmana* definitely says that it is only *Lakṣanā* based on *Sādhya*, similarity, that is *Vakrokti* and not those *Lakṣanās* based on *Sāmpyā* etc.

“वङ्गनि हि निबन्धनानि लक्षणायां; तत्र सादृश्यादृश्या वक्रोक्तिर्भवति । × × असादृश्यानिबन्धना तु लक्षणा न वक्रोक्तिः ।” Pp 130-1. *K. A. Sū. and V.*

But writers who want to bring all cases of beautiful poetic expression under *Vakrokti* will have to say naturally that not only *Sādhya* *lakṣana* but other cases of *lakṣanā* also form *Vakrokti*. If even non-*lakṣana* expressions, *Abhidhāmūla dhvani* for instance, have also to be brought under some kind of *Vakrokti*, it goes without saying that non-*Sādhya* *lakṣanas* also are *Vakrokti*.

In Bhoja's *Śr. Pra.*, there is a significant verse quoted by Bhoja on *Lakṣanā* in the beginning of chapter VII, which treats of *Abhidhā*, *Lakṣanā* and *Gauṇī vṛttis*. While defining *Lakṣanā*, Bhoja says

तदुक्तम्—

‘अभिधेयाविनाभूतप्रतीतिर्लक्षणा न्यते ।

गैपा विदग्धवक्रोक्तिर्जीवितं वृत्तिरप्यते ॥’

Śr. Pra. Mad. Ms. Vol. I, p. 429

For those writers who recognise beyond *Abhidhā* only one *Vṛtti*, namely, *Lakṣanā* and bring under it all the ideas appearing in the train of *Abhidhā*, and for those writers who hold all aspects of strikingness in poetic expression as *Vakrokti*, this verse in Bhoja is fully acceptable. It gives *Lakṣanā* as the very life of the poet's *Vakrokti*. Bhoja simply gives the verse and makes no comment, he does not utilise it or expand it elsewhere in his work.

As in the case of his other verse on Vakrokti, *Yad avaktam*, etc., he leaves us with a meagre Anuṣṭubh. What kind of Lakṣaṇā, whether it is that based on Sādrśya only or all kinds of Lakṣaṇā is meant in this verse, is not easy to decide. Perhaps Bhoja means by this Vakrokti, here, not Vāmana's Vakrokti based on Sādrśya lakṣaṇā but the larger concept of Vakrokti which occurs so much in his work; and perhaps Bhoja says here that of all kinds of Vakrokti, i.e., Alamkāra in general, Lakṣaṇā is generally a life-giving element, even as Daṇḍin said that Śleṣa generally adds beauty to all kinds of Vakrokti. At the end of his definition and illustration of all the sub-varieties of the two kinds of Lakṣaṇā, named Lakṣaṇā and Lakṣita lakṣaṇā, Bhoja says that all kinds of Lakṣaṇā are found amply in poets' expressions. Bhoja gives many fine verses in illustration (Vol II pp 14-18), many of which are found given in the *Dhvanyāloka* as illustrations for Lakṣaṇāmūla-dhvani. Surely, of all these, Sādrśya lakṣaṇā is the greatest but we can take that, in the above-given verse, Bhoja does not mean a re-statement of Vāmana's Vakrokti based on Sādrśya lakṣaṇā, but seems to mean that Lakṣaṇās of all kinds are found to lie at the root of all kinds of Vakrokti as a fecund principle.¹

Under his Śabdālamkāra called Sayyā, Bhoja gives a variety called 'miscellaneous'—Prakīrṇa Ghaṭanā, *S K Ā* pp 159-164. Bhoja here speaks of the presence in poets' expressions of the Śabda vṛttis of Mukhyā, Gaunī and Lakṣaṇā. While commenting on this, Ratneśvara quotes (p 162) the above-discussed verse on Lakṣaṇā and Vakrokti. And he also seems to con-

1. The above-discussed Anuṣṭubh in Bhoja on Lakṣaṇā and Vakrokti is introduced by Bhoja with the words तदुक्तम्. We do not know who its author is. Most likely Bhoja himself is its author. The first line 'अभिधेयाविनाभूतप्रतीतिर्लक्षणोच्यते' is not Bhoja's. It is Kumārila's definition of Lakṣaṇā. On p. 242, Vol. II, in a discussion on Gauna vṛtti and Upacāra, Bhoja quotes it, as also the definition of Gaunī vṛtti with the mention of the name of their author, Bhaṭṭa, i.e., Kumārila. It is likely, Bhoja took the first line defining Lakṣaṇā from Kumārila and added to it the second line giving Lakṣaṇā as the Life of Vakrokti. We need not doubt Bhoja's authorship of the second line and of the idea of Lakṣaṇā as the Life of Vakrokti, just because of the words तदुक्तम् introducing the verse. Elsewhere Bhoja quotes his own verses with these words तदुक्तम्. It must be noted that accidentally we meet with in this verse the combination of the words *Vakrokti jivitam*, which gives the name of Kuntaka's work!

Śāradātanaya who summarises Bhoja's text on Sāhitya, has this verse on Lakṣaṇā and Vakrokti in his *Bhā Pra* on page 145

अभिधेयाविनाभूतप्रतीतिर्लक्षणोच्यते । सैषा विदग्धवक्रोक्तिजिवितं वृत्तिरिष्यते ॥

क्रोशन्ति मन्त्रा इत्यादौ सा वृत्तिरवगम्यते । लक्ष्यमाणगुणैर्योगाद् वृत्तेरिष्टा तु गौणता ॥

Śāradātanaya illustrates the Lakṣaṇā here by the expression "क्रोशन्ति मन्त्राः" and this shows that Bhoja means in that verse all kinds of Lakṣaṇā. Bahurūpa-miśra, who borrows largely from the *Śr Pra* and the *Bhā Pra*, reproduces the above from Śāradātanaya (p 74, Mad Ms R. 4188). He also quotes the verse of Bhoja on Lakṣaṇā as the life of Viḍagdha-Vakrokti.

sider the Lakṣaṇā meant here as the Jīvita of Vakrokti, as not merely the one based on Sādhya but Lakṣaṇā of all kinds

“ ---रक्षणा । तदुक्तम्—

‘ अर्धमध्याधिनाभुतप्रतीतिरक्षणाच्यते ।

मैषा विदग्धवक्रोक्तिर्जायते मर्तुरियते ॥ ’

सा द्विवा-शुद्धा, कश्चिन्नरक्षणा च । ”

Ratneśvara summarises here a part of the *S. Pra.* text on Lakṣaṇā (from Vol. II), giving the same illustrations as given by Bhoja.

That the Lakṣaṇā in this verse described as the life of Vakrokti means all kinds of Lakṣaṇā and that Vakrokti consequently does not mean what it meant to Vāmana but means various kinds of poetic expression, is also proved by Ratneśvara's comments on Bhoja's Vaiśeṣika gūṇa of the Parusa doṣa Ś K Ā I 145, p. 114. Bhoja says that Parusa doṣa becomes a Gūṇa in Viruddha-lakṣaṇā. Commenting on this, Ratneśvara quotes the above-discussed verse of Bhoja on Lakṣaṇā and Vakrokti (in a corrupt form), S K Ā p. 114.

CHAPTER XI

BHOJA AND SVABHĀVOKTI

Bhoja's treatment of Svabhāvokti has something new to give us. Firstly, on the nature of this Alamkāra, some valuable information is gained even from his *S K Ā*. Secondly, an original view and a new definition of Svabhāvokti, and a systematic working out of Dandin's view of Svabhāva and Vakra Uktis are available in Bhoja's *Śi Pra*.

Bhoja describes Svabhāvokti thus in his *S K Ā*.

नानावस्थानु जायन्ते यानि रूपाणि वस्तुनः ।

स्वेभ्यस्स्वेभ्यो निमग्नैर्भ्यस्तानि जातिं प्रचक्षते ॥

अर्थव्यक्तरिय भेदस्यैता प्रतिपद्यते ।

जायमानप्रि(सि)य पक्ति रूप सा सार्वकालिकम् ॥ III 4-5.

(The text of *S K Ā*, N S Edn, reads here wrongly जायमानप्रियं वक्ति रूपम् but जायमानप्रिय वक्ति रूपम् is preserved in a quotation of this verse by Bhaṭṭa Gopāla in his commentary on the *Kāvya Prakāśa* T. S S, p 187, part II) In the first verse, Bhoja defines his first Arthālamkāra called Jāti Jāti is another name for Svabhāvokti 'Jāti' might originally have referred to "Class attribute" which figures in a Svabhāvokti. The name Svabhāva-Ukti or Svabhāva-Ākhyāna emphasises the essential nature of the figure called 'Natural Description'. Bhoja's definition gives a new interpretation to the name 'Jāti'. Bhoja says that 'Jāti' means the exact opposite of the logical concept of class-attributes! It means those aspects of things that result from particular conditions, but aspects related to the essential nature of the things. There are two ideas in this definition of Svabhāvokti of Bhoja: one, attributes which are due to the changes consequent on particular moods or conditions—नानावस्थानु जायन्ते यानि रूपाणि—and two, these attributes must be of the very nature of the thing—स्वेभ्यस्स्वेभ्यो निमग्नैर्भ्यः । We shall first examine the second condition, namely, that the attributes shall be such as are born of the very nature of the things. It rules out all cases of conceits and superimposed ideas—Āropita. This is the most essential condition, for it is the chief and direct meaning of the word 'Svabhāva' in Svabhāvokti. The action or qualities described must pertain to them as theirs. Mammata emphasises this by the word 'Sva' in his definition—

स्वभावोक्तिस्तु डिम्भाटं स्वक्रियारूपवर्णनम् । स्वयोस्तदेकाश्रययोः । रूप, वर्ण, संस्थान च ।”
Attribution or superimposition असम्बन्धे सम्बन्धोक्तिः and आरोपः, which

¹ Vide also the sections in this Thesis on Ukti, Alamkāra and Vakrokti, and my paper on Svabhāvokti in the Indian Culture, Vol V, pp 147-165

result in Atiśayokti and Rūpaka, are prohibited. Commenting on the above-given definition of Manimata, Vidyācakra-vartin says -

“स्वगतदानं क्रियारूपयोः अनागेपित्वम् । अतः स्वभावोक्तिरिति अन्वर्थेना ।”

p 336 T S S

If something is added by way of comparison or contrast, we have no Svabhāvokti but we land on some Alamkāra based on Aupamya or Virodha. External ideas, our ideas of an object, or reflections on seeing an object,—these again are out of the scope of Svabhāvokti. Ratneśvara clearly explains this as the import of the words स्वस्य स्वस्यो नमस्य in Bhoja's definition. Giving an instance of a poet's reflection, he says

“इत्यादावापि जातित्वं स्यात्, अतः आद- स्वस्य स्वस्य एति । स्वभावभूतानि इत्यर्थः ।” p 266.

Thus the main characteristic of the 'Natural Description' is that it is purely a Svabhāva varnanā, that the 'Rūpa' described in it shall be 'Svīya' and 'Naisargika'.

In the first qualification, Bhoja makes out some new significance for the word 'Jāyante' from which 'Jāti' is derived. His new meaning of Jāti here restricts the scope of Svabhāvokti. Bhoja emphasises the word 'Jāyante' - 'produced in certain circumstances'. As for instance, a horse may be described as sleeping in standing posture in accordance with its nature. The pose, the attitude etc., in the state of its sleep constitute the 'Jāta-rūpa' of the Avasthā of sleep.

Why is it that Bhoja stresses this point that the attributes described in Svabhāvokti shall be those which characterise a mood or state of a thing? His source and greatest Ācārya, Dandin, has nothing like this in his work; Dandin simply says “नानावस्थ पदार्थानां रूपम्” - appearances of things as they exist in their various states and actions. And things can never be separately noticed, apart from their states and actions. It is not possible to find a moment when a thing will not be in some Avasthā and if we must really make any distinction of the nature of things into that which is permanent and basic and that which pertains to the moments, we can justify that distinction as of only relative truth.

Bhoja brings in his new emphasis on 'Jāyante' because he has to accommodate in his system Vāmana's Arthavyakti Guna, side by side with the Svabhāvokti Alamkāra. This is not the first or only case where, Bhoja following everybody and borrowing from everywhere, with a hundred hands, has to artificially scheme out certain ways of adjusting all that he has gathered. The second verse in the definition of Svabhāvokti quoted above explains Bhoja more clearly. In it, Bhoja points out that Svabhāvokti Alamkāra is different from the Guna called Arthavyakti. It is necessary here to note what Bhoja means by Arthavyakti, what that Guna means really, apart from Bhoja's idea of it, how it is related to Svabhāvokti in particular and poetic expression in general, and such other matters.

In Daṇḍin, Arthavyakti is a Guna related to the other Guna of Prasāda. It has nothing in its nature which overlaps with that of the Alamkāra Svabhāvokti. Vāmana's Śabda Guna of this name is identical with Daṇḍin's Arthavyakti and so also is Bhoja's. But Vāmana has an Artha guna also of this name and that also Bhoja borrows. Vāmana defines his Artha guna Arthavyakti thus

वस्तु-स्वभावस्फुटत्वम् अर्थव्यक्ति । III 2. 13.

वस्तुना भावानां स्वभावस्य स्फुटत्वं यत्, असौ अर्थव्यक्तिः ॥

Bhoja gives the first verse given by Vāmana for illustration for his Arthavyakti guna of Artha and adds this definition of his own.

“अर्थव्यक्तिः स्वरूपस्य साक्षात्कथनमुच्यते ।”

“अत्र कुमुदस्वरूपस्य साक्षादिव प्रतीयमानत्वेन यत् स्वरूपाभिधानमसावर्थव्यक्तिः ।”

S K A I p 65 This ‘vivid portrayal of an object's appearance’—स्वरूपसाक्षात्कथन—is what constitutes the essential mark of Svabhāvokti. This phrase, ‘साक्षात्कथन’ stands for Vāmana's ‘स्फुटत्वं’ and is borrowed by Bhoja from Daṇḍin's definition of Svabhāvokti Alamkāra.

नानावस्थ पदार्थानां रूप साक्षात् विवृण्वती ।

The idea that a ‘Natural Description’ is poetic or constitutes Alamkāra only when it is powerful, effective, and vivid is emphasised by every writer. Bāṇa says ‘जातिरष्टमहा’¹. A description of the nature of an object must not be bald and stale. Bhāmaha includes Svabhāvokti also in Vakrokti because of this very strikingness, and natural description devoid of this vivid portrayal is dismissed by him as Vārtā having no Vakrokti or strikingness in it.

गतोऽस्तमर्को भानीन्दुः यान्ति वासाय पक्षिणः ।

इत्येवमादि किं काव्यम् ? वार्तामेनां प्रचक्षते ॥ II 87. K A.

Close upon denying Alamkāratā to Hetu, Sūkṣma, and Leśa, Bhāmaha gives the above-given instance and says ‘Is this Kāvya?’ It is but ordinary speech, or mere news. Daṇḍin emphasised that Svabhāvokti must have life and must give us a vivid picture which will conjure up the object before our mind's eye. He stressed the idea in the single word ‘Sākṣāt’—‘रूप साक्षाद् विवृण्वती’—on which Tarunavācaspati says: साक्षाद् विवृण्वती प्रत्यक्षमिव दर्शयन्ती.¹ Rudrata qualifies the general class of Vāstava Alamkāras to which Jāti belongs by the attribute ‘Puṣṭārtha’. This emphasises the need for the Jāti to be vivid

1 The *Hṛdayamṅgamā* interprets ‘Sākṣāt’ as ‘Avyājana’ and it is significant in another way. It emphasises the other essential nature of Svabhāvokti that it must be the natural appearance and not the attributed, super-imposed, or conceived form of a thing. This is the idea emphasised by Bhoja in the words—स्वेभ्यः स्वेभ्यो निसर्गैर्भ्यः and by Mammāṭa, by the word ‘Sva’ in the definition स्वक्रियारूप etc. Rudrata emphasises the same by the qualifications अविपरीत, निरुपम, अनतिशय and अश्लेष to his Vāstava. K A VII 10. In VII 30. Rudrata says the same thing again in the words ‘तत्कथनम् अनन्यथा जातिः ।’

It is this quality that is born of Arthavyakti. Arthavyakti, though it pertains to all descriptions of the poet in general, is predominantly the life of Svabhāvokti. Svabhāvokti without Arthavyakti, without 'Vastu-svabhāva-sphutatva' in Vāmana's words, is insipid Varta, is Guniya, is Aṣṭa. Thus there is little contradiction between the Guna of Arthavyakti and the Alamkāra of Svabhāvokti.

To Vāmana, the recognition of Arthavyakti Guna removes the need for Svabhāvokti Alamkāra. So it is that while refuting Vāmana's Artha Guna of Arthavyakti, Hemacandra says that it is nothing but Svabhāvokti Alamkāra. "अपि च ज्ञानिनोऽप्यमल-द्वार-प्रति ।" p. 199. Bhāṭṭa Gopala also says

वामनमर्थोदया त्वर्थव्यक्त्या स्वभाविन्यप्यलङ्कारः । p. 184. T. S. S. K. *Pra Vyā*
In either case, whether Bhoja follows Vāmana closely and casts off Svabhāvokti having accepted the Arthaguna of Arthavyakti, or accepting both, understands that the two do not collide but that one is the Guna of the other which is an Alamkāra in either case, Bhoja will have no occasion to give a distinction between Arthavyakti and Svabhāvokti. Feeling that there will be no need for Svabhāvokti when Arthavyakti has been recognised, Bhoja hastens to point out that the two differ. Arthavyakti refers to cases of portrayal of the essential, never changing, and permanent nature of a thing; but Svabhāvokti describes only such temporary nature as is born of a particular mood or state- -नानावस्थायु जायन्ते यानि भाषाणि ।

अर्थव्यक्तेश्च भेदमियता प्रतिषयन् ।

जायमानम् दृष्टवन्ति रूपं या सार्वकालिकम् ॥

Svabhāvokti is जायमानरूपवर्णन while Arthavyakti is सार्वकालिकवर्णन. This is unnecessary narrowing down of the scope of both Svabhāvokti and Arthavyakti. The former refers to description of the inherent permanent nature as well as the effects of particular states and the latter refers to the clear, vivid, and powerful portrayal of the same picture. Bhoja's position regarding these two resembles that of writers who dragged down the large concept of Bhāvika of Bhāmaha and Dandin, a Prabandha Guna, made it a mere Vākyālamkāra and then felt that it collided with Svabhāvokti and consequently distinguished with great ingenuity Bhāvika and Svabhāvokti. (See Ruyyaka and Viśvanātha).¹

Bhoja's separation of the scope of Arthavyakti and Svabhāvokti is thus stated by his commentator, Ratnāsvara

"वस्तुस्वरूपोद्देशनार्थं (थं) व्यक्ति-अर्थगुणेषु उक्ता । तत्र सार्वकालिकं रूपं उपजना-
पायान्तरालव्यापक इत्यर्थः । अत्र तु (जात्यलङ्कारे) जायमानं आगन्तुकनिमित्तं समव-
धानप्रसवं व्यभिचरितं इत्यर्थः ।" p. 266

1. See Mammaṭa, *K. Pra T. S. S. II*. Pp. 186-187, where this Artha guna Arthavyakti of Vāmana is included by Mammaṭa in Svabhāvokti.

So also Hemacandra, see *K. A. com* p. 199

2. I have gone into this subject in detail in my paper on Bhāvika published in the *IHQ*

The Agni Purāṇa also helps us to understand what Bhoja's differentiation between Svabhāvokti and Arthavyakti means, it being one of the works which borrow from Bhoja. In chapter 344 it gives Svabhāvokti as Svarūpa Alamkāra.

स्वरूपमथ सादृश्यमुन्नेधातिशयावपि etc.

It defines this Svarūpa or Svabhāvokti or Jāti thus :

स्वभाव एव भावानाम् स्वरूपमभिधीयते ।

निजम् आगन्तुकं चेति द्विधिर्धनं तदुदाहृतम् ॥

सांनिद्धिकं निजं नैमित्तिकम् आगन्तुकं तथा । 344|3-4

Bhoja is clearly followed here and the nature of things is classified into eternal and temporary. Though the *A Purāṇa* borrows this classification of the nature of things into 'Jāyamāna' and 'Sārvakālīka' Svarūpa, the *Purāṇa* does not say that the description of the former only is Svabhāvokti or Svarūpālamkāra. The *Purāṇa* evidently proposes to treat descriptions of both as Svarūpālamkāra. Only, the *Purāṇa* shows two kinds of Svarūpa, even as Dandin showed in *Svabhāvakhyāna*, varieties like Jāti, Kriyā, etc., and others, varieties like Dīmbha, Tiryak, etc.

The Śr Pra on Svabhāvokti

On Guna and Alamkāra, the *Śr Pra* reproduces the *S K Ā.* and therefore all that has been said above stands as Bhoja's view in the *Śr Pr.* also. Besides these ideas just now examined, Bhoja has something more to say in his *Śr Pra.* on the general nature of Svabhāvokti.

It has already been pointed out in the sections on Ukti etc., how Bhoja following up Bhāmaha and Dandin, classified Kāvya-vacana or Ukti or Alamkāra into three departments,—Svabhāvokti, Vakrokti and Rasokti. If Upamā, Rūpaka and such figures predominate, it is Vakrokti. Where Rasa is delineated through the description of the Vibhāvas etc., i.e., where expression is dominated by Rasa, there we have Rasokti. The third is Svabhāvokti, natural description of things. In the realm of ideas or Artha, there are only two classes, namely, the mere nature of things—Vastu svabhāva—and Emotions. In the description of these two, we have Vastu samvāda and Citta samvāda respectively, and the corresponding cases of expression are called Svabhāvokti and Rasa-delineation or Rasa-Ukti, according to Bhoja. These two are bare descriptions, Vastu svabhāva or Rasa svabhāva being the object of description. When both of these are figuratively described, we have the third kind of Ukti, Vakrokti.

This is intelligible but Bhoja has sought to confuse us suddenly by a flash of originality here. Something struck him, as it often happens, and he caught a new equation. "Alamkāra, Upamā, etc., is Vakrokti, Rasa is Rasokti," he pondered over and said, "Guna remains, Guna is Svabhāvokti!" We cannot understand this equation if we take into consideration particular Gunas and the nature of the Svabhāvokti Alamkāra. Firstly,

Svabhāvokti or Jāti is an Alamkāra, the first among Arthālamkāras. By saying that Vakrokti is Alamkāra-pradhāna, does Bhoja mean to include Jāti or Svabhāvokti in that Vakrokti? If so, why does he say that Vakrokti is Ukti dominated by Alamkāras beginning with Upamā? Are we then to throw Svabhāvokti out of the fold of Alamkāra? Why should he say that Svabhāvokti is 'Guna pradhāna'? Bhoja's Gunas are not all of a homogeneous nature. Cāmbhīrya Guṇa is a case of Dhvani, Kānti which is 'Dīpta rasatva' is given as a Guṇa but a verse dominated by Kānti will be a case of Bhoja's Rasokti. This Guṇa-Svabhāvokti equation of Bhoja not found in his *S. K. Ā.* in any plain manner and found plainly stated in his *Śr. Pra.* is not easy to be understood.

Bhoja can be understood in a way if we approach this classification of his from the point of view of his conception of the nature of Gunas and Alamkāras in general. Bhoja follows Vāmana in his conception of Guṇa and its difference from Alamkāra. The former is eternally related to Poetry, Nitya, Samavāya sambaddha; and the latter is only optional, Anitya, Samyoga sambaddha. The former is absolutely necessary and there can be no Poetry without them; even in the absence of the latter, the presence of the former makes for Poetry. Gunas are also Śobhākara dharmas but they refer to Svābhāvika śobhā whereas Alamkāras are only Kṛtrima śobhā. Therefore, in a piece of Poetry where there is no Upamā etc., there is the beauty resulting from the Gunas. Svabhāvokti or Jāti is a case devoid of all figures coming under Vakrokti; then it must have the Gunas in abundance. Thus it seems that Bhoja thought that Svabhāvokti is Ukti dominated by Gunas. So it is that he said

“त्रिविधः खल्वलङ्कारवर्गः, वक्रोक्तिः, स्वभावोक्तिः, रसोक्तिरिति । तत्र उपमाद्यलङ्कार-
प्राधान्ये वक्रोक्तिः, सोऽपि गुणप्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः, विभावानुभावव्याभिचारिस्मरयोगाद् रसनिरूप्यतौ
रसोक्तिः इति ।” *Śr. Pra. Mad. Ms Vol II, chap XI, p 372*

APPENDIX

Hamsamīthu's Hamsavilāsa (GOS, LXXXI), ch 43, p 241, restricts the scope of Svabhāvokti to 'Nica-Vasti', i.e., lower class of beings, animals, trees etc.

नीचादिवस्तूनां याथातथ्येन स्वरूपकथनं जातिः ।

CHAPTER XII

BHOJA, DHVANI AND ĀNANDAVARDHANA

“तात्पर्यमेव वचमि ननिरेव काव्ये ”

Bhoja : *Śr. Pra.* ch 1

The beginnings of Dhvani, ‘the suggested’ idea and the ‘Gauna’ idea in Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhata and Vāmana.

The anti-Dhvanī viewpoints, the three main Dhvanī pratipaksas mentioned by Ānanda and the twelve mentioned in two Kārikās quoted by Jayaratha. Examination of the twelve anti-Dhvanī standpoints with Ānanda’s reply to some of them like the Bhāktavāda and the Anumānavāda.

Elaborate exposition of the Tātparyavāda, Ānanda’s discussion in *Uddyota* III, the reply of Dhanika.

Bhoja’s position, a compromise between Tātparya and Dhvani. Bhoja and Ānandavardhana, Bhoja’s indebtedness to Ānanda, texts borrowed by Bhoja from the *Dhvanīvāloka*.

Bhoja and Dhvani, criticism of Dr S. K. De’s view of Bhoja’s attitude towards Dhvani. Traces of Dhvani in the *S. K. Ā.* among the Gunas and Alamkāras.

Exposition of the text of the *Śr. Pra.* on Tātparya and Dhvani, three kinds of Tātparya in Bhoja, Abhūdhīyamāna, Pratiyamāna and Dhvanīrūpa, critical examination of the division of the Suggested by Bhoja into the Pratiyamāna and Dhvani, Hemacandra’s indebtedness to Bhoja’s text on this subject. Critical examination of Bhoja’s view of Dhvani as Tātparya and as part of Tātparya, Viḍyānātha, Kumārasvāmin, Śīradātanaya and Ānanda on it.

Bhoja’s classification of Dhvani into Śabdadhvani, Arthadhvani, Anunādhvani and Pratiśabdadhvani. Comparison with Ānanda’s classification of Dhvani.

Śīradātanaya’s acceptance and succinct exposition of Bhoja’s view of Dhvani. Bahurūpamitra following Bhoja and Śīradātanaya.

Two texts of Bhoja on Rasa as Vākyārtha and Bhāvas as Padārthas.

APPENDIX I Vākyāśeṣa, Śrutārthāpatti and Dhvani, Bhoja’s text on Vākyāśeṣa

„ II Vivakṣā and Dhvani

„ III Sanskrit Texts

(i) *Śr. Pra.* on Dhvani Ch 7

(ii) *Dhvanīvāloka* on Tātparya and Dhvani Ud 3

(iii) The *Daśarūpāvaloka* on Dhvani and Tātparya

The origin of the idea of suggestion or Dhvani is to be found in those Alamkāras in Bhāmaha and other early writers in which there is an implied sense also imbedded. In II 34, Bhāmaha speaks of Gunasāmya *pratīti*, which is a case of implied or suggested similarity, Gamyamāna aupamyā. In II.

79, he defines Samāsokti as suggesting an idea by describing a similar one : यत्रोक्ते गम्यतेऽन्योऽर्थः । Bhāmaha states plainly that an idea, *totally different*, though similar (Tatsamāna viśesana) is suggested by saying something. Similarly, in the Paryāyokta defined and illustrated in III 8-9, Bhāmaha speaks of instances of utterances which are specifically meant to give a different meaning. The 'Abhidhāna' has a meaning which is not the idea sought to be conveyed यदन्येन प्रकारेण अभिधीयते । In his Apahnuṭi in III 21, Bhāmaha says that the idea of similarity is implied, "Antarगतोपamā."

Similar traces of the 'suggested idea' can be found in Dandin's work. Dandin's Guna called Udāra, in its first variety, is the suggestion of a quality by a suggestive description

उत्कर्षवान् गुणः कश्चिन् यस्मिन्नुक्ते प्रतीयते । I 76

इति त्यागस्य वाक्येऽस्मिन्नुत्कर्षे गाथु लक्ष्यते ॥ I 78

While defining the Udātta Alamkāra also, Dandin says in II 303

पूर्वत्राशयमाहात्म्यमत्राभ्युदयगौरवम् ।

सुदृगञ्जितमिति व्यक्तमुदात्तद्वयमयम् ॥ II 303

The implied idea, Pratiyamāna, is also met with in the Alamkāra chapter. It is seen in many varieties of Upamā, II 14, 16, Sāmyapratīti in 46 (Prativastūpamā), Pratiyamāna sādīśya in Vyatīrka in II 189 & 195, also in 205 (Samāsokti) where Dandin says there is the suggestion of another idea, Sūcana (213), and Prakāśāntara ākhyāna in Paryāyokta (295)

When we come to the Paryāyokta in Udbhāta we find a clear mention of a significative capacity called *Avagama* which means Suggestion, a capacity different from and coming after the well-known Abhidhāna of the words and the Tātparya of the sentence as a whole

पर्यायोक्त यदन्येन प्रकारेण अभिधीयते ।

वाच्यवाचकवृत्तिभ्यां शून्येनावगमात्मना ॥

Similar traces of Dhvani can be found in Rudrāta's Bhāṭyālamkāra (vii 38-40) where Rudrāta points out the presence of Avagamana of another idea, and in his Parikara, Samāsokti and Anyokti

Both Ānanda and Abhinava clearly state that Udbhāta showed (in his *Bhāmahavivaraṇa*) cases of Alamkāra dhvani, one Alamkāra suggesting another. He might not have called those cases Dhvani or Alamkāradhvani. Says Ānanda

अन्यत्र वाच्यत्वेन प्रसिद्धो यो रूपकादिरलङ्कारः, सोऽन्यत्र प्रतीयमानतया बाहुल्येन प्रदर्शितः तत्रभवद्भिः भट्टोज्झटादिभिः । p 108

The *Locana* says

तद्वचने — तात्पार्यालङ्कारविशेषविषयेऽपि अन्योऽलङ्कारविशेषः मानीत्युद्धृतादिभिः उक्तम् इत्यर्थशक्त्या अलङ्कारो व्यज्यत इति तैरुपगतमेव । केवलं ते अलङ्कारलक्षणकारत्वाद् वाच्यालङ्कारविशेषविषयत्वेन आहुरिति भावः । p 108

When the theory of Dhvani was formulated by the neo-critics headed by Ānanda, there was all-round opposition and one of the many counter-theories put forward against the necessity for Dhvani is the theory of 'Alamkāra antar-bhāva', the viewpoint of those who accepted the existence of a suggested element but held it, whether it be a case of Dhvani of Vastu, Alamkāra or Rasa, as included in Alamkāras, ordinary Alamkāras or Rasavadalamkāras. This viewpoint is held by Pratihārendurāja also, who expounds it at the end of his commentary on Udbhata's *Kāvyaalamkāra-sāra-saṅgraha*

स (प्रतीयमानः) कस्मादिह नोपदिष्टः । उच्यते । एष्वेव अलंकारेषु अन्तर्भावान् । p 79
Vastudhvanī is shown to be Paryāyoktālamkāra ; in such cases as the Pada-dhvanī in the verse रामोऽस्मि सर्वं महे Pratihārendurāja posits Paryāyoktālamkāra, by accepting a class of Paryāyokta pertaining to a single word in addition to the generally accepted Paryāyokta in a Vākya

न खलु पदे पर्यायोक्तेन न भवितव्यमिति राजामाज्ञा, सूत्रकारवचनं वा । p 82.

Besides the realisation of a suggested element in the above given cases of Alamkāra, early writers vaguely touched certain other kinds of Dhvani also. Ānandavardhana says in stating the Pūrvapakṣa that those predecessors who recognised certain cases in poetry where a secondary significance of words beyond the primary one added charm, touched the fringes of Dhvani.

“—तथापि गुणवृत्त्या काव्येषु व्यवहारं दर्शयता ‘वनिमार्गो मनाक् स्मृष्टः—’ । p 10.
Abhinava comments upon this in the following manner .

“भट्टोद्भट्टवामनादिना । भामहोक्तं ‘शब्दच्छन्दोऽभिधानार्थः’ (I. 9.) इत्यभिधानस्य शब्दाद् भेदं व्याख्यातुं भट्टोद्भट्टो वभाषे—‘शब्दानाम् अभिधानम् अभिधाव्यापारः, मुख्यो गुणवृत्तिश्च ।’ वामनोऽपि ‘सादृश्याल्लक्षणा वक्रोक्तिः (IV. III. 8.) इति । मनाक् स्मृष्टः इति । तैस्तावद् ध्वनिदि-गुन्मीलिता ।” p 10

While commenting upon Bhāmaha I 9, where some subjects accessory to poetics are mentioned two of which are Śabda and Abhidhāna, Udbhata pointed out that the first word Śabda referred to words themselves and the latter, Abhidhāna referred to the two-fold significative capacity of words, the primary and the secondary. The presence of the latter in Alamkāras, Udbhata must have shown in the course of his commentary on Bhāmaha but we are not fortunate enough to know it owing to the loss of Udbhata's *Bhāmahavivaraṇa*. But in his *Kāvyaalamkāra-sāra-saṅgraha*, a text pretty closely following Bhāmaha, Udbhata says there is Gunavṛtti in Rūpaka. The charm in Rūpaka is said to consist in the prominence of this secondary significance.

श्रुत्या संवन्धविरहाद् यत्पदेन पदान्तरम् ।

गुणवृत्तिप्रधानेन युज्यते रूपकं तु तत् ॥

The Gunavṛtti is very much earlier than Udbhata in philosophical literature. In poetics, we meet with it even in Dandin's *Samādhiguna* which is identical

with Vāmana's Vakrokti Alankāra, both of which result from the secondary significance based on similarity, Sūtrasāhakaṇṭha

नष्टान्नोद्गोर्णवान्तादिरौणवृत्तिव्याख्यात । तद्विमुद्रा ॥ K 11 95.

Thus Samādhi of Dandin and the Vakrokti of Vāmana are the Sūksmālamkāra of the Aupamya class of Rudrāta (VII 98). In the Alankāra section also, Dandin speaks of Gaunavṛtti in connection with varieties of Itivālamkāra. II 254

तेऽस्मां प्रयोगमात्रेण रौणवृत्तिव्याख्यात ।

अत्यन्तमुद्रा दृष्टा तद्विमुद्रा यथा ॥

This suggested idea was slowly gaining importance. We see Ananda informing us in the opening verse that, though (as Abhinava points out) none ever put it in the form of a work, the theory of Dhvani was old and was being held by scholars for sometime before him, नृप-समाज्ञापय । When Ananda was trying to give shape to the concept, and establish the theory in a systematic form, contemporaries like poet Manoratha (p. 9) ridiculed him. To them, there must be something definite in terms of Alamkāra, Vyutpanna śabda (i.e., Sausabdya, and Vakrokti). Ananda had to meet all objections and in his *Dhvanīyātoka* he has given and related the following Anti-Dhvanī theories.

In the opening Kārikā itself Ananda says that Dhvani has three Prati-paksas (1) Certain scholars denied it altogether, (2) certain others considered it as Bhakti or Lakṣaṇā, the secondary significance, (3) a third set considered it incomprehensible and indescribable. Of these three, the second and the third recognised the idea of Dhvani, the former included it in Bhakti while the latter, granting the maximum to the Dhvani theorists, admitted the impossibility of its inclusion in Bhakti, but said that it is something which a few Sahridayas only see and that it is beyond the capacity of words to define it and put it into a system of thought. These form the three primary anti-Dhvanī standpoints. Abhinava puts them succinctly thus. Conventionally sets of ideas are associated with words, whatever is thus associated and is got at by this conventional association is Abhidhā, the denotation of the word, beyond this there is no special capacity of words called Vyāñjanā. If the ideas got are to be analysed into those that form the ideas primarily associated through convention and those coming in their train, then the second class of meaning can be classed as the 'secondary meaning', all coming under Lakṣaṇā or Bhakti. If it is held that the suggested idea is not included in Bhakti, then surely it is not to be called by a new name like Dhvani but has to be pronounced indescribable. The first is negation, Abhāvavāda, the second is inclusion in Bhakti, Lakṣaṇāntarbhāva vāda, and the third is Anirvacanīyatā vāda.

“(१) तत्र समयपेक्षेण शब्दोऽर्थप्रतिपादक इति कृत्वा वाच्यव्यतिरिक्तं नास्ति व्यंग्यम् ।
(२) सदिपि वा तदभिप्राक्षितं शब्दव्यग्न-अर्थवत्कृष्टत्वाद् भाक्तम् । (३) तदनाक्षिप्तमपि वा न वक्तुं शक्यं, कुमारीष्विव भर्तृमुखमतद्विस्तम् । ” Locana p 4

Ānanda takes up the first view-point and analyses it into three arguments (pp. 4-9). Poetry is different from other utterance in that its Śabda and Artha are beautiful in some way. The causes of that beauty have been found out to be Anuprāsa etc., and Upamā etc., Alamkāras of Śabda and Artha, Gunas of Śabda and Artha on which are based the Virtus of both Śabda and Artha as well as the Rītiś. Therefore there can be nothing new like Dhvani beyond Alamkāras, Gunas, Rītiś and Virtus. Secondly, these exhaust the elements of charm in poetic expression and if there is said to be something which a clique like that of the Dhvani-theorists urge as a feature of poetic charm, the only reply is that this strange thing not coming under any known category, is plainly not a feature of poetic charm at all. Thirdly, even granting that there is something like Dhvani and that it is an element of poetry, it can be shown that it is only a new name for one or the other of the numerous varieties of figures etc., accepted by the ancients or is included in one or the other of the varieties of the same which are infinitely possible. Thus even in this first viewpoint there is a gradual passing from the Abhāva to the Antarbhāva vāda. Thus on the whole there are three Abhāva vādas, one Bhākta vāda and one Anuvācānīya vāda, giving a total number of five anti-Dhvanī theories. Abhinava also explains these clearly on pp. 4-5 (*Locana*).

All these are generally answered by Ānanda in the first chapter itself. Between pp. 35 and 45, Ānanda refutes the Alamkāra vāda. Taking the cases of Alamkāras like Samāsokti, Ākṣepa etc., he says that though there is a suggested element in these cases, it is only the expressed sense of the figures that is the principal idea and that the suggested in those cases is only accessory or subordinate. Dhvani is a case of the suggested dominating over the rest. The general argument is also urged that Alamkāra means "means of decoration"; Dhvani is what is decorated and it cannot therefore be called Alamkāra. The last section of the first Uddyota is devoted by Ānanda to refute the second objection of Bhāktavāda. Dhvani is not identical with Bhakti; there are cases of Bhakti without Dhvani and cases of Dhvani without Bhakti. At best, Bhakti of a certain kind is productive of one kind of Dhvani. This discussion on Bhakti and Dhvani is again taken up in the third Uddyota between pp. 195 and 197 after disposing of the Tātparya Vāda.

Jayaratha, in his commentary on the *Alamkāra-sarvasva* quotes two Kārikās from some unknown writer which give the anti-Dhvanī theories as twelve in number.

तान्पर्यशक्तिरभिधा लक्षणानुमिती द्विधा ।

अर्थापत्तिं क्वचित्तन्त्रं समागोदत्याद्यलकृतिः ॥

रसस्य कार्यता भोग-व्यापारान्तरवर्धनम् ।

द्राव्येति ध्वनस्य स्थिता विप्रतिपत्तयः ॥ N S Edn p. 9

The twelve theories are not easy to be identified. They may be stated thus (1) Tātparya—Mīmāṃsakas (2) Abhidhā—very old Mīmāṃsakas (3) and

(4) Two kinds of Lakṣanī—the two kinds of Lakṣanī are Ajahatsvārtha and Jahatsvārtha, the latter is also called Lakṣita lakṣanī or Lakṣanā lakṣanā (5 and 6) Two kinds of Anumāna—The two kinds are not known (7) Arthāpatti—the Anumāna pakṣa slightly bettered (8) Tantra—clever expression containing double significance as in the case of Śleṣilamkāra. (9) Samāsokti and other Alankāras—this is the old Alankāras held as covering all cases of Dhvani, the viewpoint refuted by Ānanda in Uddyota I (10) Rasakāryatā—is the view of the old Rasa writers like Dandin and Lollata (the Citantanāsa) as shown by Abhinava in his *Abhinavabhāṣa* They are Utpattiyādins regarding Rasa—This is an anti-theory of Rasa-dhvani only (11) Bhoga—this also refers to Rasadhvani—It is Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory of Rasa and it can be taken as referring to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's Bhāvanā also (12) The last Pakṣa is given as अग्रजानां च कर्म विगम्यव्यापारः । I ventured the guess that this may refer to Kuntaka's Vakrokti but Professor Mm S. Kuppuswamy SASTRI considers Vakrokti as included in the Alankāra Pakṣa. The *Vakroktijīva* further accepts Dhvani, though not as the Ātman of poetry. So, according to Prof. SASTRI, the last refers to the Anuvacanīya vāda, the third of the three main anti-theories mentioned by Ānanda—This view accepts that Dhvani is not included in any other Vyapāra, that it is different from them, but leaves Dhvani there saying that it is not possible to define it.

Of these, we shall consider the Tātparyavāda at length later, for, it forms the main subject of this section—It is the view of some very old writers that words have nothing but one very powerful Abhidhā stretching over the whole length of the expressed, including all the subtle implications of the words. They cited the analogy of the arrow shot forth forcibly which went piercing many things—This is stated and refuted by Abhinava on p. 18 (*Locana*)—An analysis of all the ideas conveyed by an expression shows that there is more than one kind or class of idea conveyed—The whole set of ideas is not of one homogenous nature and necessitates the postulation of a power of signification, additional to the mere Abhidhā—Further, the suggested ideas are not like the ideas got at through Abhidhā and conventionally associated and fixed to the words through Samaya

“यद्यपि अन्विताभिधानवादी ‘यत्परं शब्दं स शब्दादि’ इति तस्यै गृहीत्वा शरवदभिधा-
व्यापारेणैव दीर्घदीर्घमिच्छति, तस्य यदि दीर्घदीर्घा व्यापारः, तद्वद्वेदादिभिर्न कृतं / भिन्नविषयत्वात् ।
अथ अनेकोऽपि तद्विषयसङ्कारिभेदाद्, असंज्ञानीय एव युक्तः । सञ्ज्ञानीयं च कार्यं विगम्यव्यापारः
शब्दकर्मबुद्ध्यादीनां पदार्थविशिष्टं निमित्तम् । असंज्ञानीयं च अस्मन्नय एव । अथ योऽपि चतुर्थकक्षा-
निविष्टोऽर्थः स एव अट्टिति वाक्येन अभिधीयत इति एव दीर्घदीर्घत्वं विवक्षितम् । तर्हि तत्र संके-
ताकरणात् कथं साक्षात् प्रतिपत्तिः ।” Pp 18-19 *Locana*

This long-long Abhidhāvīyāpāra as comprehending the entire meaning is the view of the Prābhākara mīmāṃsakas—Abhinava says on p. 188 of his *Locana* “प्राभाकरदर्शनेऽपि दीर्घदीर्घो व्यापारः—” This is the second anti-dhvani theory of Abhidhā

Under the two Lakṣanāpakṣas comes the Bhākta vāda refuted by Ānanda in his work at the end of chapter I and in chapter III. After refuting the possibility of holding Dhvani as Lakṣanā, Abhinava says that some writer escaped the difficulties by creating a new name for Dhvani, 'Lakṣita lakṣanā', a variety of Lakṣanā अत एव यत्केनचित् लक्षितलक्षणेति नाम कृतं, तद व्यसनमात्रम्. The Avaloka on the *Daśarūpaka* also refers to this view :

नापि लक्षितलक्षणया प्रतिपत्तिः । यथा 'गङ्गायां घोषः' इत्यादौ ।" p 118

The reply to this viewpoint is that in any kind of Lakṣanā, there is the incompatibility or unintelligibility of the primary meaning. In Dhvani, the primary sense is not cast off. The case of a Lakṣita lakṣanā may be one kind of Dhvani, the Lakṣanā-mūla-dhvanī but Dhvani is of other kinds also. Thus, the two kinds of Lakṣanā mentioned as two anti-theories of Dhvani in the *Kārikā* quoted by Jayaratha may be Lakṣanā and lakṣita lakṣanā, Ajahat-svāthā and Jahat-svāthā.

Mukulabhaṭṭa, in his *Abhidhāra-mātrkā*, defines Lakṣanā in such a way as to avoid the element of incompatibility of the primary sense, Mukhyārtha bādha. He calls the Mukhyaśakti only as the Vyāpāra of Śabda par excellence. Compared to it, Lakṣanā is the Vyāpāra more of Artha than of Śabda, it is Abhidheya-sāmarthya-ākṣipta.

शब्दव्यापारतो यस्य प्रतिपत्तिः तस्य मुख्यता ।

अर्थावसेयस्य पुनः लक्ष्यमाणत्वमुच्यते ॥

यस्य तु शब्दव्यापारावगम्यमानार्थपर्यालोचनया अवगतिः तस्य लक्षणीकत्वम् ।

p. 3, N. S. Edn

He brings many instances of Dhvani under Lakṣanā ; in the instance 'रामोऽस्मि सर्वं सहे' he says (p 11) that the suggested ideas are all conveyed by Lakṣanā. "लक्षिताः" He cites the verse *दुर्वारा मद्नेपथ* etc and says that *Vipralambhaśrīṅgāra* is conveyed in this verse through Lakṣanā.

तत् (वाक्यार्थं) पर्यालोचनगामर्थ्याच्च विप्रलम्भशृंगारस्य आक्षेपः इत्युपादानात्मिका लक्षणा वक्तव्यनिवन्धना × × विप्रलम्भशृंगारस्य चाक्षिप्यमाणस्य वाच्यतापेक्षया प्राधान्यम् । etc." p 14, and he concludes on p 21

"लक्षणागागावगाहित्वं तु त्वने सहृदयैर्नूतनतया उपवर्णितस्य विद्यत इति दिशमुन्मीलयितुम् इदमत्रोक्तम् ॥ etc."

This way of definition of Lakṣanā and illustration of that Vitti has been criticised by Mammata in his *Śabdavyāpāra vicāra* and the necessity to accept Dhvani for explaining the *Prayojanāmsā* in Lakṣanā has been explained by him. Surely Lakṣanā-mūla-dhvanī must have everything to do with Lakṣanā ; but this cannot mean that Dhvani is Lakṣanā, for there is Dhvani elsewhere, based on *Abhidhā* also. Above all, there is Dhvani based on no kind of *Śabdavyāpāra*, neither on *Abhidhā* nor on Lakṣanā. That is, there is Dhvani of *Rasa* from the sweet sounds of music ; again,

there is Dhvani from non-Śabda element like Cestri Says Ananda in *Uddyota* III pp 193-4

व्यङ्ग्यत्वं हि क्वचिद् वाचकत्वाश्रयेण व्यवलिप्तते, यथा विवक्षितान्वयस्यान्वये दत्तौ । क्वचित् गुणवृत्त्याश्रयेण, यथा अविवक्षितवान्वये दत्तौ । तदुभयश्रयिणीपादकत्वेन च त्वमे प्रथमं द्वौ प्रमेदौ उपन्यस्तौ । तदुभयश्रितत्वाच्च तदेकरूपत्वं तस्य न शक्यते पक्षम् । यस्मात् न तत्र वाचकत्वेकरूपमेव, क्वचिद्व्यङ्ग्याश्रयेण वृत्ते । न च लक्षणैकरूपमेव, अन्यत्र वाचकत्वाश्रयेण व्यवलिप्तम् । न च उभयश्रयै त्वेवैव तदेकरूपं न भवति, यावद् वाचकत्वलक्षणादिरूपरहितजन्यमर्थमेवेत्यापि, तथा हि गीतश्रवणीनामपि व्यङ्ग्यत्वमस्ति रसादिविषय, न च तेषां वाचकत्वम्, लक्षणा वा दर्शना । अतो शब्दादव्यङ्ग्यापि च विषये व्यङ्ग्यत्वस्यापि दर्शनाद् वाचकत्वादिजन्यमर्थप्रकारस्य अपेक्षेयत्वम् । ”

See also *Kāvya prakāśa* V p 269 FSS, Vol I

Anumiti is the view upheld by the Naiyayikas. Ananda refutes this Lingalingi-pakṣa as the last counter-view in the third *Uddyota*, after pointing out that the Vyākaraṇa adherent is no enemy to Dhvani. In the post-Ānanda period, and just after Abhinava, Mahima Bhattacharya wrote his *Vyakti-mitche* to show inclusion of all kinds of Dhvani in Anumiti or inference. Jayanta Bhattacharya, in his *Nvāyamāñjari*, casts bitter remarks on Ānanda and considers the poets and literary critics as unfit to discuss such serious problems as Śabdavyāpāra and Prāmāṇya. He refutes the Arthāpatti of the Mīmāṃsakas as included in Anumāna and along with it, he includes Dhvani also in Anumāna. Pp 48-49 Vizianagarum Edn. The chief reply to the Naiyayika critics of Dhvani is that there cannot be established any logical invariable concomitance between the Vācya and the Vyangya which concomitance is the basis of all inference.

“न तु व्यङ्ग्यम् अनुमेयमिति शक्यं व्यवनुम् । न हि वाचकत्वमव्ययं, प्रतिव्यङ्ग्ये किञ्चित् प्रमाणमस्ति । ”

Mammata's *Śabdavyāpāra-vivāra*

Arthāpatti. The writer who considered it possible to explain away Dhvani as Arthāpatti is not known.

Now we shall proceed to consider the greatest anti-Dhvanī theory, viz., the Tātparyā pakṣa which says that the Tātparyā or meaning of a sentence comprehends the suggested also and therefore there is no need for a separate Śakti called Dhvani. Mīmāṃsakas must be considered as the upholders of this view. Older Mīmāṃsakas held Abhidhā as giving only Padārthas and the Vākyārtha was given according to them by another Śakti called Tātparyā. The definite sentence-meaning got out of the indefinite word meanings is through a peculiar Śakti of the words formed into a sound sentence called Tātparyā (p 13, *Locana*). In this Tātparyā, Dhvani is sought to be included. It is argued against Ananda by his critics who advocate Tātparyā that at best a meaning other than and different from the expressed, Vācya-dātṛkṛta, only can be established. It does not follow that this different meaning is only suggested, Vyangya. Where this idea other than the one that is expressed is primary, Pradhāna, it is as good as expressed. So, it is to be called also the expressed sense, the expression being intended to mean that. In that case,

the first realised primary expressed sense is to be explained as a means to the realisation of the latterly realised Tātparya. Just as word-senses are the means of knowing the sentence-sense, so also the first expressed sense is the means to the further Tātparya.

Ānanda replies to this argument thus. Where an expression gives its first and primary meaning and is said to have another meaning also, there are two meanings for the word or sentence. Are the two distinct and different or identical? They cannot be identical for their nature and the means of their respective realisation clearly differ. When the first meaning is the meaning of the words themselves, the second cannot be described so. The former proceeds directly from the Śabda, the latter is got at by the suggestive power of the first expressed meaning. If the two were identical, there will be no talk of two meanings.

Further, the former is denotative power of the expressed words having definite sense-associations. The latter is Avagama or suggestion and it totally differs from the former; for, it pertains even to non-expressing sound (Avācaka) like music, which suggests emotions. Similarly, an action or Cestā is suggestive and has this power of conveying meaning called suggestion. When these two differ in this manner, it is not proper to call Avagamanaśakti, Vācakaśakti. Surely it is a Śabdavyāpāra, a significative power of the words but it differs in this respect from Vācakatva or primary Abhidhā. Abhidhā pertains only to Śabdas, Vyañjanī and Vyañjakatva pertain not only to Śabda but to Artha also. When its process is known to be plainly different and it is also known that the sense derived therefrom also differs, it is not proper to call it by the same name Vācakatva. It cannot be contended that a sentence can have only one sense-unit and that according to Dhvani, this law of Ekavākyatva is contradicted. For, the two meanings are explained by the Dhvani theory as being related as chief and accessory. The suggested is the chief meaning and the expressed, its accessory. The two senses are not of equal importance and as such do not go against the principle of Vākya-aikārthya.

It is only in that case where the suggested is the dominating idea that the Tātparyavādin holds that it naturally comes under the intention of the speaker and as such is nothing but Tātparya. Where the suggested is not dominant, there he does not hold the Śabdas to be Tatpara, wholly intent on that, but holds that they are intent only on the Vācya or primary meaning. Therefore, even where the Vyangya is Apradhāna, it is not included in Tātparya. The text of Ānanda's *Dhvanīyāloka* bearing on this discussion is given at the end of the section.

We can take up the view of Dhanañjaya and Dhanika, advocates of Tātparya against Dhvani, as a typical reply to Ānanda. The text of the *Daśarūpaka* and the *Avaioka* on it pertaining to this subject is given at the end. Dhanika summarises the case for Dhvani first. The suggested cannot be the Vākya-rtha, i.e., Tātparya cannot be the Śakti. For the suggested belongs to the third stage. In such a case as "Bhrama Dhārmika etc.," the first

stage is the Padārthas, the meanings of the words, the Abhidhā. The next is the meaning of the sentence, its Tātparyā in the form of an injunction, Vidhi, as in "Bhūma dhūmika". The suggested appear in the third stage and is of a different nature being a prohibition, Nisedha. And this is due to the Sakhi called Vyāñjanā.

But all cases of Tātparyā are not cases of the second stage, there are instances of expressions like "Viṣam bhukṣya" addressed by a father to his son, which mean the exact opposite. The expressed appears to be an injunction (Vidhi), "eat poison". But the father intends to say to his son who proposes to eat in a particular person's house, "do not eat in his house; better eat poison than eat in his house". In this utterance, "eat poison", there are three stages, the second and the third, Vidhi and Nisedha, appearing in the second and the third respectively. Even the third stage is here only Vakyārtha and Tātparyā. Therefore the Vyāpti or the law that the third stage-sense is Vyāngya does not hold good. The reply to this is that a father's injunction to his son to eat poison is on the face of it absurd, so the sentence obviously means something else. Hence the real meaning, the prohibition of eating, explained at the third stage, is also only the second stage. The rule that Vyāngya comes after the second stage therefore stands.¹ In cases of realisation of Rasa, in the second stage, only the Vibhāvas etc. are known, it is in the third stage that Rasa is realised. In fine, it is proper to hold Tātparyā in those cases where there is no completeness of sense or exhaustion of the expressed sense and the words tend to mean something else and stop only with that. But in cases where the words stop with conveying what they mean by Abhidhā and there is no incompleteness or unintelligibility in the expressed sense and yet from that first meaning arises another meaning, the case is one of Dhvani.

It can be seen in the above discussion that the chief point is this. The Tātparyavādin presses that Tātparyā is not exhausted with the first expressed sense, Avīśānta. But the Dhvanivādin contends that it is Vīśānta with the expressed sense and that what appears afterwards is got at through suggestion. It can also be seen in the discussion in Uddyota III of the *Dhvanyāloka* that both recognise that there are two meanings and the difference is that while the Tātparyavādin holds both as Tātparyā, the first as the means of the second, Upāyamātra, the Dhvanivādin separates the second as the Vyāngya and instead of calling the first Upāya for the further meaning, he says it is Gauna and the Vyāngya is Pradhana or Mukhya. The

1 In the *Locana*, taking cases of Lakṣanā also into account, Abhinava describes Dhvani, not as of the third stage, Tṛtīya-kakṣā-visaya, but as appearing in the fourth stage, Caturtha-kakṣā-visaya. Abhidhā, Lakṣanā, Tātparyā and Dhvani.

भक्तिर्हि लक्षणव्यापारः नृतीयकक्षानिवेशी । चतुर्थ्या तु कक्ष्यायाः ध्वननव्यापारः । तस्मात् अभिधातापर्यलक्षण (गा) व्यतिरिक्तचतुर्थाऽयं व्यापारः । ध्वननद्योतनव्ययनग्रन्थायन-अवगमनादि-सोदरव्यपदेशनिरूपितः अभ्युपगन्तव्यः ।

chief argument of the Tātparyavādin is that there is no such limitation of Tātparya to the expressed sense as held by the Dhvani-theorists. Tātparya extends over the whole range of the speaker's intention and covers all implications coming up in the train of the expressed sense

एतावत्येव विश्रान्ति तात्पर्यस्येति किञ्चित् ।

यावत्कायप्रसारित्वात् तात्पर्यं न तुलायतम् ॥

(Dhanika, *Avaloka* on the *Daśanūpaka*, p. 121) quoted from his own *Kāvya-mūlā*

In the given instance of "Bhrama Dhāmika", surely the prohibition of the mendicant from going to the banks of the Godāvārī is part of, nay the chief, intention of the speaker and is therefore included in Tātparya. There is no need for creating a new faculty for words called DHVANI तात्पर्यानतिरेकाच्च व्यञ्जकत्वस्य, न भ्रान्ति । As against the powerful argument that the intention of the speaker is the indication of the extent of the Tātparya of his utterance, and therefore, the implied and suggested train of ideas are also Tātparya, the Dhvani-advocates say that the Tātparya of a Vākya like Abhidhā of a Pada, is very limited in scope and can give only the bare meanings of all the words put together in grammatical order, that the ideas suggested are not invariably associated through Samaya, that Dhvani or suggestion exists in Avācaka-sounds like music and in gesture which is not any śabda, and that above all, Dhvani must be accepted for cases of the realisation of Rasas which can be found out in experience as incapable of realisation by mere Abhidhā, mention of their name. If Dhvani is not accepted, and Tātparya alone is held, it follows for the Tātparyavādin that Rasa is realised by Abhidhā and Tātparya also. That is, they will have to say that Svādambopādāna of Rasa is not only not a flaw but is the fact in some cases. This Dhanika accepts. He says that we speak in two ways and our sentence sometimes contains expression of the verb and sometimes not. We say "drive the cow" and the act of driving is mentioned herein, we also say sometimes "door! door!", meaning "shut the door". The idea of shutting the door is in our minds and one who runs to shut the door realises that "shutting action" in our mind from context etc. The case of Rasa-realisation is similar to this. In most cases utterances in poetry would seem to belong to the latter class where the verb is not seen and is understood from context. In poetic utterances, Vibhāvas etc. are described, and we at once get at the permanent mood of Rati etc., invariably associated with those particular Vibhāvas etc. described. The invariable association between some Vibhāvas etc. and some permanent mood is a thing of the world and experience. Other cases there are where the Sthāyin, like the expressed verb, is seen mentioned by the poet and we easily get at it.

All sentences गामभ्याज, द्वारं, द्वारम् etc. terminate in some action, the poetic ends in the Kriyā called the Svādodbhūti, the manifestation of relish which is the Sthāyin that has been nourished to that extent. Towards this end of relish is all poetry addressed. Thus definite Vibhāvas etc. described in a piece of poetic utterance form the word-units, the Padārthas which give what they

mean viz., the sentence-unit, the Vākyaṛtha, the Sthāyam. This Sthāyam known by the Bhāvako, the tasteful spectator or reader, revolves in his heart and attains relishable state. This is 'Abhichintikīratyādipratīti', if this does not sufficiently clear the issue, Dharmika says that the understanding of the Sthāyams in the Vibhāvas etc. may be held to be not through Lakṣanā, Lākṣanika ratyādipratīti. This may resemble Kṛmaka's notion which holds Vākyaṛtha as Lakṣya.

Dharmika further relates his position to that of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who advocated a new relation between Kāvya and Rāsa. Strictly speaking, against the Vyāgya-vyāñjaka sambandha between Rāsa and Kāvya or the Dhvani-theorist, the Tātparyavādin must say that the relation of the two is Vācya-vācaka or as Dharmika adds in the end Lakṣya-lakṣaka, but the case being one of poetry and there being a need to give a new kind of less prosaic process, the Vācya-vācaka sambandha itself is called Bhāvya-bhāvaka sambandha. Poetic expression has a power called Bhāvam and this is sanctioned, says Dharmika, by the Bhāvanīvidhau, viz., Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, and is granted also by Bhaṭṭa's description of Bhāvas.

‘भावयन्ति रसान् यस्मात् तस्मात् भावा’

The most serious flaw in this theory is its view that Rāsa is realised also by express mention of its name. This was the ancient belief and we find Udbhaṭa saying in his definition of Rasavadalankara that Rāsa has as its seat (Āspada) *Svasabda*, i.e., its own name, its Sthāyam, its Samcāram, its Vibhāvas and then Abhinaya (fourth Varga, 3). Ānanda has criticised it in the first Uddyota and Abhinaya also, both in the *Locana* and the *Abhinava-bhāratī*. In later times, as stated by Maṇmātha in a regular form, the chief of the Rasadosas is mention of the name of the Rāsa, Svasabda-vacyatva of Rāsa. Even Vyabhicāraṁ are allowed Svasabdabuddhau only occasionally. It is plain that the Rasas cannot be realised in a verse commencing the nine Rasas one after another. The text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* cannot rouse the emotions which Nāṭya arouses.

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka was a great adherent of Rāsa and though an adversary of the Dhvani-theorist, we must gather from Abhinaya's words that he did not hold Rāsa as Svasabda-vācya anywhere. Saye Abhinava.

“—एष्वपि न अवेद्वान्यत्र तेनापि बोधनमिति श्ला. कृतम् ॥ १५ ॥”

There is also this additional argument adduced by Ānanda to show that there is something called Dhvani. If Rāsa and the suggested Vastu and Alankāra are not accepted as ‘Dhvanyamāna’ they must be vācya, if they are vācya, anybody knowing the meanings of words must realise them, but the fact is that only a few Sahridayas realise them. This is a sure proof of something existing beyond the mere Vācya-vācaka.

It has been pointed out by Ānanda that though the suggested is the primary thing, the expressed forms the means thereof. Between them, it is a question of the former being primary and the latter accessory. When the former

is realised, the latter does not disappear. With the cognition of the latter, the former also arises immediately and during the continuance of the former, the latter does not cease to exist. The Tātparyavādin maintains that Vācya vācaka, the Vibhāvas etc., is Padārtha and the Tātparya of these Padārthas is Rasa which is described as Vākyārtha. If this means generally that the Padārthas are the means, Upāya, of the Vākyārtha, Ānanda accepts this analogy. He says in *Uddyota* I

यथा पदार्थद्वारेण वाक्यार्थः सप्रतीयते ।

वाक्यार्थवृत्तिका तद्वत् प्रतपन् तस्य वस्तुनः ॥

This does not mean that Ānanda subscribes to the view expounded later by Dhanika that Rasa is Vākyārtha, attained through Tātparya. Ānanda hastens to explain himself in the Tātparya discussion in *Uddyota* III on the subject of this analogy

न च पदार्थवाक्यार्थन्यायो वाच्यव्यङ्गयोः । यतः पदार्थप्रतीतिः अनर्त्येवेति कैश्चिद्विद्वद्भिरास्थितम् । येरग्यमव्यवस्थामन्या नाभ्युपेयते तेः वाक्यार्थपदार्थयोः घटतदुपादनकारणन्यायोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः । यथा हि घटे निष्पन्ने तदुपादनकारणानां न पृथगुपलम्भः, तथैव वाक्ये तदर्थे वा प्रतीति पदतदर्थानाम् । तेषां तदा धिक्कृतया उपलम्भे वाक्यार्थेतुद्धिरेव दर्शयितुं न त्वेव वाच्यव्यङ्ग्ययोर्न्यायः । न हि व्यङ्ग्ये प्रतीयमाने वाच्यतुद्धिर्दर्शयितुं । वाक्यावभागाविनाभावेन तस्य प्रकाशनात् । तस्मात् घटप्रदीपन्यायस्तयोः । यथैव हि प्रदीपद्वारेण घटप्रतीतव्युत्पन्नाया न प्रदीपप्रकाशो निवर्तते, तद्वद्व्यङ्ग्यप्रतीतिं वाक्यावभागः । यत् प्रथमोक्तं 'यथा पदार्थद्वारेण—' इत्याद्युक्तं तदुपायत्वसाध्यमात्रविक्षया ।

III p 190.

This, Abhinava says, is said by Ānanda to refute the Tātparyavāda which holds the Padārtha-vākyārtha nyāya between Kāvya and Rasa. Regarding the relation between Padārthas and Vākyārtha, there are two main views: The grammarians hold that the Padārtha-jñāna is unreal. This certainly cannot answer for the relation between Vibhāvas etc., and Rasa or between the expressed and the suggested, for, it cannot be said that the expressed is unreal. The Bhāṭṭa mīmāṃsakas hold that the Padārthas are not unreal and they must then accept that Padārthas are 'Upādāna-kāraṇa', material cause, for Vākyārtha. When a pot is made and seen, its component parts, the sherds which made it, are not separately cognisable. Similar is the case with the Padārthas. When one insists on seeing the parts in the whole, the sense of the whole is lost. Therefore, even this relation of Upādāna-kāraṇa does not hold good in the case of Vācya and Vyangya. When the Vyangya is seen, the Vācya does not disappear. Therefore, the analogy of a light manifesting to our eyes the hidden objects has to be chosen. This is Prakāśa-nyāya or Ghata-pradīpa-nyāya. When the pot in the dark room is manifested to our eyes by the lamp, and when we are seeing the pot, the lamplight does not disappear but continues to shine. It manifests itself and manifests another. See *Locana* pp 189-190.

एव पदार्थवाक्यार्थन्याय तात्पर्यशक्तिसाधक प्रकृतविषये निराकृत्य अभिमतां प्रकाशशक्ति साधयितुं तदुचितं प्रदीपघटन्याय प्रकृते योजयन्नाह ॥ *Locana* p 190.

In *Uddyota* I also, under the tenth kāvīkā mentioning the Padārtha-vākyārtha-nyāya as a general analogy for the idea of means and end, Abhinava remarks .

न तु वाच्यस्य सर्वथा अनवभाष. । अत एव तृतीयोक्तौ घटप्रकाशप्रधानवलाद व्यक्तवर्तीति-
कालेऽपि वाच्यप्रतीतिं विचरत इति यद्वद्व्यति, तेन सह अस्म्य ग्रन्थस्य न विरोधः । *Locana*, p. 32.

Dhanika refutes this analogy of the pot and the light, Ghatapradīpa-nyāya. He holds Rasas as incapable of being described as Vyāṅgya 'Vyāṅgya, Vyāṅjaka and Vyāṅjanā' are concepts related to that mode of our knowing things in which one object, entirely different and come into existence through its own causes, manifests another independent thing which has come into being through its own causes. Thus the Vyāṅjaka-vyāṅgya-nyāya is used regarding a lamp and its light manifesting a pot, the two things are independent, in origin and nature. The former manifests the latter. But in the case of Vibhāvas etc., which are described by the Dhvanīvādin as Vyāṅjaka, there is nothing similar to this state of affairs which can justify the use of the concept of Vyāṅjaka and Vyāṅgya. The Vibhāvas etc. themselves are the conditions that bring Rasa into being. They are so closely related to each other, they are not utterly unrelated and independent of each other like the lamp and the pot. Surely, the pot is not brought into being by the light, the pot is made of or produced by the shreds made of mud. Therefore, the case of manifestation through Vyāṅjana regarding Rasas on the analogy of the lamp and the pot is absurd in so far as the so called suggesting elements and the suggested in Kāvya are so much inter related and the former itself brings the latter into being. Says Dhanika

“एवं च सति रगादीना व्यक्तत्वमपास्तम् । अन्यतो लभ्यमन्ताद वस्तु अन्येनापि (मि)-
व्यज्यते, प्रदीपेनैव घटादि । न तु तदानीमेव अभिव्यक्तत्वाभिमतं आपाल्यमानम् । ”

D R A, p. 122

The above-given survey covers the whole ground of the discussion on Tātparya and Dhvani. After the time of Ānanda, the pre-Abhinavagupta commentator and Abhinava's kinsman-predecessor, the author of the *Caṇḍrikā* on the *Dhvanyāloka*, inclined towards the Tātparyavādins and held, on the basis of all the suggested ideas being part of the poet's intention, that Dhvani was Tātparya. There are two passages in Abhinava's *Locana* giving clue to this

(1) p. 20

यस्तु ध्वनिव्याप्त्यानोद्यत तात्पर्यशक्तिमेव विवक्षासुचकत्वमेव वा वननमनोद्यत, स नास्माक
हृदयमावर्जयति ।

(2) p. 26

यस्त्वत्रापि तात्पर्यशक्तिमेव ध्वनन मन्यते, स न वस्तुतत्त्ववेदी ।

The latter instance is not very clear but the former plainly says that the author of that view is a commentator on Dhvani, i.e., the *Dhvanyāloka*. What exactly Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka said regarding Tātparya as against Dhvani, we are not able to know. From what we see from the *Avaloka* on the *Daśarūpaka* which

follows the view of Bhāvya-bhāvaka sambandha, we must conclude that Bhāvakatva is only a poetic or a new name based on Bharata's own etymology of the name Bhāva for Tātparya. It is the counterpart of Tātparya of the ordinary utterance in the field of poetic expression. But in criticising Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Abhinava seems to say that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka accepted Rasadhvani and did not hold Rasa to be Vācya.

रसध्वनिस्तु तेनैवात्मतयाऽर्हाकृतः । p. 15

रसस्य न शब्दवाच्यत्वं तेनापि नोपगतमिति व्यङ्ग्यत्वमेव । p. 19.

This, however, is not clear. No doubt, as a staunch advocate of Rasa, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka emphasised Rasa as Jivita, the life of poetic expression, as Abhinava remarks on p. 12 of his *Locana*.

“व्यंशे काव्ये रसचर्चणा तावन् जीवितभूतेति भवतोऽपि अविवादोऽस्ति ।”

And for this Abhinava quotes the following text from Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka as authority :

काव्यं रसयिता गर्वो न बोद्धा न नियोगभाक् ।

This, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka evidently said to distinguish poetry from epics from which one takes lessons (Bodha) and from Veda and Śāstra from which one takes injunctions regarding right and wrong conduct. But in Kāvya, one simply enjoys. This verse has to be related to the other oft-quoted lines of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka ‘शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य’ etc., which distinguish in a similar manner poetry from Itihāsa or Ākhyāna and Śāstra. On Dhvani, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka has this definite statement quoted by Abhinava, but which is, it seems to me, rather misinterpreted to twist him.

ध्वनिनामापरो योऽगो व्यापारो व्यञ्जनात्मकः ।

तस्य लिङ्गेऽपि भेदे, स्यात् काव्यतत्त्वं, न रूपिता ॥

This is granted by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in the end, according to the well-known “Tusyatu durlajana nyāya.” Let there be a separate and distinct Vyāpāra called Dhvani, it is at best an accessory element in poetry, Kāvya-amśa or Kāvya-anga but not Kāvya-rūpi or Kāvya-ātman as described by Ānanda. The Kāvya-rūpi or Kāvya-ātman is surely Rasa but not Rasadhvani as Abhinava would put it wrongly as Nāyaka's position. To be correct, Nāyaka's Kāvya-ātman is Rasacaitanya or Rasabhoga got at, not through Dhvani to demolish which he wrote his treatise, but through Bhāvakatva and Bhojakatva. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's attitude towards Dhvani at this stage when he accepts it as one of the elements of poetry is similar to that of Kuntaka, who also accepts it as an element in poetry though not as something all in all. To Kuntaka, Dhvani comes under some variety of Vakratā. Says Ruyyaka that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka accepted Vajñanā vyāpāra as an element in Praudhokti, as part of poetic power or Kavivyāpara.

भट्टनायकेन तु व्यङ्ग्यव्यापारस्य प्रोदोक्त्याभ्युपगतस्य काव्यांशत्वं ब्रुवता etc. p. 9.

In the text ‘भावनाभाव्य लपोऽपि शृङ्गारादिगणो मतः’ Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka clearly states that Rasa is got at not by Dhvani but by Bhāvanā.

BHOJA

The position of Bhoja is one of compromise. He follows both Ānanda and the Tātparyavādins. Bhoja is less of a critical and consistent analytical writer and is always for broad synthesis and ignoring of differences, a peculiarly fortunate position which enables him to follow everybody, to follow both parties at the same time. Bhoja is very well acquainted with the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānanda and there is no trace in his works of his acquaintance with either work of Abhinava. Evidences of Bhoja's acquaintance with Ānanda-vardhana's work are available even in the S. K. I. On p. 628, Chapter V of the S. K. I, Bhoja quotes four Kārikās from *Uddyota* II of the *Dhvanyāloka*. He says that in certain cases of Guna, which are inherently fused with Rasas, there is no place for Sankara or mixture of Guna and Rasa. Here Ānanda's *Dhvanyāloka* II, Kārikās viii-xi on the three Gunas, Madhurya, Ojas and Prasāda (pp. 79-82) are quoted and effectively utilised by Bhoja. This point is further explained in the Guna section. Similarly on the subject of Rasa and Alamkāra, Bhoja utilises three verses of Ānanda from *Uddyota* II, the first Parikata śloka on p. 87, Kārikā xvii on p. 85 and the Parikata śloka on p. 221 in the third *Uddyota* with change of the first foot.

“स्मरन्ति हि वस्तूनि”, “स्माद्विभवया” and “स्मभावार्थः”

How Bhoja utilises these verses of Ānanda is explained in the Alamkāra section. These two sets of citations or rather ‘unacknowledged appropriations’ from Ānanda occur also in the same places in the *Sr. Pra.* Chapter XI Vol. II pp. 398 & 404-5. In the *Sr. Pra.*, in the latter case pertaining to Alamkāra, Bhoja quotes another Parikata śloka from the third *Uddyota* of Ānanda's *Dhvanyāloka* namely, शृङ्गारं चैव तत्राहं कथं etc. (p. 222, *Dhvanyāloka*). In the S. K. I this verse is cited and made part of his Kārikās by Bhoja at the very outset in Chapter V (S. K. I p. 471, Śl. 3). Of course, Bhoja pushes into this verse his own interpretation of Sringāra as Ahankāra.

If we leave these two or three instances of citation of a few verses of Ānanda, the only other topic on which Bhoja draws upon Ānanda, and that to a very large extent, is Dhvani. We shall now go into the question of Bhoja's attitude towards Dhvani. Dr S. K. De says in Vol. II of his *Sanskrit Poetics* (p. 229) “It will be convenient in this connection to take up the school of opinion represented by the writer on Poetics in the *Agnipurāṇa* and by Bhoja, which stands in many respects apart from the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana and which appears to have been entirely untouched by the implications of the Dhvani theory.” On p. 261 of the same volume, he says “The prominence given to Rasa and the absence of the Dhvani theory in Bhoja, therefore, need not surprise us.” We again find on the same page “He (Bhoja) even appropriates Kārikās from the *Dhvanyāloka*, although he does not accept its theory.” On the next page (262) Dr De says “His (Bhoja's) huge compilation represents apparently one of the several forms of arranging the teachings (with

(the exception of ignoring the *Dhvanī* theory) " These remarks are of course based upon what one can know from Bhoja's *S K Ā*. One cannot write like this after seeing Bhoja's *Śi Pīa*. But even in the *S K Ā* the concept of *Dhvanī* is not entirely absent. Bhoja accepts *Dhvanī* in the *S K Ā* as well as in the *Śi Pīa*. But he follows Bhāmaha, Dandin and Vāmana in bringing down every item under *Alamkāra* or *Guna*, under *Alamkāra* ultimately, for *Guna* also is *Alamkāra*. Thus *Rasas* are called both the *Artha* (*Chak* *Kīntu*) (as described by Vāmana) and as *Rasavad* *alamkāra* or *Alamkāra* of the category named *Rasokti*. In a similar manner, *Dhvanī* is called by Bhoja the *śabda-guna* *Gāmbhīrya*.

तन्मयता तु गाम्भीर्यम्

S K Ā. I 73. p 55

Just as *Rasa* is held as *Rasavad* *alamkāra* because *Rasa* also is a beautifying factor of expression, so also *Dhvanī* is held by Bhoja as the *Guna* embellishing expression. A *Vacyopaskāra* may be a *Guna* or an *Alamkāra*, if *Rasa* was an *Alamkāra* to Bhāmaha and Dandin, it was a *Guna* for Vāmana. In a similar manner, *Dhvanī* was a *Guna* to Bhoja. Stopping with this only, we can say that Bhoja's position towards *Dhvanī* is a kind of *Antarbhāva-vāda*, an *Antarbhāva* in *Guna* and through it in *Alamkāra*.

यद् अथाच्छब्दार्थानिश्चिन्तयन्त्येव न भवति । × × × चान्वयेतुश्च ध्वनिः । तन्न तद्व्यतिरिक्तः — । " *Locana* p. 5

Thus apart, we can see traces of *Dhvanī* in other places in the *S K Ā* of Bhoja. In the *Guna* section itself we find *Dhvanī* in other *Gunas* besides *Gāmbhīrya*. Bhoja's *Arthaguna* *Gati* is a case of *Dhvanī*.

गतिरपि न्यायव्यगमः पदार्थार्थान्तरस्य तु ।

Ratnesvara says on this — तेन न्यायव्यगममाह, अर्थात् कांस्यतालानुस्वानन्यायेन तादृशमर्थान्तरमवगम्यते सा गतिरिति व्यङ्ग्यार्थः ।

Ratnesvara says on I 121

वनन्यापारमोपान गृणन्त्यम ।

We meet with *Dhvanī* in Bhoja's *Śabdālamkāras* also. *Dhvanī* or the getting of some meaning for which there is no word in the expression, presupposes suppression. The idea of suppression or hiding of the idea is used as a concept called *Samvrti* which goes to produce many *Alamkāras*. Thus, Bhoja uses *Samvrti* in his *Śabdālamkāras*, *Mudrā*, *Ukti* and *Bhānti* (pp 116 150 I, & 151). All these cases involve *Dhvanī*. Commenting on Bhoja's *Śabdālamkāra* called *Kalpamā bhānti*, Ratnesvara says

येषु वर्णयति विधिर्नपेक्षप्रयत्नः, निषेधव्यपेक्षद्वारा विधिरूपा भवतीत्यास्तां विस्तरः ।

Bhoja himself says this in his comments on the illustrative verse

" — रूपमार्णयति विधिर्नपेक्षे निषेधविधिरूपा । "

We meet with the suggested idea in Bhoja's *Arthālamkāra* section also. Bhoja's *Arthālamkāra* called *Sūksma* is a case of pure *Rasadhvanī* from *Antarbhāva*. This *Sūksma* Bhāmaha refuses to accept as any *Alamkāra* (II 86), whereas Dandin calls it, with a vengeance, *Uttamabhūṣaṇa*, a great

Alamkāra Bhoja takes it with some change from Dandin. Sūkṣma is the conveying of a subtle meaning or idea through the expression of attendant signs. इडिगताकारलक्ष्योऽर्थः सौक्ष्म्यान् सूक्ष्म इति स्मृतः II 260 A 1. In the second instance given by Dandin, it is a case of Rasadhvani from Anubhāva. The first illustration giving the secret symbol of closing the lotus as suggesting the evening as the appointed hour, is cast off by Bhoja. Bhoja also gives two varieties of Sūkṣma. One, suggestion of Rasa from an Ingita or Anubhāva and the other from Ākāra, Sāttvika bhāvas like Romāñca.

तत्र इदितलक्ष्यमभिधीयमानसूक्ष्म यथा— “ता प्रत्यभिच्यक्तमनोरथानाम्” इति । अत्र स्वयवर-
मिलितानां राज्ञां राजपुत्री प्रति प्राप्तिलक्षणस्य मनोरथस्य शृङ्गारचन्द्रात्मकेन दर्शनेन व्यङ्ग्यत्वात्
अयमिदितलक्ष्य- अभिधीयमान- सूक्ष्मभेद । p 285 S K Ā.

Bhoja recognises another kind of two classes of Sūkṣma, the expressed and the suggested, Abhidhīyamāna and Pratiyamāna.

वाच्य प्रतियमानश्च सूक्ष्मोऽत्र द्विविधो मनः । III 2?

The description of an Anubhāva and a Sāttvikabhāva and the suggestion of Rasa through them is called Abhidhīyamāna Sūkṣma, the Pratiyamāna Sūkṣma is case of Rasadhvani through a Vyabhuṭam being described.

व्याहृता प्रतिवचन न ददाति, रुच्यन्त्येकैकमनः ।

आर्या कार्येण विना, प्रदीप्यमाने नदीकच्छे ॥

Commenting on this illustration (p 286 S K Ā 1) Bhoja explains the latter case. In the third instance of Pratiyamāna-sūkṣma, we have triyāvṛptalam-bha dhvani (p 287). Bhoja does not seem to hold seriously that Rasa is anything but Pratiyamāna, he seems to hold it as Abhidhīyamāna also. If he recognises an Abhidhīyamāna variety of Sūkṣma also, it is because he finds the Svāśabda of the emotion in the two illustrative verses.

“ता प्रत्यभिच्यक्तमनोरथानां” and “ता युनि तस्मिन्नमिलापवन्ध”

Therefore it is that Bhoja says

“मनोरथस्य अभिधीयमानस्य × × × दर्शनेन व्यङ्ग्यत्वात् ।

2 Anyonyālamkāra (III Pp 294-5) is described by Bhoja as having three varieties, Vācya, Pratiyamāna and Ubhava. In the illustration for the Pratiyamāna anyonya, the well known Gāthā of a traveller drinking water with fingers widely opened and the girl pouring him water slower and slower, and thinner and thinner, Bhoja says that their mutual (Anyonya) love (Anurāga) is suggested (Pratiyamāna).

3 A case of Alamkāra-dhvani is found in the Arthalamkāra section P 305 S K Ā. Bhoja speaks under Vyatireka, of Pratiyamāna Sādhya.

4 Finally, in his comments on Sambhavālamkāra, Bhoja refutes the older conception of Sambhava which clearly shows Bhoja's disapproval of the Anumāna theory of Rasa-realisation. This is not exactly a point showing Bhoja's acceptance of Rasadhvani but is given here as a point that is

bound to be of interest in connection with the question of Dhvani and Rasadhvani Bhoja says on p. 294 III. S. K. Ā .

अत्र यथा खार्वा द्रोणः, शते पञ्चाशत् इति नियमः, नैव विप्रलम्भे अलकानामकल्पनम्, अनजनम् अङ्गोः, मधुनो वा प्रत्यादिशः, सुहृदुदन्तलाभारम्भे वा नयनस्पन्दनानि; संभाव्यन्ते व प्रभूतकारण (णा) लोकादित्येव विधिरूप एव सम्भवः ।”

He says that the Sambhava of Droṇa in Khāṇ, of 50 in 100 is nothing but Anumāna, सोऽनुमानान् न भिद्यते । S. K. Ā III 26 He does not accept that between Rasa, here Vipralambha, and its Vyabhicārins and Anubhāvas there is any Niyama or Vyāpti There is only probability This is the chief argument of the Dhvani-theorists against the Anumāna or the Liṅgalingi-bhāva vāda Says Vidyānātha (p 41, Bālamamoramā Edn. *Pratāparudriya*) :

“न च अर्थशक्तिमूले व्यञ्जने अनुमानशङ्का व्यञ्जयव्यञ्जकयोः अविनाभावाभावात् । नन्वाननत्वादिकार्यस्य अनेककारणकत्वात् ।”

5 Upamā is given as Abhidhīyamāna and Pratiyamāna.

The above points related to Dhvani in the Alamkāra section in the S. K. Ā are found repeated, though without the comments, in the *Śr Pra*. also Besides, in the 22nd chapter of the *Śr Pra* (Vol III. pp 368-9) Bhoja classifies Anurāga into 24 varieties, two of which form a distinction into Abhidhīyamāna and Pratiyamāna

These odd contacts with Dhvani apart, Bhoja completely accepts Dhvani as the greatest Vyāpāra ruling in the realm of poetry and embodies much of Ānanda's text in his own treatment of Dhvani in the *Śr Pra*, as we shall see presently

We meet with Dhvani for the first time at the end of chapter VI in the *Śr Pra* Bhoja has explained 'Artha' as 'superimposition' (Adhyāsa) or 'transfiguration' (Vivarta) of the Śabda Brahman due to Avidyopādhi This, it is pointed out, may apply to the meaning which is primarily associated with Śabda, viz, the Abhidhīyamāna Artha, and Bhoja adds, there is another kind of Artha also called the Pratiyamāna How is it related to the Śabda Brahman? Is it also explainable by Adhyāsa and Vivarta?

Bhoja accepts the existence of the 'implied', the Pratiyamāna Artha He quotes Ānandavardhana's verse on it प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव etc (*Dhvanyāloka* I 4.) It is also accepted here by Bhoja that the Pratiyamāna appears after the appearance of the Vākyārtha,—वाक्यार्थभावनोत्तरकालमवगते. This Pratiyamāna is another 'state', Avasthāntara, of Śabda, a Viparīnāma of the Śabda Brahman This theory of Viparīnāma or transformation is adopted by Bhoja, and Adhyāsa and Vivarta are cast off Viparīnāma, he says, explains both the Abhidhīyamāna and the Pratiyamāna The Pratiyamāna is, as much as the Abhidhīyamāna, a Vyāpāra of the Śabda and this, Bhoja says, is a subject which he will speak of at length in a further section.

Further, Bhoja briefly indicates here the nature of this variety of Artha called Pratiyamāna He gives an illustrative verse प्राप्तश्रीरेष कस्मात् etc

(quoted in the *Dhvanyāloka* on p. 109) and explains the full purport of this eulogy on a king. The actual meanings of the words form the expressed sense, the Abhidhīyamāna, the conceiving of the king as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu is implied in the verse and this is Pratīyamāna, there is a further meaning also suggested, that this king Avatāra of Viṣṇu is superior to the other Avatāras, this forms the final Tātparya and it is called Dhvani in the realm of poetry.

As promised at the end of Chapter VI, Bhoja takes up Dhvani in Chapter VII. It has been explained in the section on Sahitya that Bhoja has schemed out a system of poetics under the concept Sahitya which consists of three departments of relations between Śabda and Artha. The first two departments cover grammatical relations, Vitti, Vivakṣa, Tātparya and Pravibhāga, Vyapekṣā, Samethya, Anyaya and Ekutubhavya. Vitti covers Abhidhā, Lakṣanā and Gauṇī, and other significative capacities known to us as Tātparya and Vyañjana, we find constituted into a separate category, the third in the first set called Tātparya. Strictly speaking Vitti and Tātparya should not have been given as two separate classes, all Saktis, Abhidhā, Lakṣanā, Gauṇī, Tātparya and Dhvani, must have been considered together. Bhoja, however, treats of Tātparya and Dhvani separately, because Abhidhā, Lakṣanā and Gauṇī are taken as Padasaktis and under Tātparya, Bhoja investigates the Vākya-artha.

Bhoja's acquaintance with the *Dhvanyāloka* is amply proved in this section of his work. Earlier, we saw, Bhoja quoted Ānanda I 4 प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव etc., and accepted the suggested idea also and explained it as appearing after the Vākya-artha. In this section on Tātparya and Dhvani proper, Bhoja, as can be seen by a perusal of the text appended herewith, borrows freely from Ānanda. Ānanda I 13, the definition of Dhvani, the varieties of Pratīyamamūlha which Ānanda shows as examples in the beginning to prove the existence of a sense separate and different from the expressed one (pp. 16-23 *Dhva* 1-5), some of the verses given by Ānanda here as illustrations and a few other ideas found in the *Dhva* 1 are found here in Bhoja's text on Dhvani. Though Dhvani is accepted by Bhoja, Ānanda is not completely followed by him, Bhoja borrows, adjusts and adapts Ānanda's Dhvani. He reconciles Ānanda to the Tātparyavadin, makes the equation that Tātparya is identical with Dhvani.

Whatever sense is intended to be conveyed by words form their purport, Tātparya. This purport or Tātparya is of wide extent and of more than one kind. It may be expressed, 'implied' or 'suggested', Abhidhīyamāna, Pratīyamāna and Dhvanirūpa. The expressed or Abhidhīyamāna sense is the Vākya-artha, the meaning of a sentence got at by Ākāṅkṣā, Sannidhi etc., after the separate words have delivered their individual meanings through one or the other or one or more of the three Śabda saktis or significative capacities of words called Abhidhā, Lakṣanā and Gauṇī. In the sentence—गौ, गच्छति—, "the cow goes" is the Abhidhīyamāna vākya-artha.

There are cases of other kinds of sentences which, when the expressed sense alone is taken into consideration, mean nothing or tend to mean more. The expressed sense is in one case displaced by an implied sense and in the other, supplemented by a further and implied sense. The conditions which manifest or aid the manifestation of this additional sense, both in cases of incompatibility of the expressed and compatibility of the expressed, are such as the meaning, the context, propriety etc. If a father says to his son who is about to go to an enemy's house for dinner, "Well, eat poison", the mere expression itself or its expressed sense which is an injunction (Vidhi) to eat poison obviously means little and naturally drives us to explore the context and set our mind at rest by finding out the meaning that the father's real intention is not that his son should die by eating poison but that he should realise that it is better to eat poison and die than dine at such a person's house, that, in short, the son should not go to dine there. This is a case of the primary sense being incompatible and hence calling forth some other implied meaning. Similarly, a primary compatible meaning may be attended by the rise of another wave of meaning. Both the cases are called Pratiyamāna

If, after the appearance of the expressed sense, either Śabda or Artha, completely subordinating itself gives rise to another sense, it is said that, in those cases, Śabda and Artha *suggest* another sense. If an Artha or one sense itself suggests another, the suggesting Artha is subordinate and the suggested Artha shines forth as the chief idea. This is not universal, for this rise of a suggested sense can be likened to two phenomena,—*resonance*, *Anunāda* and *echo*, *Pratidhvanī*; it is only such metals as bronze which, when struck, give rise to ripples of resonance and it is only a few spots like caves where one's voice is echoed. This Dhvani or the suggested idea appears after the rise of not only the expressed sense but also of the implied or Pratiyamāna sense. As for instance, when it is said, "She winks"—निमिषपट्येवा—one gets the primary meaning first that she winks, the twinkling of the eye is the Abhidhiyamāna sense. We also come to know from the winking of eyes that the woman is not a celestial damsel who has no closing of the eye, but only a mortal being. This first extra-meaning is Pratiyamāna. There is yet further significance possible in the small expression. The winking raises the vision of a pair of exquisitely sparkling eyes whose beauty excites emotion. This last sense, namely, the beauty of her eyes is said to be the *suggested* sense, Dhvani.

The expressed sense, on analysis, shows itself to be one of the four kinds, an injunction, a prohibition, a case of both or a case of neither.

The Pratiyamāna is entirely different from the expressed. It is of various kinds. If the expressed is an injunction, it may be that the Pratiyamāna is a prohibition. That is, though to all appearance an expression may contain in its words only an injunction, its real purport may be its opposite, prohibition. Bhoja points out, illustrates and explains some varieties.

They are

- 1, 2 Prohibition from Injunction and vice versa
निषेधो निषेधे and निषेधो विधि
- 3 A further Injunction from an Injunction विधि एव प्रथमम्
- 4 „ Prohibition „ a Prohibition निषेधो निषेधाभ्यन्तरम्
- 5 Another Injunction from both Injunction and Prohibition
विधिनिषेधयोरेव प्रथमम्
- 6 „ Prohibition „ „ „ „
विधिनिषेधयोर्निषेधाभ्यन्तरम्
- 7 An Injunction from a case of neither Injunction nor Prohibition
अविधिनिषेधो विधि
- 8 A Prohibition from a case of neither Injunction nor Prohibition
अविधिनिषेधो निषेध
- 9 Neither Injunction nor Prohibition from an Injunction विधिप्रत्युभयम्
- 10 „ „ „ Prohibition निषेधोऽप्रत्युभयम्
- 11 Neither Injunction nor Prohibition from a case of both Injunction
and Prohibition विधिनिषेधेऽप्रत्युभयम्
- 12 Neither Injunction nor Prohibition from a case of neither Injunction
nor Prohibition अविधिनिषेधेऽप्रत्युभयम्

This forms an amplification of what is found in the *Dharmavāloka* I pp. 16-23. Ānanda has only indicated the nature of the suggested case as being totally different from the expressed by a few examples, विधि निषेधे, निषेधे विधि, विधायप्रत्युभयम्, निषेधेऽप्रत्युभयम् and one case of general difference, नात्राविधिनिषेधोऽप्यत्र निषेधो विधिनिषेधे । These are taken by Bhoja as also most of the illustrative Gīthās given here by Ānanda, and similar varieties are elaborated. A few of the other illustrative Gīthās in Bhoja are also taken from other sections of the *Dharmavāloka* itself, *Uddayas* II and III.

Dhivani, Bhoja has said, is what appears after the Abhidhīyamāna and the Pratīyamāna. It is not clearly understandable why Bhoja separated the Pratīyamāna and the Dhivanyamāna. In Ānanda, there is no such difference. Pratīti, Avagama, Dhivani, all mean the same thing in the *Dharmavāloka*. When everyone was denying the very existence of Dhivani, Ānanda tried to prove its existence step by step. He first stated by saying that Ārtha in Kāvya which Saundaryas relish is of two kinds, the expressed and the implied or suggested, Vācya and Pratīyamāna (I-2). Just as the various limbs of the beautiful woman or the body of that woman itself is one thing and besides that there is something hanging over her called Lavanya, so also there is in poetry something which is totally different from the expressed and the obvious,

the Vācya This is borne out by experience This something in poetry is also experienced as being separate and altogether different from the Vācya, the expressed If in a set of instances it can be shown to exist in this manner, separately and different from the expressed, the first stage is crossed and the opponents must accept that a separate non-expressed sense is a fact For this purpose, Ānanda avoids the name of Dhvani which he wants to give to that suggested sense and the process of its realisation, and generally introduces his critics and readers to the other unexpressed sense He accordingly gives five instances of such unexpressed sense, regarding Vastu (Vastudhvanī). This Bhoja seems to take by itself and as separate from Dhvani, which according to him is the third kind of Tātparya, appearing after and through the second, named the Pratīyamāna The Pratīyamāna is defined by him as the extra-meaning immediate to the Abhidhīyamāna Proper emphasis on the condition “उपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थ” in a case of Dhvani from Śabda or Artha or both is not laid by Bhoja and there is, as a matter of fact, no critical and deep or intense study and exposition of Dhvani in Bhoja’s work. After the release of the mere expressed Vākyaṛtha from a Vākya, the sense, in many cases, goes on revealing more and more The first revealed ideas which are not directly expressed by so many words in the sentence is the Pratīyamāna ; the next or subsequent or final revelations constitute Dhvani If we examine Bhoja’s explanations of his own illustrations of the several varieties of Dhvani, we shall see that, in each and every case, Dhvani passes through Pratīti or the Pratīyamāna Artha, and the suggested, Dhvanyamāna, always arises at the back of or through the Pratīyamāna “एतन् प्रत्याययन् इदं भवति” is the phraseology in all cases We can say that the two do not differ except in the fact that the Pratīyamāna is the first risen Dhvani and Dhvani itself is subsequent Dhvani Almost all the Gāthās given as illustrations for the varieties of the Pratīyamāna are taken up in the Dhvani section and the suggested idea or Dhvani is pointed out in all of them As regards these, Bhoja says that the Dhvani is the suggestion of how clever the lover or the lady or her friend is, how much one loves the lady and so on In the verse शिम्बरिणि कं नु नाम etc., all non-expressed implied ideas are called Pratīyamāna and as for the suggestion or Dhvani, Bhoja says it is the *love* of the man for the lady described in that verse In the Gāthās भम धम्मिअ etc., Bhoja assigns all implied *ideas*, Arthas or Vastus to the class of Pratīyamāna and gives the Vaidagdhya of the Nāyikā or her Cetī as the suggested, Dhvani.

नयवत्या वैदग्ध्यं भवति । प्रार्थनावैदग्ध्यं भवति । स्खलितगोपनेषु सखीगोपनेषु सखीवैदग्ध्यं भवति । वर्णनीयायाः चारुत्वोत्कर्षप्रतीतिः भवति । वर्णनीयायाः स्वातुराग प्रकाशयति । and so on. Thus, the first risen suggestion is Pratīyamāna, it is of the nature of *Vastudhvanī* only, to adopt here Ānanda’s phraseology and classification The subsequent or final suggested idea is described as Dhvani proper. It is *mostly* of the nature of Bhāva, that is, Sthāyin like Anurāga or Rati as in the case of शिम्बरिणि कं नु नाम etc. which forms the Rasādi dhvani of Ānanda or Anubhāvas etc., like Vaidagdhya, Rūpotkarṣa (Uddīpana vibhāva) and the like, which are Guṇas of the Nāyaka and Nāyikā, and similar things which

however come more and more under the category of *Vaśitādhikāra*. If however Bhoja had really pursued such distinction of degree, or a such clear classification that *Vaśitā* Manukā Dhyamī form is of a higher degree and that *Rasādhya* dhyamī is the *Paramatātparya* and *Dhyamī*, it would have been interesting. Or, if he had emphasised '*Upāntarūpābhāvāt*' in the definition of *Dhyamī*, he could have separated the *Pratīyamāna* or *Ākāśādibhūtvānyanya* or cases of *Alamkāras* where *Dhyamī* is not predominant. As a result from this, he could have given *Dhyamī* as *śakti* which is dominant over the subordinated *Vācya*. He must then have defined and illustrated both differently. As it is, we must say that Bhoja has not made any attempt to distinguish the *Pratīyamāna* and *Dhyamī*. A distinction into *Vaśitā* Manukā dhyamīs and *Rasādhyamī*, Bhoja did not bring upon at all, as he made the *Paramatātparya* to be of the form of *Vastu* and not to be *śakti* due to the objection, leaving it to us to define his position systematically. He and Ananda who reproduces the text of the *Śrī. Pra* on the varieties of the *Pratīyamāna* considers the whole text as referring to what Ananda distinguishes as *Vaśitādhikāra*. See Dharmacandra, *Kāvyānusaṅga* pp. 26-34.

At best, we can say from Bhoja's text only that much that the *Pratīyamāna* is '*Avāntaraṅgīyamāna artha*' or '*Abhidhyamāna vyavahita dhyamī*' and *Dhyamī* is '*Paramatātparya*'.

For all practical purposes, we must ignore the vague distinction into *Pratīyamāna* and *Dhyamī*. *Tātparya* must be described as having only two kinds, the expressed and the non-expressed or the extra-*śāstra* that is implied or suggested. It would have been enough if Bhoja had given *Tātparya* as being two-fold, *Abhidhyamāna* and *Pratīyamāna* otherwise called *Dhyanyamāna*. While explaining the relation of the non-expressed, *Anabhidhyamāna* or *Abhidhyamāna atīkṣta*, with the *Sabda Brahman* or one of *Viperaṁbana*, Bhoja mentions only the *Pratīyamāna*, though immediately he cites a verse and points out in it a lot of implied idea, the former part of which he calls *Pratīyamāna* and the latter part *Tātparya* or *Dhyamī*.

WHAT IS BHOJA'S 'TĀTPARYA'?

The *Tātparya śakti* related by Ananda is the *Mīmāṃsaka's*. Upholding it, Dharmika says that it is not necessary to recognise a new function called *Dhyamī*. Bhoja follows in the gap between the two and erects both with both his hands. He accepts Ananda's *Dhyamī* and his advances. *Tātparya*. *Tātparya* is used by Bhoja in two meanings, one bigger and another a more restricted one. While he speaks of *Tātparya* as one of the four *Keyala sabda sambandha-śaktis* (*Vitti, Vivakṣā, Tātparya* and *Pravibhaga*) he uses *Tātparya* in the larger sense. Under it comes the *Abhidhyamāna Vākyaṛtha* which Ananda urges must be the proper meaning of *Tātparya*. But Bhoja brings under it Ananda's *Dhyamī*, as Dharmika and other earlier critics of Ananda urged. The *Abhidhyamāna* is not called exactly *Tātparya*. A special *Śakti* like that is not called forth by Bhoja for the primary import of a sentence, as by the *Mīmāṃsakas*. The primary sense of a

sentence he says, is got at by Ākāṅksā, Sannidhi, Yogyatā etc., when the words themselves deliver the meaning of each through Abhidhā, Laksanā or Gaunī Śakti. Or, as Kumārasvāmin puts it, the very sentence in proper grammatical build gives its Vākyārtha by its own inherent nature. “तद्यत्र समर्गरूपो वाच्यार्थः कश्च प्रतीयत इति चेत् तार्किकणामिव वाक्यमहिम्ना, न पुनः तात्पर्येण सीमांसकानिर्वेति द्रुमः । अत एव ते वर्णयन्ति आकाङ्क्षादिमत्वे सति पदानां पदार्थानां वा समन्वयशक्तिः वाक्यम् तद्वत्वाद्यतो वाच्यार्थः ।” Pp 32-33. *Pratāparudriya Vyākhyā* Bālaṃanoramā Edn Therefore, regarding Abhidhiyamāna, Bhoja must be said to follow the Tār-kikas. Tātṭparya is the general name for his Abhidhiyamāna as well as other kinds of non-expressed meanings. It is the name of the Abhidhiyamāna as well as of the Pratiṭyamāna and the Dhvanyamāna Arthas. The two, the Pratiṭyamāna and Dhvaniṭūpa, can however be clubbed together and Bhoja can, after ascribing the primary Vākyārtha to the power of the Vākya itself (Vākyamahimā), reserve the name Tātṭparya to the suggested. As a matter of fact, in certain passages he has made such a reservation that Tātṭparya is Dhvani. In the oft-referred-to discussion of Dhvani at the end of chapter VI of the *Śrī Pra*, Bhoja gives the Abhidhiyamāna-meanings of the verse and reserves the name Tātṭparya for the third sense, which he says is called Tātṭparya in the world of ordinary expression but goes by the name of Dhvani in the world of poetry.

(1) “—तात्पर्यम्, यस्य काव्येषु ध्वनिरिति प्रसिद्धिः ।”

(2) On p 44 (Vol II) Bhoja says “अभिधीयमानम्, प्रतीयमानम्, तात्पर्य (ध्वनिः) च—।”

Dhanika's view and the view refuted by Ānanda is the extension of the Mīmāṃsaka Tātṭparya to cover Dhvani also. Bhoja cannot be said to reject this also. It is really a great task to find out whether Bhoja rejects any view. He goes on piecing together all views. Ānanda would agree with Bhoja if the latter could confine Tātṭparya to the Abhidhiyamāna and leave the Pratiṭyamāna and Dhvani as being above the Tātṭparya and as being Dhvani. Dhanika would agree with Bhoja if the latter calls Abhidhiyamāna Vākyārtha the Tātṭparya and also the Pratiṭyamāna and the Dhanyamāna as Vākyārtha and Tātṭparya. Bhoja does so; all the amount of thought directly and indirectly expressed by a sentence is held as Tātṭparya by Bhoja, according to the Tātṭparyavādins, but here Bhoja votes for an analysis of the mass of ideas expressed directly and indirectly and labelling each variety. At this stage, he says that beyond the Vākyārtha got at by the power of the Vākya itself through Ākāṅksā etc., there is a class of ideas got at by suggestion, and Dhvani is here accepted. He even goes so far as to restrict the name Tātṭparya to the suggested, that is, to Dhvani, within which we can include his Pratiṭyamāna also. Therefore, Bhoja's position is a compromise and at a latter stage, it deserts Dhanika and others to follow Ānanda and makes Tātṭparya a name for Dhvani. A clearer position is held by Vidyānātha who says that there are only three capacities, Abhidhā, Laksanā and Dhvani, and Dhvani itself is Tātṭparya.

Both the sections on Dhvani in the 6th and 7th chapters of the *Śr Pra* close with the following verses

तात्पर्यमेव वक्षसि ध्वनिरेव काव्ये
 मीमांस्यमेव गुणसंपदि बल्लभस्य ।
 लावण्यमेव वपुषि स्वदत्तेऽङ्गनाथाः
 अक्षर एव हृदि मानवतो जनस्य ॥
 and यदभिप्रायसर्वस्व वक्तुर्वाक्यान् प्रतीयते ।
 तात्पर्यं अर्थधर्मस्तत् शब्दधर्मः पुनर्ध्वनिः ॥
 मीमांस्यमिव तात्पर्यम् आन्तरो गुण इष्यते ।
 वाग्देवताया लावण्यमिव बाह्यस्तथोर्ध्वनिः ॥
 अदूरविप्रकर्षात्तु द्वयेन द्वयमुच्यते ।
 यथा गुरभिवैजाखौ मधुमाधवसंज्ञया ॥

Bhoja : *Śr. Pra* Chapters VI and VII.

In ordinary speech and writing, the purport is called Tātparya, but the purport in poetic expression is called Dhvani. And what is the difference in the nature of the ordinary utterance and the poetic utterance, that purports of the two must be called by two different names, Tātparya and Dhvani? Ordinary talk and writing is "Avakra", not beautiful, poetic expression "Vakra," beautiful

यद्वक्त्रं वक्त्रः शास्त्रे लोके च वक्त्र एव तत् ।
 वक्त्रं यदर्थवादादौ तस्य काव्यमिति स्मृतिः ॥

Therefore, a more graceful name for Tātparya is Dhvani; this is the idea we get from the two verses of Bhoja तात्पर्यमेव वक्षसि etc and यद्वक्त्रं etc But suddenly he turns the statement the other way and says that the Abhiprāya, the entire intended idea, is a quality of Artha That is, Tātparya is Artha dharma; Dhvani on the other hand is śabda dharma What does Bhoja mean by this? Does he mean that Dhvani is the name of the Vyañjakaśabda and that Tātparya is the name of the Vyangyātha? That Dhvani is the Vyañjanā śabdavyāpāra and Tātparya is its result? Or, does he mean that śabda-dhvanī is Dhvani and Arthadhvanī is Tātparya? The last is clearly impossible, for, he speaks of Dhvani as pertaining to both śabda and Artha Again there is more poetry than any scientific analysis, when Bhoja says that Tātparya is internal, is the Saubhāgya of Vāk or speech, and Dhvani is external, the Lāvanya of Vāk Another attempt, Bhoja makes to clarify the issue, he says in conclusion that you can call either by either name, they are identical; just as the months of Caitra and Vaiśākha, so called from an astronomical point of view, are called Madhu and Mādhava from another point of view, by two other names, so also the purport of an expression can be called Tātparya or Dhvani To sum up:

1. Bhoja accepts Ānanda's Dhvani.

2. He first calls it a department of *Lapaṭya*, but finally says that the two are identical. In the latter stage, *Lapaṭya* does not include *Abhidhīya-māna vākyaṁ* but is a name of the *Pratīvamāna* and the *Dhyanamāna* Arthas.

3. Bhoja makes an artificial division of the affected element into *Pratīvamāna* and the *Dhyanamāna*, which is unnecessary.

4. The distinction into *Dhyan* of *Maṅgala Vāta* and *Rasadi* found in *Ānanda* is absent in Bhoja.

5. "Upasarganīkritasvarthatva" is mentioned by Bhoja as part of the definition of *Dhyan* but its implications are not realised and worked out. "Dhyanikāṣya where *Dhyan* is predominant, *Carubhūtaḥvyangya* and *Citra kāṣya* or *Aṅgāṅya*" is the other classification of *Ānanda*, missed in Bhoja.

Analysis of the concept of *Dhyan* itself and the classification of *Dhyan* is not made by Bhoja to such an extent as is seen in *Ānanda*. Later writers have worked out the possible varieties of *Dhyan* to 1,200 (See *Vidyānātha*, p. 55 *Balamanojanā* Edn.) But the chief varieties indicated by *Ānanda* are

Lakṣanāmūla		Abhidhāmūla	
Avivakṣitavācya		Vivakṣitavācya	
Arthāntarasamkrāntavācya	Atyantatnaskṛitavācya	Asamukṣyakrama (Rasadi dhyan)	Samukṣyakrama (Citra Ananda or Anurāna or Anurānamadhyan)
	Sabdasaktimūla	Arthasaktimūla	Dhyanasaktimūla

Dhyan is first of all classifiable according as it is a case of suggestion from *Sabda* or *Artha*, for, one of the reasons for *Ānanda* why *Dhyan* is not *Vacakāvyaṅgana* is that *Vacakatva* is a pure *Sabdavyāṅgana* while both *Sabda* and *Artha* display power of suggestion.

अथ वाचकत्वाद् व्यक्त्वस्य अङ्गत्वम्, यत्र वाचकत्वमङ्गत्वम् तत्र अवयवम्, अवयवम् च । अङ्गार्थयो द्वयोर्पि व्यक्त्वस्य प्रतिपादितत्वात् । P. 191 III *Dhyan* Ā.

It is from this point of view that *Ānanda* classifies *Samukṣyakrama vyangya* which resembles resonance, *Anusvāna* or *Anurāna* or *Anurāna*, into *Sabda-saktimūla* and *Artha-saktimūla*.

क्रमेण प्रतिभाव्यान्मा योऽप्यनुस्वानमवयवम् ।

शब्दार्थशक्तिमुल्वान् योऽपि देहा व्यक्त्वित्वात् ॥ *Dhyan* Ā. II. 21

Similarly, *Avivakṣitavācya* or the *Lakṣanāmūladhyan* and the *Vivakṣitavācya* or the *Abhidhāmūladhyan* are explained by *Abhinava* from the point of *śabda* and *Artha*. He says that in the former, there is more of *śabdadhyan*, and the latter, more of *Arthadhyan*.

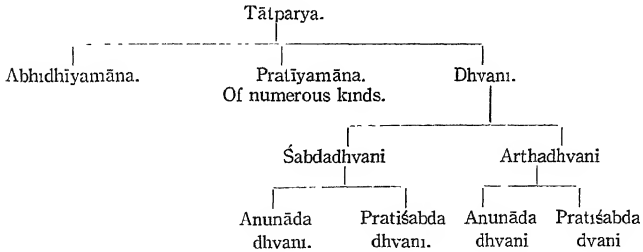
“अत एव अर्थोऽत्र प्रधान्येन व्यञ्जकः, पूर्वत्र शब्दः । शब्दोऽत्र (‘सुवर्णपुष्पाम्’ इत्यादौ अविवक्षितवाच्ये) प्रधानतया व्यञ्जकः, अर्थस्तु तत्सहकारितया—।” P. 49 *Locana*

In the Asamlakṣyakramavyangya variety of Vivakṣitānyaparavācya, there is the least scope for Śabdadhvani

Bhoja gives a simple classification of Dhvani. He has two kinds of classification. One is from the above-noted point of view of the suggesting element, the Vyaññaka śabda or the Vyaññaka artha. See Ratnāśvara also on ध्वनिमत्ता तु गाम्भीर्यम् in S K Ā I p 55

“ध्वनन ध्वनिर्व्यञ्जनात्मा व्यापारः । स द्विविधः—शब्दध्वनिः, अर्थध्वनिश्च । × × ×
तस्मात् शब्दाश्रित ध्वनन शब्दध्वनिः, अर्थाश्रितं च अर्थध्वनिः इति वक्तव्यम् ।”

The second classification is into Anunāda, a phrase occurring in Ānanda as Anusvāna (II 21) as a name of the Samlakṣyakrama-vivakṣitānyaparavācya, and Pratiśabdadhvani or echo. This second is a name created by Bhoja himself. Anunādadhvani is explained as Abhidhīyamāna-pratīyamāna-anusyūta, closely fused with the expressed and the implied senses or that case which looks like a continuation of the expressed sense, where the suggested does not stand separate. Pratiśabdadhvani is the suggestion of a different idea standing separate, like echo which is a duplicate of our voice. This variety of Pratiśabdadhvani where the suggested idea stands apart—Prthagbhūta—is Ānanda's Avivakṣitavācyaadhvani



For illustrations and explanations of these varieties, see extract from the *Śr Pra* at the end of this section

Śāradātanaya summarizes Bhoja's treatment of Sāhitya in his *Bhāvaaprakāśa* and tries to present Bhoja's ideas on Dhvani in the light in which he understood them. Chapter VI pp 147 (line 17) to 150 (line 14) Tātparya is defined by Śāradātanaya as —वाक्यार्थ प्रति शेषत्वमुच्चारणस्य— and it is divided, as is done by Bhoja into three classes —“स च अभिधेयः, प्रत्याय्यः, ध्वनिरूपः इति त्रिधा ।” It is at this stage of defining the Pratyāyya that Śāradātanaya makes a change. He finds it, as we also found, impossible to distinguish Bhoja's Pratiṭi and Dhvani, Pratīyamāna and Dhvanyamāna. So he made the distinction that such meaning as is called forth to explain a statement whose obvious

expressed sense is clearly incompatible. Anupapatti, i. called Pratiyamāna. The example is "Visan bhūṃkṣva". This is partly faithful but not wholly, to Bhoja's text:

अथानिधायमानार्थोऽन्वयानुपपत्तिः ।

अथियमानो वाक्यार्थः अस्मि प्रत्यक्षेण ऐक्यः ॥

'निय भुङ्क्ते' इति वाक्यादर्थेन तात्पर्यं प्रकल्पितम् ॥

Bhoja does not restrict Pratiyamānatūparya to cases of Anyathā-anupapatti of the Abhidhyanamāna. For, Bhoja expressly says:

"...वाक्यार्थो उपपद्यमानः अनुपपत्तिस्तौ वा..." (P. 32, Vol. II)

though he illustrates only the latter with example "Visan bhūṃkṣva". In other respects, Śrāḍātanaya faithfully summarises the whole text of Bhoja on Dhvani. At the end of the section, Śrāḍātanaya takes up the question of the difference between Dhvani and Tūparya. He quotes the Kaukās on Dhvani: "तत्परिणामविश्रान्तः" etc. quoted in the *Arāloka* on the *Dasanūpaka* and says that this view is wrong. Dhvani and Tūparya are not separate but are identical. Dhvani or the suggested idea is not at only through the Tūparya Sakti of a sentence. The suggested idea is also part of a speaker's intention and everything coming within the speaker's intention, i. Tūparya. There is no rule which lays down that the speaker's intention, beyond a certain stage, ceases to be Tūparya and needs a new name. Here Śrāḍātanaya quotes Dharmaka's Kaukā from his lost *Kāryamūlavya* which he *Arāloka* quotes:

एतावदेव विश्रान्तः तात्पर्यस्येति हि कतम् ।

वाक्यकार्यप्रयसिक्तान् तात्पर्यं न तुल्य इति ॥

Śrāḍātanaya does not quote Bhoja's verses on the difference between Tūparya and Dhvani which bring in the examples "Lavanaya" and "Sambhagya". Instead, Śrāḍātanaya gives a single analogy. He says that Dhvani is a class of Tūparya, an Anyathābheda, even a Brāhmacari is a kind of Brāhmana, the first Asiāmī Brāhmana:

चरितान्तर्ययोर्मिदोऽप्राप्यनान्तर्याचारिवत् ।

तद्वान्तर्यमिदो हि प्राप्येण पृथगुच्यते ॥

तात्पर्यमेव वचनं वर्तमानं काव्ये, etc. from Bhoja's *So Pra*

अतोऽन्याख्यतात्पर्यमगम्यमानत्वात् स्वयम् ।

काव्ये रसादिक्रियादिवाक्यार्थो भवति स्फुटम् ॥

एव त्रिरूप तात्पर्यं तत्तत्तात्पर्ययोर्दमि ।

वचनद्वारा वाक्यधर्म एवेति परिहर्त्यते ॥ *Bha Pra* P. 130

Bahurūpanista, in his commentary on the *Dasanūpaka* (Maj. M., R. 4188 pp. 76-79), follows Śrāḍātanaya closely and puts in prose Śrāḍātanaya's summary of Bhoja on Dhvani. He ends thus:

अतः तृतीयकथात्वेन चरितान्तरा तात्पर्येण गम्यमानत्वात् रसादिक्रियादि वाक्यार्थः । × ×
× एवं त्रिप्रकारमपि तात्पर्यं वचनद्वारा वाक्यधर्म एवेति ।

Bahurūpamūṣa follows also Śāradātānaya's own modification of Bhoja's Prāṭiyamūṣa Śāradādātānaya and, following him, Bahurūpa also, say that Tātparyā pertains to the speech through the speaker, Vaktīdvārā vākya-dharmah, but Kumārasāmīn asserts that it pertains purely to the speaker and not to the speech.

उद्देशो नाम वक्तृधर्मः, न मीमांसकानामिव वाक्यधर्म इति । P. 33

It is not clear what Bhoja's ideas are on the description of Rasa as Vākyaārtha ; we do not find him discussing the subject in the section on Tātparyā and Dhvani . But, while describing the varieties of composition, Drśya and Śiavya Prabandhas, he says that the Nāṭaka and the other nine Rūpakas as well as the Nūṭikā and the Sattaka (on the whole twelve) form Vākyaārthābhīnaya , and the rest, twelve Uparūpakas, Śrīgadita etc , form Padārthābhīnaya

वाक्यार्थभिनयोऽयं प्रकीर्तितो नाटकादिभेदेन ।

द्वादशविधपदार्थभिनयमथ यथास्थितं वक्ष्ये ॥ P 422 Vol II *Śr Pra*

This by itself cannot lead us far . In this same chapter (XI) we find Bhoja saying regarding Rasa :

— न हि विभावादयोऽलंकाराः, अपि तु भावरसतदाभासानामलकाराणामभिनिष्पत्तिहेतव अर्थविशेषाः ।

नन्वेवमपि अर्थगुणत्वात् अमीपामप्यलंकारत्वं प्राप्नोति ? सत्यमेतत् ; किन्तु अन्यपरतया त उपादीयमानाः तत्रैव न्यग्भवन्ति; न वाक्यार्थप्रतीतौ पदार्थाः पृथक् स्फुरन्तीति ।

P 370 Vol II

Bhoja states here clearly that Vibhāvas etc , are similar to Padārthas in a Vākyaārtha . Rasa, Bhāva and their Ābhāsa form Vākyaārtha . While the Padārthas are described, they have no more purpose to serve than the manifestation of the Vākyaārtha , the Vibhāvas etc , do not separately exist by themselves and are not ends in themselves , their ultimate aim is the manifestation of Rasa . This Padārtha-vākyaārtha-nyāya between Vibhāvādi vākya-vācaka and Dhvanyamāna-rasādi emphasises only the fact that Vibhāva etc , are Rasapara . The former are Upāyamātra, the means, for the latter . This will not go against Ānanda , for, though Padārthas are real, they are not separately realised when we realise the sentence-meaning , similarly, so quick is our perception of the Rasa from the Vibhāvas etc , that there seem to be no Vibhāvas etc nor even a process of transition, Krama, from them to Rasa . Says Ānanda :

स्वसामर्थ्यवशेनैव वाक्यार्थं प्रथयन्नपि ।

यथा व्यापारनिष्पत्तौ पदार्थो न विभाव्यते ॥

तद्वत्सचेतसां सोऽर्थः वाक्यार्थविमुखात्मनाम् ।

बुद्धौ तत्त्वार्थदर्शिन्या अटिल्येवावभासते ॥ *Dhva A I 11-12*

Rasa is therefore Vākyaārtha , and Vibhāva, Anubhāva and Vyabhicārīn constitute Padārtha . The Vākyaārtha, viz—Rasa, must naturally be got at through Tātparyā, otherwise called Dhvani and, as such, Bhoja contradicts

कः पुनरन्याहारवाक्यशेषोर्विशेषः ? शब्दाकांक्षानिवर्तकोऽन्याहारः अर्थाकांक्षानिवर्तकः वाक्यशेष इति । p 180 Vol II

What is Vākyaśeṣa? It is Arthakalpanā, the putting forth of idea to explain an expression, in which that idea is understood but not exactly expressed. The sentence means it certainly but does not actually express it. As for instance, all sentences finally mean either an injunction (Vidhi) or a prohibition (Nisedha). Even in cases where we do not find express mention of either, we have to imagine and understand them. Thus, when one says on seeing a traveller “अयंनिवासोऽयं देशः” he means to induce him to make a halt in his place, by praising that place as a fit abode, it being the habitation of noble men. Similarly, to request one to stay and dine, one says “मयाहो वरते” If one says “सचोरः पन्थाः” he means to say “don’t go that way.”

मयंवाक्यानां विधिविशेषपर्यवसायित्वात्, साक्षात् तदश्रुतावपि तदुपकल्पनं वाक्यशेषः । तद्यथा—‘अयंनिवासोऽयं देशः’ इत्युक्ते इहैव स्थातव्यम्; ‘मयाहो वरते’ इत्युक्ते इहैव भोक्तव्यम्; ‘सचोरः पन्थाः’ इत्युक्ते न गन्तव्यम्; ‘ग्राह्यास्सखित्यस्यां’ इत्युक्ते न स्नातव्यमिति वाक्यशेषो भवति । p 179. Vol II

And this idea filled in to complete the sense is said to be had not by Pratyakṣa, Anumāna, Upamāna or Śabda but by Śrūtārthāpatti

अर्थपः प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दैः अनुपलभ्यमानः किप्रमाणविषयस्स्यात्, अन्याहारवत् श्रुतार्थापत्तिप्रमेय इति । P 180. Vol II

The Prābhākara mīmāṃsakas do not accept this Śrūtārthāpatti and they do not have Śabda-adhyāhāra at all. They accept that there are cases of Arthakalpanā but that Arthakalpanā is not through Adhyāhāra or Vākyaśeṣa, operating through Śrūtārthāpatti. The whole idea understood in the case of an elliptic expression is expressed by the Abhidhāvyāpāra of the available expression itself. How can these words express also senses which they do not have and for which other words are needed? The Prābhākaras say that the scope of the Abhidhā is extended far enough to embrace the understood sense also. The Abhidhā shoots like an arrow over a wide field. Bhoja replies that this view will not hold good. For the Abhidhāvyāpāra can mean no more than what the words put together mean exactly. Nor can this long long Abhidhā be the Tātparya-śakti. Says Bhoja :

यद्योक्त—कल्प्यमानस्य अर्थस्य अवैदिकत्वं मा भूदिति ध्रुवमाणस्य शब्दस्यैवायमिषोरिव दीर्घदीर्घो व्यापार इति, तदपि न सम्यक्; तस्य तथाविधार्थप्रत्यायनासामर्थ्यात् । स हि तमर्थं प्रत्याययन् अभिधाशक्त्या वा प्रत्याययेत्, तात्पर्यशक्त्या वा ? (न अभिधाशक्त्या), तस्याः पदार्थप्रतिपादनमात्र एव उपक्षीणत्वात् ।

1 The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya gives Vākyaśeṣa as one of the Tantrayuktis in the last chapter. It is illustrated by a case of Upamā in which the Upamāna is missing, but the Upameya and the Samānadharma—as in “Chinnapaksa iva”—are present. The Upamāna of ‘bird’ is understood and this is Vākyaśeṣa.

Vāmana gives the same idea of Vākyaśeṣa as the *Arthaśāstra*

रीतिर्नामेयमात्मा काव्यस्य । शरीरस्येवेति वाक्यशेषः । I ii. 6

There is no Vākyaūpamā, incompleteness of the sentence, in these cases.

this Vākyaārtha or Vākyaśeṣa of Vidhi-niṣedha is realised through śrutārthāpatti, he lets down Dhvani which he has elsewhere accepted. He joins the camp of those who, recognising Arthāpatti, have no need for Dhvani, those who hold the Arthāpattipakṣa in the two Kārikās on the anti-dhvani view-points quoted by Jayarātha.

The illustrations given by Bhoja for Vākyaśeṣa form Arthavāda and clearly correspond to Kāvya vākyas. Their implied injunctions and prohibitions correspond to Kāvyaavyutpatti and have to be explained by Dhvani only.

Bhoja gives two illustrations for Vākyaśeṣa from Kāvya and gives us what ideas are left to be understood in those two cases. These remarks themselves prove Vākyaśeṣa to be Dhvani.

“—वाक्यशेषो भवति । यथा च—

त्व जीवित त्वमसि मे हृदय द्वितीय
त्व कौमुदी नयनयोरमृत त्वमङ्गे ।

इत्यादिभिः प्रियगतैरनुरूप्य सुग्धां

तामेव—शान्तमथवा किमतः परेण ॥

यथा वा— पत्युः पितेव स भवान् नलकूबरस्य

रम्भा स्तुषा धनपतेरिव सा तवापि ।

यत्स्वन्यदत्र हृदयान्न तदेति कण्ठ

दोषस्तथापि यदि तत् स्मृत एष रुद्रः ॥

× × × ×

तथा हि—तामेव त्वं तथाग्रां विशुद्धमाहितगर्भमनागसं विस्मृत्वा च धर्मपत्नीमत्याक्षीरिति प्रथमश्लोके,

कामयमानायामपि स्तुषाया कामतोऽपि यत्प्रधर्षणं तन्महापातकेषु प्रकृष्यते, किमत्र पुनः अकामयमानायाः शपन्त्याः कोशन्त्याश्च हृदयेति द्वितीयश्लोके — — |” Pp 179-180.

These are clearly cases of Dhvani, not of Dhvani dominant, but dominated by Alamkāra, Vācya-anatśāyī. That is, the former verse especially is Ākṣepa alamkāra of the first variety in Bhāmaha and Ruyyaka. The illustration in Bhāmaha is .

अहं त्वा यदि नेक्षेय क्षणमयुत्सुका ततः ।

इयदेवास्त्वतोऽन्येन किमुक्तेनाप्रियेण ते । K. A. II 69

Ruyyaka illustrates with a verse of exactly the same nature as the first given by Bhoja :

“— सा नून—आ किमथवा हृतजल्पितेन ! p 116 N S Edn

Bhoja gives a similar verse in his Śabdālamkāra section as illustration for the Alamkāra called Samvrtti mudrā

संवृत्तिमुद्रा यथा—

मणिरत्नं प्रसेनस्य तच्चानार्येण विष्णुना ।

लब्ध येनाय योगेन तेन किं कीर्तितेन वः ॥

THE TEXT OF THE ŚRĠGĀRA PRAKĀŚA
BEARING ON DHVANI
(Vol II Madras MS Pp 31-42)
(from Chapter VII)

“गत्परः शब्दः स गब्दार्थः इति तात्पर्यम् । तच्च वाक्य एवोपपद्यते । पदमात्रेण अभिप्रायस्य प्रकाशयितुमशक्यत्वात् । तच्च वाक्यप्रतिपाद्य वस्तु त्रिरूप भवति अभिधीयमानम्, प्रतीयमानम्, ध्वनिरूपं च ।

यत्र यत् उपात्तशब्देषु सुख्यागौणीलक्षणाभिः शब्दशक्तिभिः स्वमर्थमभिधाय उपरतव्यापारेषु आकाङ्क्षामन्निधियोग्यतादिभिः वाक्यार्थमार्थमभिधीयते तत् अभिधीयमानं यथा गौर्गच्छतीति ।

वाक्यार्थावगतेरुत्तरकाल वाक्यार्थः उपपद्यमानः अनुपपद्यमानो वा अर्थप्रकरणौचित्यादिसहकृतौ (तः) यत् प्रत्याययति तत् प्रतीयमानम्, यथा ‘विश्वं भुङ्क्ष्व मा चास्य गृहे भुङ्क्ष्व’ इत्युक्ते ‘वरं विप भक्षितं न पुनरस्य गृहे भुक्तम्’ इति प्रतीयते ।

अर्थशब्दोपायाद् उपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थः वाक्यार्थावगतेरनन्तरम् अनुनादरूपं प्रतिशब्द-रूपं वा (यत्) अभिव्यञ्जयति तत् ध्वनिरूपम् । तच्च न सार्वत्रिकम् । तथा हि निवृत्तेऽभिधाते कस्यचिदेव कांस्पादेः द्रव्यस्य अनुनादः जायते, कस्यचिदेव कन्दरादेः प्रतिशब्दः य- (त)था कस्यचिदेव वाक्यस्य प्रतीयमानाभिधीयमानवाक्यार्थप्रतीतेरनन्तरं ध्वनिरुपलभ्यत इति । निमित्तपक्षेपेभ्युक्ते अङ्गोर्निमेषोऽभिधीयते, देवी न भवतीति प्रतीयते रूपातिशयं च ध्वनन्ति (ति) ।

अर्थपा प्रयोगः । तत्र अभिधीयमानं चतुर्धा विधिरूप, निषेधरूपम्, विधिनियेधरूपम्, अविधि-निषेधरूपं च ।

× × × ×

(उदाहरणानि)

× × × ×

प्रतीयमानं पुनरनेकधा । क्वचिद्विधौ निषेधः—भम धम्मिअ इत्यादि (गाथा० II 75)¹.

अत्र विस्मयो भ्रमेति विधिवाक्ये तत्र निकुञ्जे सिंहस्तिष्ठति, त्वं च शुनोऽपि विभेषि, तस्मात् त्वया तस्मिन् गन्तव्यमिति निषेधः प्रतीयते ।

क्वचिन्निषेधे विधिर्यथा—अत्ता एत्थ णिमज्झ इत्यादि (गाथा० VII 67.)

अत्र शय्यायां मा निपत्यसीति निषेधवाक्ये इयं श्वभ्रूशय्या इयं मच्छय्या इति दिवाभ्युपलक्ष्य रात्रौ त्वया इह आगन्तव्यं इति विधिः प्रतीयते ।

क्वचिद्विधौ विध्यन्तरं यथा—

बहलतमा हराई अज्ज पउत्थो पई घरं मुण्णम् ।

तह जेगज्जस असअण जहा णं मे मुसिज्जामो (गाथा० IV 35)

[बहलतमा हतरात्रिः अथ प्रोषितः पतिः गृहं शन्यम् ।

तथा जागृहि प्रतिवेशिन् न यथा वयं मुध्यामहे ॥]

यत्र (अत्र) यथा वयं न मुध्यामहे तथा जागृहीति विध्यभिधाने रात्रिः अत्यन्धकारा, पतिः प्रोषितः, गृहं शन्यम् ; अतस्त्वमभयो मत्पादर्वमागच्छेति विध्यन्तरं प्रतीयते ।

1 The whole of this text giving the varieties of the Pratiyamāna is an elaboration of what Ānanda has given on pp 16-20 in ud I The whole text of Bhoja, with the illustrations and comments, is reproduced in his *Kāvyañūśāsana* by Hemacandra. See *Kāvyañūśāsana*. Pp 26-34

कच्चिन्निपेधे निपेधान्तरं यथा

नासादस्य धन्याण्येव ज्ञानिनां नासादस्य धन्यो न ज्ञानिनः । १०८७ (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

अत्रस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः ॥ १

अत्र गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः दुष्टपतिवशात्परमो निपेधो नास्ति । उपरान्तं परमो निपेधो नास्ति । पञ्चमः ।

कच्चिद्धि (द्वि) धिनिपेधे विधिः ॥

मृदुपतिः किं न पात्यथ नः । अस्मिन् विधिना । १०८८ (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

अस्मिन् विधिना कस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः ॥

[मृदुपतिः किं न पात्यथ नः । अस्मिन् विधिना । १०८८ (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

अस्मिन् विधिना कस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः ॥]

अत्र विधानादस्मिन् विधिना कस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः । १०८९ (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

कच्चिद्विधिनिपेधे निपेधो ॥

ज्ञानिनां नासादस्य धन्याण्येव ज्ञानिनां नासादस्य धन्यो न ज्ञानिनः ।

अत्र गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः । १०९० (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

अत्र गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः । १०९१ (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

कच्चिद्धिनिपेधयोः विध्यन्तरं यथा

अत्र गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः । १०९२ (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

अत्र गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः । १०९३ (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

See S. A. 1 p. 593.

G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER

[अत्र गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः । १०९४ (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

अत्र गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः । १०९५ (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

अत्र गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः । १०९६ (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

कच्चित् विधिनिपेधयोः निपेधान्तरं यथा

अत्र गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः । १०९७ (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

अत्र गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः । १०९८ (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

[अत्र गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः । १०९९ (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

अत्र गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः सारस्य गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः । ११०० (G. S. Telugu Recension, WEBER)

1 Found in the Telugu Recension in WEBER'S Edn. See S. A. 1 p. 409, where also it is quoted. Its Chāyā is thus found there.

आम्नादितमज्ञानेन यावत् तावदेव श्रीगणेशाय ।

उपरम वृत्तमेदानीं रक्षते गृहपतिर्ज्ञेयः ॥

2 WEBER'S Edn. G. S. Telugu Recension, available also in *Vedavallabham* Bib. Ind. Edn. II Gāthā 491.

3 Vide p. 120. *Dhvanyaloka*. We find there *अस्मिन् विधिना* in the place of *अस्मिन् विधिना* of the *Sr. Pra* in the third foot. The Gāthā is found in the Telugu Recension in WEBER'S Edn. of the *Gāthā Saptasatī*.

अत्र पतितं कुमुद उच्चिनु मा धुनीहि शेफालिकामिति विधिनिषेधयोः अभिधाने, सखि, चौर्यरस (रते) प्रराक्ते बलयगच्छो न कर्तव्य इति निषेधान्तरं प्रतीयते ।

क्वचिद्विधावनुभयं यथा—

सणिअं वच्च किसोरि वहि वयत्तेन ववसुमहि पट्टेदि ।

भन्निहिसि वित्थअत्थनि विहिना दुक्खेण णिम्मपिप्ता ॥

[अनैव्रज किशोरि बहु प्रयत्नेन व्यवस्यामः पृष्ठतः ।

भक्ष्यमे विस्तृतस्तनि विहिना दुःखेन निर्मापिता ॥]

अत्र शनैर्व्रजेति विध्यभिधाने हि न विधिनापि निषेधः । अपि तु वर्णनामात्रं प्रतीयते ।

क्वचिन्निषेधेऽनुभयं यथा—

देआ पसिअ णिवत्तमु इत्यादि (ध्वन्यालोक उदाहृता गाथा, पृष्ठ २२) । अत्र निवर्तस्वेति निषेधाभिधानेऽपि न निषेधो नापि विधिः, अपि तु मुखेन्दुकान्ति (वर्णनामात्र) प्रतीयते ।¹

क्वचिद् विधिनिषेधयोः अनुभयं यथा—

वच्च महच्चि (व्वि) अ एक्केइ—इत्यादि (ध्व-आ-पृष्ठ २२)

(अत्र मर्मव निश्चासरोदनानि भवन्तु) मा नवापि ता विना तानि जायन्तामिति विधिनिषेधयोः रभिधाने न विधिनापि निषेधः अपि तु कृतव्यलीकप्रियतमोपात्ममात्रं प्रतीयते ।

क्वचिद्विधिनिषेधे अनुभयं यथा—

गोलाणइए कच्छे चक्खन्तो राइआइ पत्ताइ ।

उप्पडइ मक्कडो खोक्खएइ पोट्टं च पिट्टइ ॥ (गाथा० II. 71.)

[गोदावरीनदीकच्छे चर्वयन् राजिकायाः पत्राणि ।

उत्पतति मर्कटः खोक्खशब्दं करोति उदरं च ताडयति ।]²

अत्र न विधिनापि निषेधोऽभिधीयते; नापि अनयोः (प्रतीतिः अपि तु) अन्यः (सं) केतु- (त) कुटु (उ) गे अभ्यागतः, भवान् न गतः इति त ज्ञापयतीति प्रतीयते ।

ध्वनिः

प्रतीयमानाभिधीयमानवाक्यार्थानाम् आनन्त्याद् ध्वनिरूपमप्यनेकप्रकारमेव । ध्वनिश्च द्विधा अर्थध्वनिः शब्दध्वनिश्च । तथोरर्थध्वनिः अनुनादध्वनिरूपः प्रतिशब्दध्वनिरूपश्च ।

तत्र योऽभिधीयमानवाक्यार्थानुस्यूतमेव कांस्यानुनादरूपम् अर्थान्तरं (ध्वनति, स अनुनाद-ध्वनिरूपः) (स यथा)—“ शिखरिणि क नु नाम कियच्चिरम् इत्यादि (Vide *Dhvanyāloka*, p 49)³

अत्र यथाश्रुतवाक्यार्थोऽभिधीयमानः विम्बफलरूपाधर इत्युपलक्षणेन रागातिशयं प्रत्याययन् नात्यपुण्यस्त्वदधरप्रतिनिधिमपि सुम्बतीति चाटुना वर्णनीयायाः स्वानुरागप्रकाशनं ध्वनति । एतच्च

1 Abhinava has some difference of opinion with other interpreters regarding the inner purport of this Gāthā Bhoja's interpretation seems to be straight, correct, intelligible and pertinent to the point in illustration.

2 Hemacandra omits this Gāthā and gives here some other illustrative Gāthā and naturally his comments differ (K A p 33) After this, he also adds Ānanda's last instance “ क्वचिद् वाच्याद् विभिन्नविषयत्वेन व्यवस्थापितः ” with the illustration “ कस्य वा न भवति रोषः etc ”

3. This is Ānanda's Vivakṣitānyaparavācyadhvani.

यमानः तस्य लोचनाद्यर्थः सह सादृश्यं प्रत्याययन् वर्णनीयायाः चारुत्वोत्कर्षप्रतीतिं ध्वनति । सा ततः पृथग्वि उपलभ्यमाना प्रतिशब्दध्वनिः । तथा—

एष्टव्या बहवः पुत्राः यद्येकोऽपि गयां व्रजेत् ।

यजेत वाऽश्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषमुत्तृजेत् ॥ (मनु०)

अत्र बहवः पुत्रा एष्टव्या इति वाक्यार्थोऽभिधीयमानः पुत्रैः पितृप्रीतये प्रयागगमनादयः कर्तव्या इति प्रत्याययन् पितृणां कामपूरणं परमपुरुषार्थं इति ध्वनति । स च पितृव्यपदेशपरतया प्रवृत्तः पुत्रोद्देशरूपेण तत्प्रवृत्तिषु प्रतिशब्दायमानः पृथग्वि उपलभ्यत इति प्रतिशब्दध्वनिः । एवम्—

“कस्मिन् न होइ रोसो—” (See *Dhvanyāloka*, p 23)

अत्र मल्ल्युपालम्भार्थोऽभिधीयमानः पत्यु ईर्ष्योपशान्तये भ्रमरेण अस्या अधरः खण्डितः नोपपत्तिना इति प्रत्याययन् स्खलितनोपनेषु सखीवैदग्ध्यं ध्वनति । स च अन्योपदेशपरत्वेन प्रवृत्तः अन्यस्य चेतसि प्रतिकलित इति प्रतिशब्दध्वनिः । एव “भम धम्मिअ वीसत्थो”

(Vide above)

इत्यादिवाक्ये विधौ निषेधः प्रतीयमानः तस्या नदीकुञ्जके [न] केनचित् सह संकेतार्थं ध्वनति । न तावदाश्रितं पृथग्वि उपलभ्यमानः प्रतिशब्दध्वनिः । “आसाइअ अण्णाएण जत्तिअ” इत्यादिवाक्ये वृत्तिनिवारणपरः निषेधः उपपत्तिनिवारणं प्रत्याययन् प्रयोक्तुः वैदग्ध्यं ध्वनति । स चान्याभिधानेन अन्यमभिधत्तुं ततः पृथग्वि उपलभ्यमानः प्रतिशब्दध्वनिः । एवं “गोलणइक्खळे चक्खन्तराइआइ पत्ताइ” (ग. सा. II. 71) इत्यपि प्रतिशब्दध्वनिरिति ।

शब्दध्वनिः

एवं शब्दध्वनिरपि द्विवैध । तत्र अनुनादरूपो यथा—

भक्तिप्रह्लाद दातुं मुकुलपुटकुटीकोटरकोडलीनां

लक्ष्मीमाक्रष्टुकामा इव कमलवनोद्धाटनं कुर्वते ये ।

कालाकारान्धकाराननपतितजगत्साध्वसध्वसकल्याः

प्रत्याणं वः क्रियासु किसलयरुचयस्ते करा भास्करस्य ॥ (मयूर. सू. श. २)

अत्र भास्करकराः कल्याण वः क्रियासु इति वाक्यार्थः । करशब्दशक्तिस्वाभाव्यात् किसलयरुचय इत्यादिसमस्ततुल्यविशेषणयोगाच्च हस्तेषु अनुनादं जनयन् भगवतः तेजोरूपतां पुरुषरूपतां च ध्वनति । तदुभयमपि तदनुस्यूतसंवेहं निरूपयति इति अनुनादध्वनिः । एवम्—

गोमध्वम्भोरुहाणां शिखरेषु च शिताग्रेषु तुल्यं पतन्तः

प्रारम्भे वासरस्य व्युपरतिसमये चैकरूपास्तथैव ।

निर्पर्याय प्रवृत्ताः त्रिभुवनभवनप्राङ्गणे पान्तु युष्मान्

ऊष्माणं सन्तताध्वश्रमजमिव शृङ्गा विप्रतो ब्रह्मपादाः ॥ (मयूर. सू. श. ३)

अत्र पादशब्दस्वाभाव्यात् सर्वमपि योजनीयम् । इयांस्तु विशेषः । पूर्वत्र साधर्म्यद्वारेण, इह तु वैधर्म्यद्वारेण । अत्र च प्रतिशब्दध्वनिर्यथा—

दत्तानन्दाः प्रजाना समुचितसमयाकृष्टछट्टैः पयोभिः

पूर्वाह्णे विप्रकीर्णा दिशिदिशि विरमत्यह्नि संहारभाजः ।

दीर्घांशो दीर्घदुःखप्रभवभवमयोदन्वदुत्तारनावो

गावो वः पावनानां परमपरिमितां प्रीतिमुत्पादयन्तु ॥ (मयूर. सू. श. ९)

अत्र दीर्घांशोर्गावो रदमयः स्तूयमानाः (गो) शब्दशक्तिस्वाभाव्यात् तु विशेषणयोगाच्च धेनुषु प्रतिशब्दं जनयन्त्यः तावपि विशिष्टं माहात्म्यं येषु प्रतिवर्तन्ति (इति) । अयम्—

मीलच्चक्षुर्विजिह्वधुतिजडरसन विभ्रतप्राणव्रत्ति

स्वव्यापाराक्षमत्वक् परिमुपितमनः श्रगमात्रावशेषम् ।

विभ्रस्ताऽपि पतित्वा स्वपदपट्टतादश्रित्य बोद्धकं जन्मा

कालव्यालवलीढं जगद्गद उवोत्थापयन् प्राक्प्रतापः ॥ (मयूर मृ ग ३१)

अत्र अर्कजन्मा प्राक्प्रतापः कालव्यालवलीढः जगन् उत्थापयन् अश्रित्य वा अपट्टतादिति वाक्यार्थः । अर्कशब्दशक्तिस्वाभाव्यात् तुल्यकर्मक्रियापदादियोगाच्च अर्कजन्ममा अगदः कालव्याल-
दष्टमपि उत्थापयतीति प्रत्याययन् अर्को विपन्नानां श्रेष्ठ इति प्रतिशब्दरूपं भवति उत्थापयति
इति । एव अन्येऽपि महाकविप्रयोगेषु भवति विशेषा गवेषणायाः । यदुक्तम्— “ताम्रगर्भेव वनसि वनिरेव
काव्ये” इत्यादि । क. पुनः काव्यवचनोः भवति तात्पर्ययोः विशेषः । ननु च पुनरागतं (पुनरागम्यन्ते) —

यद्वक्त्रं वचः गात्रे लोके च वचः एव ननु ।¹

वक्त्रं यदर्थवादौ तस्य काव्यमिति स्मृतिः ॥

यदभिप्रायगर्वस्व वक्तुर्वाक्यान् प्रतीयते ।

तात्पर्यमर्थमस्तत् शब्दधर्मः पुनर्वाचः ॥

गौभायमिव तात्पर्यमान्तरो गुण इत्यन्ते ।

वाग्देवताया लावण्यमिव वाद्यस्तथोर्वाचः ॥

अद्वयप्रकर्षात् द्वयेन द्वयमुच्यते ।

यथा मुरभिर्वैशाखौ मधुमाश्रवमंजया ॥

II

Chap VI of Pra Pp 125-7

(This is found earlier, in chap VI and considers the nature of Dhvani from the point of view of Sphota Philosophy.)

“ननु च अभिधीयमानत्वे प्रतीयमानतापि वाक्यार्थमिति कथ्यते । यथोच्यते—

प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव वस्त्वस्ति वार्तापु महाश्वेताम् ।

यत्तत् प्रणिद्धावयवातिरिक्तं विभाति लावण्यमिवानाम् ॥ (‘च’ आ १ ४)

तस्य च वाक्यार्थमावन्तर्गतकालमवगते अभ्यासपक्षे भवन्तर्पक्षे वा कर्माभाव उपपत्तिर्भवति ?
उच्यते—**विपरिणामाद्** भविष्यति । वस्तुतोऽपि अवस्थान्तरगमनं विपरिणामः । ननु यथा मृदादयो
घटादिरूपेण, क्षीरादयो दध्यादिरूपेण, चैत्रादयो युवादिरूपेण विपरिणमन्ते तथैव शब्दश्चापि अवस्था-
पाधैः तेन तेन अर्थरूपेण तथा तथा विपरिणमन् । तद्यथा—“ सन्ति मे पञ्च पुत्रा, मानसं पितरं शृ-
णुष्वितवानास्मि, योऽहं युवा द्रमिडदेशं द्रमिडकन्यामिस्मिन् अवगम, गोऽहमिदानीं पान्थो वयसि गजान्तरे
तपश्चरामि ” इति । अत्र च शब्दार्थयोः पृथगवभासाद् वाक्यार्थस्य अभिधीयमानताया प्रतीयमान-

1 Ratnesvara quotes this verse in his commentary on Bhojav. S. K. A. I 43. p 30 He reads the 2nd line differently, with Amara for Arthavāda and *Smṛti* for *smṛti*. वक्त्रं यदनुरागादौ तत्र काव्यमिति श्रुतिः ।

ताया वा न अनुपपत्तिः । न च एतावता शब्दव्यापारो विरस्यति । यतः तात्पर्यमस्य हि अग्रतो विशेषेण वक्ष्यमाणमास्ते तस्योदाहरणमात्रम्—

प्राप्तश्रीरेष कस्मात् पुनरपि मयि तं मन्थखेद विद्ध्यत्
निद्रामागस्य पूर्वमनलसमनसो नैव संभावयामि ।
मेतुं बध्नाति कस्माद्यमिह सकलद्वीपनाथानुयातः
त्वय्यायाते वितर्कानिति दधत इवाभाति कपः पयोधेः ॥

अत्र वर्णनीयराजविशेषस्य विजयिनः यथाश्रुतवाक्यार्थः अभिर्थायमानः त्वयीति पदे विष्ण्व-
भ्यामावतारः सप (त्वम) सीति प्रतीयमानः । तदवतारान्तराणां निद्रालसत्वादिदोषयोगाद् अस्य च
तद्व्युदासात् ततो वैशिष्ट्यप्रतिपादनं तात्पर्यम्, यस्य काव्येषु ध्वनिरिति प्रसिद्धिः । तदुक्तम्—

तात्पर्यमेव वचसि ध्वनिरेव काव्ये
सौभाग्यमेव गुणसंपदि बल्लभस्य ।
लावण्यमेव वपुषि स्वदत्तेऽङ्गनायाः
शृङ्गार एव हृदि मानवतो जनस्य ॥ १

कः पुनः काव्यवचसोः ध्वनितात्पर्ययोः विशेषः ? उच्यते—

यद्वक् वचः शास्त्रे लोके च वच एव तत् ।
वक् यदर्थवादादौ तस्य काव्यमिति स्मृतिः ॥
यदभिप्रायमर्थस्त्वे वक्तुर्वाक्यात् प्रतीयते ।
तात्पर्यमर्थमस्तेतत् शब्दधर्मः पुनर्ध्वनिः ॥
सौभाग्यमिव तात्पर्यमान्तरो गुण दृश्यते ।
वामदेवताया लावण्यमिव बाह्यस्तयोर्ध्वनिः ॥
अद्विप्रकर्षात्तु द्वयेन द्वयमुच्यते ।
यथा मुरभिर्वैशाखौ मधुमाधवसंज्ञया ॥

*The Discussion on Tātparya and Dhvani in the III uddyota of
the Dhvanyāloka*¹

(Pp 187—191).

“ प्रागुक्तयुक्तमि. वाच्यव्यतिरिक्तस्य वस्तुनः सिद्धि कृता, स त्वर्थो व्यङ्ग्यतयैव कस्माद् व्यप-
दिश्यते । तत्र च प्राधान्येन “अवस्थानं तत्र वाच्यता²; तथैवामौ व्यपदेशु युक्तः । तत्परत्वात् वाचक-
त्वस्य । अतश्च तत्प्रकाशिनो वाक्यस्य वाचकत्वमेव व्यापारः । किं तस्य व्यापारान्तरकल्पनया ।
तस्मान् तात्पर्यविषयो योऽर्थः स तावन्मुख्यतया वाच्यः । या त्वन्तरा तथाविधे विषये वाच्यान्तरप्रतीतिः,
मा तत्प्रतीतिरुपायमात्रम्, पदार्थप्रतीतिरिव वाक्यार्थप्रतीतिः ।

1 Quoted on P 109 by Ānanda in his *Dhvanyāloka*

2 भोजेनैव

3 Introductory verses in Chap. I. *Śr Pra*

4 The text given above is as corrected by Professor Mm S KUPPUSWAMI
SASTRI The incorrect readings in the N S Edn are given in the footnotes

5. अनवस्थान 6 वाच्यतथैवासां.

अत्रोच्यते—यत्र जट्ट स्तार्थमभिदधानः अर्थान्तरमवगमयति तत्र यत्तस्य स्वार्थमिवाशित्वं, यत्र तदर्थान्तरावगमहेतुत्वम्, तथैव विशेषो विशेषो वा । न तावदावशिष्यः । अस्मात् तौ द्वौ व्यापारौ भिन्न-विषयौ भिन्नकौ च प्रतीयते एव । तथा हि—वाचक वक्रजग व्यापार जट्टस्य स्वार्थविषयः गमकत्व-लक्षणस्वार्थान्विषयः । ततः स्वपरव्याहणे वाच्यगम्यपारपरानुसङ्गः । एतस्य गम्यान्वत्वेन प्रतीतिपरस्य सम्बन्धिमन्वित्वेन । वाच्यो यथै. साक्षाच्छब्दस्य गम्यत्वात् नतिपरमार्थमवगममाशङ्कितः गम्यान्विगम्यन्वी । यदि च स्वगम्यान्वत्वात् साक्षात्तस्य स्थानं तदर्थान्तरव्यापार एव न स्यात् । तस्मात् विषयभेदस्मावत् तथोर्व्यापारयोः सुप्रसिद्धः । रूपभेदोऽपि परिशेषः एव । न हि यैवाभिधानशक्तिर्नैवावगमनशक्तिः । अवाचकस्यापि गीतजट्टादौः रगादिलक्षणाश्रयगमनदर्शनत्वात् । अजट्टस्यापि चेष्टादौ अर्थविशेषप्रकाशनप्रसिद्धे । तथा हि “व्राज्योगाततवादनयोः” इत्यादि शब्दे चेष्टाविशेषः सु-कविनार्थप्रकाशनहेतुः प्रदर्शित एव । तस्माद् भिन्नविषयत्वाद् भिन्नस्वरत्वात् स्वार्थमिवाशित्वमर्थान्तरावगमहेतुत्वं च जट्टस्य यत्, तथो. स्पष्ट एव भेदः । विशेषेण, न तौ द्वौ एतौ ‘अवगमनी-यस्य अभिधेयमाश्रयक्षितस्य वाच्यव्यव्यपदेश्यता’ जट्टव्यापारगोचरस्य तु तस्य अस्माभिर्गणित एव । तत्तु व्यङ्ग्यत्वेनैव । न वाच्यत्वेन । प्रतिद्वामिधानान्तरसमन्वयव्यपदेश्येन च तस्यार्थान्तरस्य च प्रतीतिः । जट्टान्तरेण स्वार्थमिवाशयिता यद्विषयीकरणं, तत्र प्रकाशनीकारेण युक्ता ।

न च पदार्थवाक्यार्थन्यायो वाच्यव्यव्ययोः । यतः पदार्थप्रतीतिरस्येत्येति¹ केचित्पदार्थद्वारादर्शक-त्वम् । गैरयुक्त्यत्वमस्मात् नान्युपेयते नैवाक्यार्थपदार्थयोः घटत्वादातकारणन्यायोऽभ्युपगमः । यथा हि घटे निष्पद्ये तदुपादानकारणानां न पृथगुपलम्भः, तथैव वाच्ये तदर्थे वा प्रतीतिपदार्थानाम् । तेषां तदा विभक्ततयोपलम्भे वाक्यार्थबुद्धिरेव दृशीभवत् । नन्वेव वाच्यप्रत्ययार्थयोर्नाशः । न हि व्यङ्ग्ये प्रती-यमाने वाच्यबुद्धिर्दृशीभवति । वाच्यवभासाविनभावेन तस्य प्रकाशनात् । तस्मात् घटप्रदापन्थाय-स्तयोः । यथैव हि प्रदापद्मारेण घटप्रतीताबुध्नाया न प्रदापप्रकाशो निवर्तते, तस्मात् व्यङ्ग्यप्रतीतिं वाच्यवभासः । अतु प्रथमोच्यते “यथा पदार्थद्वारेण” — इत्याहुः क तदुपादानकारणमात्रस्य विवक्षया । नन्वेव युगपदर्थद्वयथोक्तित्वं वा वाक्यस्य प्राप्तम् । तदुद्भावे च वाच्यत्वेन विपद्यते । तस्यापेक्षाभिलक्षणत्वात् । नैव दोषः । गुणप्रधानभावेन तथोर्व्यवस्थानात् । व्यङ्ग्यस्य हि कश्चिन् प्राधान्यं, वाच्यस्य अपरार्जनभावः, कश्चित् वाक्यस्य प्राधान्यमपरस्य च गुणभावः । तत्र व्यङ्ग्यप्राधान्ये प्रतीत्युक्तमेव । वाच्यप्राधान्ये तु प्राधान्यन्तरं निर्देष्टव्यं । तस्मात् स्थितेनान्न व्यङ्ग्यपरमोऽपि होल्यत्वं न व्यङ्ग्यस्य अभिधेयत्वम्, अपि तु व्यङ्ग्यत्वमेव । किन्तु व्यङ्ग्यस्य प्राधान्येन आधेयताया वाच्यत्वं तावत् भवति नान्युपगमन-त्वम् । अतस्परत्वात् जट्टस्य । तदस्ति तावत् व्यङ्ग्यं जट्टानां हां शब्दप्रथं जनि यत्रापि तस्य प्राधान्यं तत्रापि किमिति तस्य स्वरूपमपद्यते । एव तावत् नान्द्वाना अभिधेयं व्यङ्ग्यत्वम् ।

इतश्च वानकत्वाद व्यङ्ग्यत्वस्य अन्यत्वं, गट्टानकत्वं जट्टैकाग्र्यमित्येतत् जट्टाग्र्यमपीत्यर्थः । जट्टार्थयोः द्वयोरपि व्यङ्ग्यत्वस्य प्रतिपादितत्वात् ॥

*The Daśarūpaka and the Daśarūpakavatoka
on Dhvani and Tālparya (Ch. IV Pp. 119-121)*

[The text as printed in the Nūmayasāgah Edn. has numerous mistakes. A purified text, with the corrections made by Professor Mm. S. KUPPESWAMI SASTRI, is given here. The readings found in the printed text are given in the footnotes.]

- 1 अर्थविशेषः. 2 Full stop. 3 चेन्न. 4 अवगमनस्य. 5 Full stop.
6 अस्येवेति

नापि वाक्यार्थत्व व्यङ्ग्यस्य तृतीयकक्षाविषयत्वात् । तथा हि—‘ श्रम धार्मिक ’ इत्यादौ पदार्थ-
विषयाभिप्रायलक्षणप्रथमकक्षातिक्रान्तक्रियाकारकसंसर्गात्मकविधिविषयवाक्यार्थकक्षातिक्रान्ततृतीयकक्षाक्रा-
न्तो निषेधात्मा व्यङ्ग्यलक्षणोऽर्थः व्यञ्जकशक्त्यधीनः स्फुटमेवावभासते । अतो नासौ वाक्यार्थः ।
ननु च तृतीयकक्षाविषयत्वमधूयमाणपदार्थतात्पर्येषु ‘ विष भुक्ष्व ’ इत्यादिवाक्येषु निषेधार्थविषयेषु
प्रतीयत एव वाक्यार्थः¹; न चात्र व्यञ्जकत्वविधानापि वाक्यार्थत्व नेष्यते, तात्पर्यादनन्यत्वाद्² वने ।
तत्र;³ स्वार्थस्य द्वितीयकक्षायामविश्रान्तस्य तृतीयकक्षाभावात्⁴ सैव निषेधकक्षा तत्र द्वितीयकक्षा; विधौ
क्रियाकारकसंसर्गानुपपत्तेः⁵ प्रकरणात् पितरि वक्तुरि पुत्रस्य विषमक्षणनियोगाभावात् । रमयद्वाक्येषु च
विभावप्रतिपत्तिलक्षणाद्वितीयकक्षायां रगानवगमात् ।

तदुक्तम्—

‘ अप्रतिष्ठमविश्रान्त स्वार्थं यत्परतामिदम् ।

वाक्य विगाहते तत्र न्याय्या नगरतास्य सा ॥

यत्र तु स्वार्थविश्रान्तं प्रतिष्ठा तावदागतम् ।

ननुप्रतिष्ठति तत्र रगान गर्वत्र वनिना स्थितिः ॥ ’

×

×

×

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अत्रोक्तं—

वाच्या प्रकरणादिभ्यो बुद्धिस्था वा यथा क्रिया ।

वाक्यार्थे कारकैर्युक्तः स्थायीभावस्तथेतैः ॥ (D. R.)

यथा लौकिकवाक्येषु श्रूयमाणक्रियेषु ‘ गामभ्याज ’ इत्यादिषु अश्रूयमाणक्रियेषु च ‘ द्वारं द्वारम् ’
इत्यादिषु स्वशब्दोपादानात् प्रकरणादिवशाद् बुद्धिसन्निवेशिनी क्रियैव कारकोपचिता वाक्यार्थः, तथा
काव्येषु स्वशब्दोपादानात् क्वचित् ‘ प्रीत्यै नवोढा प्रिया ’ इत्येवमादौ, क्वचित् प्रकरणादिवशात् नियत-
विहित⁶ विभावाद्यविभावाद्वा साक्षाद्भावकचेतसि विपरिवर्तमानः रत्यादिः स्थायी स्वस्वविभानुभाव-
व्याभिचारिभिः तत्तच्छब्दोपनीतैः सस्कारपरम्परया परा⁷ प्रौढिमानीयमानः रत्यादिवाक्यार्थः । न चापदा-
र्थस्य वाक्यार्थत्व नास्तीति वाच्यम् । कार्यपर्यवसायित्वात् तात्पर्यशक्तेः । तथा हि पौरुषेयमपौरुषेय
वाक्यं गर्व कार्यपरम्⁸, अतत्परत्वेऽनुपादयत्वाद्, उन्मत्तादिवाक्यवत् ।⁹ काव्यशब्दानां च अन्वयव्यतिरे-
काभ्या निरन्तरिगम्यत्वाद्वाच्यतिरेकेण प्रतिपाद्यप्रतिपादकयोः प्रवृत्तिविषयोः प्रयोजनान्तरानुपलब्धेः
स्वादोद्भूतिरेव¹⁰ कार्यत्वेन अवधार्यते । तदुद्भूतिनिमित्तत्वं च विभावादिसंसृष्टस्य स्थायिन एव अवगम्यते ।
अतो वाक्यस्याभिधानशक्तिः तेन तेन रमेनाकृत्यमाणा तत्तत्स्वादा¹¹पेक्षितान्तरविभावादिप्रतिपादन-
द्वारा स्वपर्यवसायितामानीयते । तदेतद् विभावादयः पदार्थस्थानीयाः, तत्संसृष्टो रत्यादिवाक्यार्थः
तदेतत् काव्यावाक्यम्, यदीया¹² तावमै पदार्थवाक्यार्थौ । न चैव सति गीतादिबद् वाक्यवाचकभावा-
नुपयोगः,¹³ विशिष्टविभावादिसामग्रीविदुषामेव तथाविधरत्यादिभावनावतामेव स्वादोद्भूतेः¹⁴ । तदनेन

1 वाक्यार्थः 2 अन्यत्वात् 3 तत्र. 4 The full stop here is wrong and the sentence ends only with the word द्वितीयकक्षा । 5 अविहित. 6 पर.

7 Full stop 8 No Full stop 9 स्वानन्द. 10 स्वार्थ. 11 यदीयं.

12 Full stop 13 No full stop

अतिप्रसङ्गोऽपि निरस्तः । इदंश्चि न वाक्यार्थनिरूपणे परिहृयितव्यमिति शक्तिवर्जितव्यमस्त्ववाक्य-
प्रयोगान्ते शक्त्यन्तरपरिकल्पनं प्रयासः । यदवोचाम काव्यनिर्णये—

‘तात्पर्यान्तरिरेकाग्रं व्यग्रं ह्यवस्था, न’ वनि ।
किमुक्तं स्यादधुना र्थतात्पर्येऽन्योक्तिरुपाणि ॥
‘व्यग्रं मध्यमं’ वाक्ये यन्मैव पितृगृहादिषु ।
‘प्रयुज्यते’ प्रधानत्वाद् ‘वर्तित्वं’ केन वर्तिते ॥
‘वर्तित्वे’ स्वार्थविधानं वाक्यमर्थान्तराश्रयम् ।
तत्परस्य त्वविधानार्थः, तत्र, विश्रान्त्यसम्भवात् ॥
एतावन्त्येव विश्रान्तिस्तत्परस्येति किमुक्तम् ।
याग्यार्थप्रसारित्वात् तात्पर्यं न तुल्यतमम् ॥
तमं भासितं विश्रान्त्यमस्ति श्रमिकृतापदम् ।
निर्व्याजं किं वाक्यं निषेधमुपगम्यति ॥
प्रतिपाद्यस्य विश्रान्तिरपेक्षाप्रणयिनि ।
वक्तुनिवक्षित्वाप्राप्तेः¹ अविश्रान्तिर्न वा कथम् ॥
पौरुषेयस्य वाक्यस्य विवक्षापरतन्त्रता² ।
वक्तृभिर्धेततात्पर्यम् अतः काव्यस्य युज्यते ॥’ उति

अतो न रसादीनां काव्येन सह व्यङ्ग्यव्यग्रकभावः । किं तर्हि ! साव्यभावकसम्बन्धः । काव्य-
हि भावकम्, साव्या रसादयः । ते हि स्वताऽऽभवन्त एव भावकेषु विशिष्टावभावादिभिरा काव्येन
भाव्यन्ते³ । न चान्यत्र शब्दान्तरेषु भाव्यभावकलक्षणसम्बन्धाभावात् काव्यशब्दोऽपि तथा भाव्य-
मिति वाच्यम् । भावनाक्रियावार्धिमं तथा हीकृतत्वात् । अतः सा चान्यत्र तथास्तु⁴, अन्यथ्यत्यतिरेका-
भ्यामिह तथावगमान् ।

तदुक्तम्—(NS VII 4)

‘भावार्थमनगम्यद्वान् भावार्थान्तरं रसानामान् ।
यस्मात्तस्मादर्था साया विज्ञेया साध्योत्तमम् ॥’

उति । कथं पुनरगृहीतगम्यसम्बन्धः पदस्य स्थाय्यादिप्रतिपत्तिर्निमित्तं चेत् लोकं । तत्तावच्चतुष्टयुक्त-
स्त्रीपुमादिषु स्थाय्याविनाभावद्वेनाद उदादि तथोपनिबन्धे गति रस्यात्यावभावात् वेगादिप्रतिपादकशब्दध्व-
णाद् अभिव्यक्तिनामावेन⁵ आलोच्यते रस्यादिप्रतीतिः । यथा न काव्यानेभ्य रसाभावकत्वं तथा अग्रे
यद्यपि ॥’

-
- 1 पूर्वो यश्चैव परमुतादिषु । 2 प्रमख्यते. 3 किं कृतम् । 4 आस्पदे ।
5 विवक्षितप्राप्तं 6 विवक्षा परतन्त्रता 7 भवन्त 8 No full stop
9 No stop 10 अभिव्यक्तिनामावेन

CHAPTER XIII

BHOJA AND AUCITYA

This important concept of Aucitya, Bhoja does not deal with anywhere separately. As a chief topic in Poetics, it is not mentioned at all by Bhoja. But Bhoja is not absolutely silent on this concept. Aucitya occurs here and there, underlying many other ideas in Bhoja.

It has been pointed out in my article on Aucitya in the *Journal of the Madras University*,¹ that, long before Poetics began to talk of Aucitya, its related Tantra of Vyākaraṇa was mentioning Aucitya as one of the conditions determining the definite import of a word of many meanings in a given context. Bhartṛhari mentions Aucitya as one of the Śabda-artha-pravibhājakas in II 316, in his *Vākyapadīya*. In this same connection, Bhoja also mentions Aucitya while treating of Vivakṣā in the seventh chapter of the *Śr. Pra.* (Vol. II. p. 30); and this same Aucitya as a determinant of the sense of a word occurs again in chapter xxv of the *Śr. Pra.* (Vol. IV. p. 463).

In chapter xi of the *Śr. Pra.*, Bhoja calls his *magnum opus*, this *Śr. Pra.*, by the name SĀHITYA-PRAKĀŚA and says that among other things, Aucitya is herein inculcated.

“एतस्मिन् शृङ्गारप्रकाशे सुप्रकाशमेव अशेषशास्त्रार्थसंपदुपनिषदाम् अखिलकलाकाव्य-
औच्चित्र्य-कल्पनारहस्यानां च सन्निवेशो दद्यते।” Vol. II. Mad. Ms p. 430.

This, however, has to be taken in a general sense that one of the fruits a reader of the *Śr. Pra.* will reap is acquisition of a sense of Aucitya. That, any work, especially Literature, Poetry and Literary Criticism, must inculcate

In Poetics proper, Bhoja does speak of Aucitya more than once. He realises that it is a vast and elastic principle and that it pertains to every part of a work of art. There are the main and major Aucityas of Rasa and Itivṛtta as also the subsidiary and minor ones of Gunas, Alarṅkāras, Rīti, metre etc.

(1) We first sight Aucitya in Bhoja in his Doṣa prakaraṇa, in his Vākya-dosa called ‘Apada’. ‘Apada’ is the use of inappropriate vocabulary. The appropriateness or otherwise is tested by a reference to the nature of the characters who speak. A Grāmya speaker must be made to talk as he does in life, using rustic or vulgar expressions, whereas a refined urban character must be made to use a refined language. This is an emphasis on one kind of Aucitya. See Dosa-section for detailed treatment of ‘Apada’. See S. K. Ā I pp 19-20.

1 Vide my paper on the History of Aucitya in the *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. VI No. 1 and Vol. VII No. 1.

Aristotle speaks of this Aucitya of Pada, the use of appropriate vocabulary, in his Rhetoric. He says, "If then one expresses himself in the language appropriate to the habit, he will produce the effect of being characteristic; for, a rustic and a man of education will express themselves neither in the *same words*, nor in the *same manner*" (Vide my paper on Loka Dharmā, *JOR*, Madras, Vol VIII p 71. Compare also Rūpaśekhara, *K M* pp 30-31)

(2) In the Vākyaārthadosa called Vnāsa, borrowed from Rudrata, Bhoja speaks of Aprastutarāsa, which is a variety of Rasa-anaucitya. *S K Ā I* 50, p 35 Ratneśvara quotes here Ananda's verse on Aucitya and Anaucitya "Anaucityād ite nānyad etc." Ratneśvara also points out that the following three Dosas, Hina, Adhika and Asādosa Dharmas are all varieties of Anaucitya

(3) The Doṣa called Viruddha, Loka-viruddha, kālaviruddha etc., (*S K Ā I* 51-57, pp 38-42) is also based on Aucitya. It is only a more definite and particularised name for Anaucitya of various kinds in Vastu or Artha. While explaining in I 56 'Anumāna-viruddha', Bhoja mentions Aucitya and its breach -- Aucitya-viruddha

युक्ति-औचित्य-प्रतिज्ञादिकृतो यस्मिन् वद कथन ।

अनुमानविरोधरस कविमुत्थं निगद्यते ॥ I 50

and he illustrates Aucitya-viruddha thus

औचित्यविरुद्धं यथा—

(छाया)

पदाशुशोक्तीर्येण पामरः पामरां प्रोच्छति ।

अतिगुरुकूरकुम्भोभरेण स्येदाद्रित वदाम ॥

अत्र पामरस्य पदाशुशोक्तीर्यामरण-अनौचित्याद् औचित्यविरुद्धमिदम् । "

S K Ā I p 40

"किन्तु पामरौचित्यप्रतिपन्नाने पदाशुकावगुण्ठनमुक्तिम् । निदमनोपन्यापरिग्रहादनामर-वृत्तापरिचय एव पामरत्वम् ।" Ratneśvara on the above

This case of Artha-aucitya-anaucitya is plain, how can a Pāmara be described as dressed in a Nāgaraka's dress of silk?

(4) A similar instance of Artha-aucitya-anaucitya is met with in Bhoja's Śabda-guṇa, Bhāvika, where an elder, out of the overpowering feeling in him, goes to the extent of bowing at the feet of an youngster. *S K Ā I* p 58

"अत्र हृषीकेशान अनौचित्येनापि 'वन्देऽथवा चरणपुनःकन्दयम्' इत्यादीनाम् उक्तत्वात् भाविकत्वम् ।"

Here a case of Anaucitya becomes a Guṇa or Aucitya, according to the larger implications of the principle of Aucitya. The larger Aucitya herein involved, which makes Aucitya out of Anaucitya, is an instance of Rasāveśa and Rasa-aucitya.

(5) And the above-mentioned Aucitya which converts Dosas into Guṇas is the very basis of the last section of the Guṇa-prakarana of Bhoja, the Vaiśeṣika-guṇas or Doṣa-guṇas, Dosas which turn into Guṇas under certain circumstances. (Vide my paper on Aucitya above referred to) S. K. Ā. pp 74-120, See especially p 118 Bhoja explicitly states the principle of Aucitya converting certain cases of Anaucitya into Aucitya

“अत्र ह्रीन्वाद् औचित्यविरोधेऽपि तत्समयोचितत्वात् गुणत्वम् ।”

Aucitya in Bhoja's Alamkāra Section

(6) (a) Above was noticed under the Pada-dosa called Apada, a kind of Aucitya of language, the Aucitya of appropriate vocabulary. Bhoja opens his Śabdālamkāra with an Alamkāra called Jāti. What is Jāti? And how is it Alamkāra, and a Śabda-alamkāra? Jāti is the various kinds of language, Sanskrit, the various Prākṛits and Apabhraṃśa. Though Language, by itself, is not an Alamkāra, the proper choice of the language suited to the theme etc., is an Alamkāra, for, this is a feature of beauty in Kāvya. This is Bhāṣā-Aucitya. Certain things are well said when expressed in Sanskrit, certain others in Prākṛit. Says Bhoja.

संस्कृतेनैव कोऽयर्थः प्राकृतेनैव वापरः ।

यस्यो ग्वयितु कश्चिद् अपभ्रंशेन जायते ॥ S K Ā p 122

Thus intelligent choice and employment of language is an Aucitya and is called by Bhoja as the Śabdālamkāra named Jāti. The principle of Aucitya involved herein is pointed out by Bhoja

तत्र संस्कृतमित्यादिः भारती जातिरप्युच्यते ।

ना तु औचित्यादिभिः वाचाम् अलङ्काराय कल्पते ॥ II 6 p 121

and Ratnesvara explains it thus

“ननु अवश्य शब्देन संस्कृताद्यन्यतमेन भवितव्यम् । तत्कोऽत्र कवेः शक्तिव्युत्पत्त्योरशः, येन अलङ्कारता म्यात, इत्यत आह—नेति । औचित्याकृष्ट एव अलङ्कारः । अस्ति च संस्कृतादेरपि तथाभावः इति भावः ॥” p 121

Then, according to Ratnesvara's Avatārikās to the succeeding Kārikās on Jāti, Bhoja indicates Aucitī in general, Visaya-aucitī, Vaktr-aucitī, Vācya-aucitī, Deśa-aucitī etc

When, in a drama, the poet adopts the Prākṛt for women and low characters, Bhoja would say, that in his scheme, it is a case of Jāti Śabdālamkāra. It is Vaktr-aucitya. Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* treats of this Bhāṣā-Aucitya in the chapter called 'Bhāṣā-vidhāna, XVIII. Bharata says regard-

ing *Desa-aucitya* that a drama can be in many languages, for, in a drama, characters from various provinces and countries may be introduced

अथवा छन्दतः कार्याः देशभाषा-प्रयोजनम् ।

नानादेशसमुत्थं हि काव्यं भवति नाटके ॥ V S XVIII 34.

(b) In chapter xi of his *Śr Pra* Bhoja again emphasises this *Bhāṣā-Aucitya*. There, he calls this an *Ubhaya-guṇa* of a *Prabandha* as a whole, the *Guṇa* called 'Pātra-anurūpa-bhāṣatva' i.e., composed in language appropriate to the character

“पात्रानुरूपभाषत्वम् इत्यनेन उत्तमपात्राणि संस्कृतेन, उत्तमापात्राणि प्राकृतेन × × × × etc |” p 432 Vol II *Śr Pra*. Mad MS

(Vide *Alaṅkāra* and *Guṇa* sections).

(7) (a) Bhoja's second *Śabdālaṅkāra* called *Gatī* is nothing but the *Aucitya* of the medium of verse, prose or the mixed *Campu* style, and the *Aucitya* of the varieties of metres. To decide that a certain idea will be best expressed only in a verse-form and another only in a prose-form is itself an *Alaṅkāra*. This appropriateness of form is called *Gatyaucitya*. The chief controlling factor here, Bhoja himself says, is *Artha-aucitya*

यद्य गद्यं च मिथं च कार्यं यत्, सा गतिः स्मृता ।

अर्थोच्चिन्यादिभिः गपि वागलङ्कार इत्यन्ते ॥ II 18

Again,

यथामति यथाशक्ति यथोच्चिन्यं यथास्मि ।

कवेः पात्रस्य चेतस्याः प्रयोग उपपद्यते ॥ II 21

(b) Having chosen the verse form, a poet picks out the proper metres to suit his ideas. This choice of metre is *Vitta-aucitya*. Bhoja says in chapter xi of the *Śr Pra* that 'metre according to ideas' is an *Ubhaya-guṇa* of a *Prabandha* as a whole

“‘अर्थानुरूपच्छन्दस्त्वम्’ इत्यनेन चकारे द्रुतिधर्मिन्नादयः, गीरे वगन्तित्वादिभ्यः, कुरुणे वृत्तालीयादयः, गौड अथरादयः, रावत्र जादेर्लघ्विकीर्त्तनादयः निवन्तनावाः इत्युपादयन्ति ।”

Vol II p 432.

All these Bhoja does not fail to relate to *Rasa* and he realises that the final test of the appropriateness or *Aucitya* of a thing is *Rasa*, whether it be through *Śabda* or *Artha*. For, all *Guṇas*, *Alaṅkāras* and the avoidance of flaws (*Dosa-hāna*) are for securing the eternal presence of *Rasa*, *Rasa-aviyoga*

Further, Bhoja also, like *Mahima Bhaṭṭa* (see section on Bhoja and *Mahima Bhaṭṭa*), holds all kinds of *Dosas* as forms of *Anaucitya*. In chapter xi of the *Śr Pra* Bhoja says that *Rasa-aviyoga* in a work as a whole is secured by avoiding flaws, and securing *Guṇas* and *Alaṅkāras*, and there are *Dosas*, *Guṇas* and *Alaṅkāras* pertaining to *Prabandha*, even as to *Vākya*. Taking a drama, Bhoja illustrates the avoidance of flaw of *Prabandha* *Prabandha-dosa-hāna*. The story, in the source, may not, in every incident, be

consistent and exhibit an unity The poet takes it up, eschews certain bits, and renovates the theme for his purpose This eschewing and renovation in theme are, Bhoja says, Prabandha-doṣa-hāna or *Anaucitya-parihāna* Anaucitya in the story is eliminated and Aucitya is secured.

“तत्र (प्रबन्धे) दोषहानम् अनौचित्यादिपरिहारेण । यथा मायकैकेयीदशरथाभ्यां रामः प्रवास्मिन्, न मातापितृभ्या दर्शितं निर्दोषदशरथे (वालरामायणे) etc , etc ”

p 410. Vol II Mad Śr Pra

(See the above-mentioned paper on Aucitya, sections on Bhoja and Mahima Bhatta See also the section on Bhoja and Kuntaka and Vakrokti in this thesis) And in this connection Bhoja quotes Yaśovarman's verse in the prelude to his now lost *Rāmābhyudaya* .

“ औचित्यं वचसां प्रकृत्यनुगतं, सर्वत्र पात्रोचिता

पुष्टिः स्वावसरे स्मस्य—। ”

Śr Pra Mad MS. Vol II p 411

CHAPTER XIV RĪTI, VRTTI, AND PRAVRĪTI

Rīti¹

Rīti is dealt with by Bhoja three times, first in the Doṣa section under the Aritmad-doṣa, then in the Alamkāra section as a Sabdālamkāra, and lastly in the Anubhāva section as one of the three Buddhivātanubha-anubhāvas. As in the case of Vrtti, so also in the case of Rīti, as a Sabdālamkāra, it is of six kinds, but as Anubhāva, it is only of four kinds. In the former case, the number six is purely a result of Bhoja's sense of symmetry.

Bhoja uses all the three names, Rīti, Panthā and Mārga, the latter two of which are synonymous. Bhoja derives the word Rīti from the root \sqrt{Ri} to go “ \sqrt{Ri} गति,” thus connecting it with the other names, Panthā and Mārga. To the three Rītis in Vāmana, Bhoja adds three more. Vāmana gives only the Vaidarbhī, the Pāñcālī and the Gaudīya. Bhoja adds the Lāṭiyā which Rudrata was responsible for introducing, and then two more himself, namely, the Āvantī and the Māgadhī. The Āvantī and Māgadhī form Bhoja's additions.

The three verses defining the Vaidarbhī, Gaudī and Pāñcalī (S. K. A. II 29-31 p. 134) are reproduced by Bhoja from Vāmana. Bhoja borrows the Lāṭiyā Rīti from Rudrata but abandons Rudrata's definition of the Lāṭiyā. Rudrata defines the Lāṭiyā, as also the other Rītis, on the basis of the number of words compounded in a single instance. (S. K. A. II 5). But Bhoja arbitrarily says that a mixture of all Rītis is Lāṭiyā.¹

गमनगतिव्या (व्या) मिश्र लक्षण गतिस्वरूपे । S. K. A. p. 134
मिश्रगतिव्यं प्रया । Śi. Pra. Vol. II p. 270

The S. K. A. defines Āvantikā Rīti as one standing between Pāñcalī and Vaidarbhī, with two to three or three to four words in a compound. But the same writer says in his Śi. Pra. that Āvantika is not any one kind of Rīti exactly, but something approaching all Rītis.¹ वेदमूर्तिरामानुजस्य गतिगवन्तिका Māgadhī is defined as Khaṇḍa Rīti by both the S. K. A. and the Śi. Pra. i.e., beginning in one Rīti and ending in another.¹

Such treatment of the subject of Rīti has little reality and Bhoja here shows little grasp of either the historical aspect or the literary and artistic aspect of the subject and is of very little help to a student of the history and development of such an important concept as Style or Rīti in Sanskrit Alamkāra Literature.

¹ See also my paper on Rīti in *Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, pp. 89-118.

While Bhoja is in a mood to follow Vāmana in his definitions of the Rītis, Vaidarbhī, Pāñcālī and Gaudīyā, in the *S K Ā*, he prefers to accept Rudrāta's definitions in the same context of Rīti-śabdālamkāras in the *Śr Pra*. Rudrāta defines the Rītis on the basis of a single feature called Samāsa; he holds the Vaidarbhī as the name of an un-compounded collocation, and classifies the compounded collocation into the three other Rītis according to the number of words compounded. No doubt Vāmana does include Samāsa as a determining factor in the description of all the three Rītis, but none but Rudrāta defines the Rīti concept on the basis of Samāsa only. Vāmana defines the Vaidarbhī as having all the Gunas fully, (*Guna-sāmagrya*); the preponderance of Mādhurya and Saukumārya and absence of Ojas and Kānti is Pāñcālī; the emphasis on Ojas and Kānti produces the Gaudīyā. See Vāmana, *K A Sū and Vṛ*. I. 11 pp 17-21. Vāñi Vilās Edn and compare *S K Ā* p 134. In the *Śr Pra* however, Bhoja casts off Vāmana's definitions and gives those of Rudrāta as follows:

“असमस्तपदा वैदर्भी—।” “समस्तपदषपदा पाञ्चाली।” “यथाशक्ति समस्तपदा गौडीया।” “वैदर्भीदीनामन्तरालरीतिरावन्तिका।” p 269 *Śr. Pra* Vol. II. Rudrāta: “वृत्तेरसमासाया वैदर्भी रीतिरेकैव।” *K A* II 6. “द्वित्रिपदा पाञ्चाली।” “लाटीया पञ्च सप्त वा यावत्” “यथाशक्ति गौडीया.” *K. A* II. 5

Here also it is only on Vaidarbhī, Pāñcālī and Gaudīyā that Bhoja agrees with Rudrāta. The Lāṭīyā, he chooses to define according to his own sweet will and not as Rudrāta defined it.

Rīti, as expounded by Daṇḍin, Bhoja follows in the Doṣa-section while dealing with a Doṣa called Arītimad. *S K Ā* pp 24-30. More of this I have said in the sections on Doṣa and Guṇa. This is no strange phenomenon in Bhoja's writings that, on the same subject, he follows different and differing writers at different places. On Rīti, he follows Daṇḍin in the Doṣa-section, Vāmana to some extent in the Śabdālamkāra section of the *S K Ā*; and Rudrāta in the same context in the *Śr. Pra*, and lastly, he follows Rājaśekhara on the Rītis in the 17th chapter of the *Śr. Pra*, where again Bhoja speaks of the Rītis as Buddhyārambha-anubhāvas along with Vṛtti and Pravṛtti.¹

In the 17th chapter the Rītis appear along with Vṛttis and Pravṛttis, as in Rājaśekhara. Rājaśekhara says at the very beginning of his work that he devotes a separate chapter to Rītis in the statement रीतिनिर्णय सुवर्णनामः and in the remarks वृत्तिरीतिस्वरूपं यथावसरं वक्ष्यामः. p. 8. “रीतयस्तु तिस्रः, तास्तु पुरस्तात्।” p 10. *K M*. But this chapter on Rītis is lost. Still we are given an idea of Rājaśekhara's conception and definition of the Rītis even in the available part, namely, the Kavi-rahasya section, sub-section 3 on Kāvya-puruṣa-utpatti. Rājaśekhara admits only the three Rītis of Vāmana and so has some difficulty in adjusting the three Rītis to the four Vṛttis and the four Pravṛttis. Bhoja

¹ See my paper on Rīti and Guna in the Agni Purāṇa in the *IHQ*, X, pp. 767-779.

removes the difficulty by accepting the fourth Rīti of Laṭiā Bhoja gives the following equations :

<i>Vṛtti</i>	<i>Pravṛtti</i>	<i>Rīti</i>
Bhāratī	Paurastyā	Pañcalī
Ārabhaṭī	Udhra māgadhī	Gaudī
Kaiśikī	Dākṣmātyā	Vaidarbhī
Sāttvatī	Āvantiyā	Laṭiā

(See p 52 *JOR* Madras, Vol VII, p 52, My paper on *Vṛttis*.)

The *Kāvya-nīmānsā* gives the following scheme

Bhāratī	Udhra māgadhī	Gaudīya
Sāttvatī	{ Pañcālī or Pañcāla madhyama	Pañcalī
and		
Ārabhaṭī	{	No Rīti !
Sāttvatī		
and	Āvanti	
Kaiśikī	{	Vaidarbhi
Kaiśikī		
	Dākṣmātyā	

(*KM* Pp 8-9)

The *Kāvya-puruṣa* and the *Sāhitya-vidyā-vadhū* were perhaps struck dumb when they passed through Avanti and adjacent provinces ! For, Rājaśekhara gives no Rīti for that place

It is not possible to go here deeply into the very origins of the concept of Rīti and trace its history. That I have done in the separate paper on Rīti already referred to, wherein I have also spoken of the place occupied by Rājaśekhara and Bhoja, with whom alone we are concerned here at present. The definitions of Rītis in Dandin and Vāmana are on the basis of ideas called *Gunas*. Rudrata restricts himself to *Samāsa*. And Bhāmaha brings into his discussion of the two Rītis other general ideas, finally, Bhāmaha throws away the Rītis. As distinguished from Bhāmaha and Rudrata on the one hand, and from Dandin-Vāmana and the *Guna* tradition on the other, Rājaśekhara adopts for defining the Rītis characteristics and phraseology nowhere else met with, characteristics and phraseology which Bhoja borrows for the 17th chapter of his *Śr Pra* and from Bhoja, the *Agn purāṇa* borrows. The following are Rājaśekhara's definitions along with which I have also given those of Bhoja.

(१) “ —समासवद्, अनुप्रासवद्, योगवृत्तिपरम्परामर्भ जगाद्, सा गौडीया रीति । ’,
KM p 8

“गौडादिषु भवा गौडीया-यदतिदीर्घसमासम्, परिष्कृतबन्धनम्, नात्युपचारवृत्तिमत् ’
पादानुप्रासयोगि, योगरूढिपरम्परामर्भ वचः, सा गौडी ॥ ” *Śr Pra* Vol III p 213

(२) “ — ईषदसमासम्, ईषदनुप्रासम्, उपचारगर्भं च जगाद, सा पाञ्चाली रीतिः । ”
K M p 9

“ पाञ्चालादिषु भवा पाञ्चाली — यदनतिदीर्घसमासम्, (अनति) स्फुटबन्धम्, उप-
 (चार) वृत्तिमत्, पादानुप्रासप्रायम्, योगरूढिमत् सा पाञ्चाली । ” *Śr Pra* Vol III p 212

(३) “ — स्थानानुप्रासवद्, असमासम्, योगवृत्तिगर्भं च जगाद, सा वैदर्भी रीतिः । ”
K M p 9.

“ विदर्भादिषु (भवा) वैदर्भी । यदि (द) समस्तम् अतिसुकुमारवद् (न्धम्) अनु-
 (पचार वृत्तिमत्), स्थानानुप्रासयोगी, (योग) वृत्तिमद् वचः, सा वैदर्भी । ”

Śr Pra Vol III p 214

We shall consider the *Lāṭīyā* of Bhoja which is not found in *Rājaśekhara* separately afterwards. The following table shows the relation between the definitions of the two writers more clearly

Gauḍīyā :

Rājaśekhara	समास	अनुप्रास	योगवृत्तिपरम्परा
Bhoja	अतिदीर्घसमास	पादानुप्रास	योगरूढिपरम्परा.

And in addition to these three, we find Bhoja giving ‘*Parisphuta-bandha*’ and a few *Upacāra-vrtti* usages as characterising the *Gauḍīyā*. The source of Bhoja for these two additional features is not known. Regarding the three features taken from *Rājaśekhara*, Bhoja puts them more definitely; *Samāsa* is made *Atidīrgha-samāsa*, *Anuprāsa*, *Pādānuprāsa*, and the *Yoga-vṛtti* of *Rājaśekhara*, Bhoja makes *Yoga-Rūdhī*

Pāncālī :

Rājaśekhara	ईषदसमास	ईषदनुप्रास	उपचार
Bhoja	अनतिदीर्घसमास	पादानुप्रास	Same

The additional features in Bhoja are ‘*Anati-sphuta-bandha*’ and ‘*Yoga-Rūdhī*’

Vaidarbhī

Rājaśekhara	असमास	स्थानानुप्रास	योगवृत्ति
Bhoja	Same	Same	Same

The additional features in Bhoja are ‘*Ati-sukumāra-bandha*’ and ‘*Anu-pacāra-vṛtti*’.

This kind of treatment of the *Rītis* is not after the manner generally found in the writings of the *Ālankārikas* but it is not altogether unrelated to the features of the *Rītis* as they are defined by Dandin, *Vāmana* and *Rudrata*. *Samāsa* and *Anuprāsa* which play a great part in *Rājaśekhara*’s and Bhoja’s definitions form vital points in Dandin, *Vāmana* and *Rudrata*. *Upacāra* also is mentioned by Dandin as the *Guna* called *Samādhī*. But what is a bit striking as new is the terminology of *Upacāra*, *Yoga*, *Rūdhī* and *Bandha-sphutatva*

In similar terminology, Bhoja defines the Riti's also him-
 self.

अट्टादिषु भवा लट्टाद्याः ; यदीपत्यासस्वम्, अनर्त्तकमायनम्, नान्युपचारवद्, लट्टाद्यानु-
 प्रागवद् योगादिमद् वचः, सा लट्टाद्या । ” P 215, Vol III *Si Pra*

Saradātanaya records this kind of definition of the Ritis in his *Bha Pra.*, borrowing it from the 17th chapter of the *Si Pra*, and from both Saradāta-
 naya and Bhoja, Bahurūpamiśra borrows it in his *Daśanūpakarṇyākhyā*. The
Agni-purāṇa also borrows it from Bhoja. Of Riti and Gana in the *Agni-
 purāṇa*, I have spoken in the article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* al-
 ready referred to.

1. Śaradātanaya, in chapter one of his *Bha Pra* follows Bhoja's treat-
 ment of Anubhāvas as found in the 17th chapter of the *Si Pra*. On pp 11-12,
 Śaradātanaya follows Bhoja's grouping together of Riti, Vitti and Prayitti
 as Buddhyārambha-anubhāva

बुद्धयारम्भानुभावेषु रीतिः प्रथममुच्यते ।

रीतिर्वचनार्थन्यायक्रमः, साणि चतुर्विधा ॥

The features given by Bhoja are thus classified and stated by Saradātanaya.
 The Ritis are distinguished by the difference in (1) Samaśa, (2) Sauku-
 mārya etc., (3) Upacāra etc., and (4) Pūra and Anupūra

समाशः सौकुमार्यादिनारतस्यालः कश्चिन् हविर्न ।

उपचारविशेषान् प्रागानुप्राप्तमेवेतः ॥

Following Śaradātanaya Bahurūpamiśra says in his *Daśanūpakarṇyākhyā*

एतासौ चतसृणा च रीतिना समानतारतम्याद्, (1) उपचारतारतम्यं, (2) सौकुमार्यो-
 दितारतम्याद्, (3) अनुप्राप्तमेवादौ, (4) योगादिभेदात् (5) च परस्परभेदः उपपन्नमिति निर्दिष्टम् । ”

P 5 Vol II Mad MS P 4188.

Śaradātanaya beats Bhoja hollow by first adding two more Ritis, Samastu
 and Dīrividī, and by saying totally that Ritis are as many as 100 or even
 as many as the men who speak

सौमार्थी द्वाविंशं चेति रीतिद्वयमुदाहरम् ।

तत्तद्देशीयस्वभावास्तीतिस्तेष्वनमामाकः ॥

× × ×

प्रतिवचनं प्रतिपुस्य तद्वान्तरं ज्ञानिनः प्रतिर्भाति ।

आनन्त्यालः सक्षिप्य प्रोक्ता कविभिः चतुर्विधेभ्यो ॥

तासु पञ्चोत्तरशतं विधा प्रोक्ता मनीषिभिः ।

2. Śingabhūpāla follows Bhoja in treating of Riti, Vitti and Prayitti as
 Buddhyārambha-anubhāvas RAS Ch I pp 64-68

बुद्धयारम्भान् तथा प्रोक्ता रीतिर्गतिप्रवृत्तयः ।

But Śingabhūpāla recognises only three Ritis, Komala, Kathina, and Mīśra,
 i.e., Vaudarbhī, Gaudī and Pāñcālī. On Vaudarbhī, Dandini is followed,
 Gaudī is distinguished by long compounds and aspirated words, Pāñcālī is
 midway between the two. Following Śaradātanaya, Śingabhūpāla also says
 at the end of the Riti-section that there are innumerable Ritis and that each

province has its own Rīti There are Āndhrī, Lāṭī, Saurāstrī and such other Mīśra Rītis For a description of these, Śingabhūpāla refers us to the works of *Bhoja* and others.

आन्ध्री लटो च सौराष्ट्रीत्यादयो मिश्ररीतयः ।

× × × ×

भोजादिग्रन्थकारैस्तु तदाकाङ्क्षिमिरीक्ष्यताम् ॥ p. 69.

Śāradātanaya mentions such additional Rītis and remarks that Rītis are as many as the provinces But *Bhoja* never does so, either in the *Śr Pra* or the *S K Ā* Perhaps Śingabhūpāla refers to the twelve Vṛtīyanuprāsa varieties of *Bhoja* given in the Śabdālamkāra section, Āndhrī, Kauṅkī, Kaunkaṇī, etc

The *Agni-purāna* also gives the three concepts of Rīti, Vṛtti and Pravṛtti together as Buddhyārambha-anubhāvas, in the section on Anubhāvas

आलम्बनविभावस्य भावैरुद्धसंस्कृतैः ।

मनोवाग्बुद्धिबुधस्य स्मृतीच्छाद्रेषयत्नतः ॥

आरम्भ एव विदुषाम् अनुभाव इति स्मृतः । 339/44-5.

Then Mana-ārambha-anubhāvas of males and females and Vāgārambhas are given And in the last two lines of the chapter, the three Buddhyārambhas are introduced

स बुद्धचारम्भ इष्यते ।

तस्य भेदाः त्रयस्ते च रीतिवृत्तिप्रवृत्तयः ॥ 339/54

The next chapter, the 340th, called Rīti-nirūpana, speaks partly of Vṛtti also The text as printed in the Ānandāśrama Edn is corrupt and incomplete here The chapter must be called 'Rīti-Vṛtti-Pravṛtti-Nirūpana' and must have dealt with all these three Buddhyārambhas For, with the next chapter we have Āngika-abhinaya or Śārīrārambha-anubhāva beginning. As it is, the chapter (340) ends abruptly with the mention of the Angas of the Ārabhaṭī Vṛtti, only the Rītis and two Vṛttis are available Vide my paper on Rīti and Guna in the *Agni-purāna* in the *IHQ*

Another point to be noted in the *Agnīpurāṇa* is that its definitions of the Rītis are taken from the *Śr Pra* (17th chapter) The four Rītis of this chapter of the *Śr Pra* are accepted and they are defined on the basis of the same features of Samāsa, Upacāra, Yoga, etc Vide my article on Rīti and Guna in the *Agnīpurāṇa* above referred to

The Vṛttis

Both from the point of view of history and that of dramatic art, I have critically examined and explained the concept of Vṛtti in a long paper entitled the Vṛttis published in the *JOR*¹ Madras In the third instalment of that paper, I noticed the peculiarities in *Bhoja's* treatment of Vṛtti in the section called 'Number of Vṛttis' I shall briefly survey the same here.

1 *JOR* Madras, Vol VI pp 346-370 and Vol VII pp. 33-52 and 91-112.

Bhoja describes the Vrttis as Anubhāvas born of the Buddha-Buddhyārambhānubhāvas—in chapter xxvii of the *Śr Pra*. He defines Vrtti as mode or manner of activity—*Cestā-viśesa-vṛtyāsa-krama*—and this agrees with Abhinava's definition of it as Vyāpāra and Ānanda's as Vyavahāra. In chapter xxvii of the *Śr Pra*, Bhoja describes *only the four* Vrttis given by Bharata, and there is nothing special, no difference, to be noted in Bhoja's descriptions of each of these Vrttis. There is some important difference in Bhoja's description of the Aṅgas of the Bhāratī vrtti, which I have dealt with in a separate section below called Vrttyaṅgas.

If Kaiśikī means grace and delicateness, and Vrtti means the temper and atmosphere of the situation, the Kaiśikī vrtti covers all such graceful activities and cannot be strictly called Anubhāva. Abhinava explains Ārabhatī as Kāya-vrtti, i.e. Cestā par excellence, Bhāratī as Vāg-vyāpāra, and Sāttvatī as Mano-vyāpāra. Bhoja also says that the Vrttis are 'Vān-manah-kāya-vyāpāra' (chap. xii). If Bhāratī is Vāg-vyāpāra, it must be Vāgārambha-anubhāva, if Ārabhatī is Kāya-vyāpāra, it must be Śarīrārambha-anubhāva; and Sāttvatī alone can be Buddhyārambha-anubhāva, because it is said to be Mano-vyāpāra. What about Kaiśikī then? It refers to no physiological or psychological department of our activity, of body, speech or mind. It refers to the graceful mode in all activities. How can this be called a Buddhyārambha-anubhāva? But such critical scrutiny, we cannot make even in Abhinava's text, how can Bhoja stand it?

As it is, Kaiśikī is applied to a part of the physical activity of the limbs which exhibit grace and delicateness, ślakṣnatā and Saukumārya.

As in this chapter xxvi of the *Śr Pra*, in chapter v of his *S K Ā* (p. 643) also, Bhoja is satisfied with the old four Vrttis but in chapter xii of the *Śr Pra* which corresponds to the above-noted part of the fifth chapter of the *S K Ā*, Bhoja gives the Vrttis as five in number. In this chapter xii of the *Śr Pra* dealing with Prabandha-āṅgas, most things move in groups of 'Five' and can Vrtti alone be, in this company, one short? So Bhoja adds the new fifth Vrtti of his, the Vimsīrā-vrtti, which is not a really new or additional Vrtti but is only the jumble of all the other four. Bhoja describes this fifth additional Vrtti thus on p. 459 in chap. xii of his *Śr Pra* (Vol. II).

“यत्रारम्भस्यादिगुणास्ममस्ताः

मिश्रत्वमाश्रित्य मिश्रं प्रयन्ते ।

मिश्रेति ता वृत्तिमुच्यन्ति धीराः

साधारणीमर्थचतुष्टयस्य ॥

मुखादिसन्धिषु [च] व्यापिष्यमाणानां (नाय) कोपनायकादीनां मनोवाक्यकर्मनिबन्धना-
पञ्च वृत्तयो भवन्ति—भारती, आरम्भटी, कैशिकी, सात्वती, विमिश्रा चेति । ” p. 459

“ नोऽयं पञ्चप्रकारोऽपि चेष्टाविशेषविन्यासक्रमो वृत्तिरित्याख्यायते । ” p. 459

What is the scope of this Vrtti, whether such a Vrtti is necessary, what has Bharata's text to say on this matter, how Śingabhūpāla notes this Mīśrā-vrtti of Bhoja and refutes it with the authority of Bharata's text—these ques-

tions I have dealt with in the paper on the Vṛttis above-mentioned (Pp 102-3, Vol VII, JOR)

Other writers besides Śingabhūpāla have noticed this fifth Vṛtti of Bhoja. Earlier than Śingabhūpāla, Śāradātanaya, who often shows his acquaintance with the *Śr Pra*, says that there are others who do not accept the Artha-vṛtti of Udbhata and give in its place a fifth Vṛtti called Miśrā

भारती सात्वती चैव कैशिक्यारभटीति च ।

औद्धटाः पञ्चमीमर्थवृत्तिं च प्रतिजानते ॥

अर्थवृत्तेरभावात् (मि) श्रां तां पञ्चमी परे ।

The information in the first two lines is derived by Śāradātanaya from the *Daśarūpaka*. How the view of these two writers, namely, Dhanañjaya and Śāradātanaya, that Udbhata recognised a fifth Vṛtti called Artha-vṛtti is wrong and what exactly is the position taken up by Udbhata, I have elaborately shown in the section on Udbhata in my paper in the JOR, VI, on the writers quoted in the *Abhinava-bhāratī* and in the paper on the Vṛttis mentioned above. In the third line quoted above, Śāradātanaya refers to Bhoja's fifth Vṛtti called the Miśrā

In the two published papers of mine above referred to, I had made a mistake which Mr K S RAMASWAMY SASTRY of the Baroda Oriental Institute, editor of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* in the Gaekwad Series, was kind enough to correct. It was proved by me in the section on the writer named Śakalīgarbha in the article on Writers quoted in the *Abhinava-bhāratī*, that this writer on diamatugy held five Vṛttis, and added the fifth Vṛtti of his which he called *Ātma-samvṛtti*. The text of the *Bhā Pra* on the Vṛttis on p 12 reads "विश्रान्तां पञ्चमी परे" and this view came just after the statement of Udbhata's view and contradicting Udbhata's view. In the *Abhinava-bhāratī*, the view of Śakalīgarbha appears after that of Udbhata, contradicting Udbhata's. So, at the suggestion of Professor Mm. S KUPPUSWAMY SASTRIYAR, I took Śāradātanaya as referring to Śakalīgarbha's view after that of Udbhata and the word 'Viśrānti' in the text was taken as a synonym meaning the same 'Ātma-samvṛtti' of Śakalīgarbha. Mr K S RAMASWAMY SASTRY drew my attention to his Errata list at the end of his edition of the *Bhā Pra* where the correct text of the third line is given; *Viśrānta* must be read as '*Miśrām tām*' "मिश्रा तां पञ्चमी परे". It is unfortunate that I should have missed the correct reading in the Errata and should have consequently seen in a plain reference to Bhoja's view a reference to Śakalīgarbha's view and should have corrected 'Viśrāntā' in the text into 'Viśrānti', to enable me to equate it with *Ātma-samvṛtti*. It is all very smooth sailing now. It must be accepted that the *Daśarūpaka* and the *Bhā Pra* misunderstood Udbhata's real view of Vṛttis and that there was a Śakalīgarbha, who held another view of five Vṛttis, but whom neither the *D R* nor the *Bhā Pra*, refers to. It is clear that in the third line of the passage extracted above, Śāradātanaya refers to Bhoja's fifth Vṛtti called Miśrā and this is perfectly natural, well acquainted as Śāradātanaya is, with Bhoja's *Śr Pra*

Another writer of about the same time of *Sāradātānaya* who refers to this fifth Vṛtti of Bhoja, called the Mīśā, is Prakāśavarsa, author of a work called *Rasārṇava-ālamkāra* (MS in the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras). Prakāśavarsa is acquainted with the *Śr. Pra* and he quotes the Upajāti verse of Bhoja on his new fifth Vṛtti “यत्रारम्यनादिगुणात्ममस्ता” etc from chapter xii of the *Śr. Pra*. But, instead of calling it by the same name by which it is called in the *Śr. Pra*, Mīśā, occurring in the third line—**मिश्रेति तां वृत्तिं** —, Prakāśavarsa calls it by the functional name occurring as Viśeṣana in the last line, Sādhārāṇī, — “गद्यार्णवमर्थ-ननुप्रत्यय, ” Prakāśavarsa, however, makes a great mistake in attributing this verse to one Mahā Bhāmaha (Vide my paper on Prakāśavarsa's *Rasārṇavālamkāra* in the *JOR*, Madras, Vol VIII. Part 3)

The third kind of treatment of Vṛtti by Bhoja, which is however the first and earliest in order in his two works, is the treatment of Vṛtti as a Śabdālamkāra along with Language, the Form of Verse or Prose or the Mixed Campū, Rīti etc. Vṛtti treated of in the Śabdālamkāra section is not the Vṛtti described in the Rasa section as Anubhāva, with particular reference to Drama. Vṛtti is here applied to the text of the Drama as well as to the pure, read Kāvya. This aspect of Vṛtti also I have studied in the paper on Vṛttis above referred to in the section named ‘The History of Vṛtti in Kāvya’ at the end of the paper (Pp 104-112, *JOR* Vol VII)

When we speak of the written words, we are at once in the realm of one of the four Vṛttis namely, the Bhāratī-Vṛtti. And if, within its realm, we want to distinguish the graceful and the forceful styles or modes, we must not have Kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī Vṛttis but two Rītis like Vādubhī and Gaudī. The whole set of Vṛttis brought from Nāṭya into Kāvya is incongruous. Ananda says in Uddyota III that Vṛttis are two fold of Artha and Śabda—the Artha-vṛttis being Kaiśikī etc., of Bharata and the Śabda vṛttis being Upanāgaṇikā, Parusā and Komalā. The latter are called by the other name of Rīti also and Mammata equates the Śabda vṛttis with the Rītis (*K Pra* IX). But Bhoja does not think of these difficulties and quietly makes up his needed number of 21 Śabdālamkāras by things like Vṛtti. The following points are to be noted here —

1 Bhoja increases the number of Vṛttis as Śabdālamkāras to six, adding two of his usual jumbles—Madhyama-Kaiśikī and Madhyama Ārabhaṭī. This really is fine scientific treatment ! The same concept is once sixfold, at another place it is fivefold, and in a third place it is only fourfold ! Why should there be this difference ? Does Bhoja think that Vṛtti in these three places, Vṛtti as Śabdālamkāra, as Anubhāva, and as a general Āṅga of the Prabandha, should differ ? Vṛtti is primarily Anubhāva. All Ālamkāras are Anubhāva, they appear in the speech of the mood-filled character, in the Vācīkābhinaya, in the Vāgarambha-anubhāva, and they are intended to convey more quickly and more powerfully the mood. It is again as Anubhāva that Vṛtti becomes a Prabandha-āṅga. There is no need for Bhoja to treat of Vṛttis three times

at three different places, and there is no justification for varying its number in each case on a diminishing scale from six to four

2. If there must be a *Karṣikī* which is not thoroughly *Karṣikī* but is somewhat *Karṣikī* *Madhyama Karṣikī*, and if there must be a *Madhyama-Ārabhaṭī* also like this, why not a *Madhyama-Bhāratī* and a *Madhyama-Sāttvatī*? The only reason for not having two more is that all the *Śabdālamkāras* of Bhoja are subdivided symmetrically into SIX kinds only; and, therefore, Bhoja needed only two more and not four more *Madhyama-Vrttis*

3. All these *Śabda-alamkāras* called *Vrtti* are defined as *Artha-sandar-bhas*. This is a contradiction. How can *Artha-vaicitrya* be productive of *Śabda-alamkāra*? It would have been something if Bhoja had made the *Vrttis*, *Artha-alamkāras*. That is what Bhoja's great Ācārya, Dandin does. Dandin counts the *Vrttis* and their *Angas* as *Alamkāras*, along with *Sandhyangas* and *Laksanas* towards the end of chapter II of his *Kāvya-darśa* and chapter II deals with *Arthālamkāras*.

There is a lot of loose thinking and haphazard heaping of things in Bhoja's work.

Another concept of Vṛtti

In the same *Śabdālamkāra* section Bhoja speaks of two other related concepts of *Vrtti* coming under *Anuprāsa*. I have spoken of these also in the closing part of my paper on *Vrttis* (See Pp 109-110, *JOR*, Vol. VII). Bhoja criticises the old *Vṛttis* of Udbhata and others, *Paruṣā*, *Komalā* and others (which Bhoja increases to twelve!) as unnecessary and as having been included in *Guṇas* and *Vrttis*. In their place Bhoja gives twelve other varieties of *Anuprāsa* called *Vrttis*, named after twelve countries. *SKĀ*, Pp 201-207. See my *Vrtti* paper above referred to. See also the *Alamkāra* section in this thesis.

The Vṛttyangas

Bhoja speaks of sixteen *Vṛttyangas*, four for each of the four main *Vrttis*, leaving out the *Vimśā*.

Of *Vṛttyangas* in general, I have spoken in a special section in my paper on *Vrttis*. (Pp 44-45 *JOR*, Vol VII). There is difference in Bhoja's treatment of the *Angas* of the *Bhāratī vrtti*. Bharata mentions four *Angas* of the *Bhāratī vrtti* *Prarocanā*, *Āmukha*, *Vithī* and *Prahasana* (XXII 30-35, Kāśī Edn). A critical examination of the *Bhāratī vrtti* and its two *Angas* of *Vithī* and *Prahasana* especially, was made by me in the first part of the *Vrtti*-paper (Pp 363-370 Vol VI *JOR*). Of the four *Angas* of the *Bhāratī vrtti* given by Bharata, Bhoja takes only one, namely, *Āmukha* as constituting the whole *Bhāratī vrtti* and divides it into four *Angas*, in the 12th chapter of the *Śr Pra*. Bhoja differs even there also from Bharata. Bharata gives *Āmukha* as of five *Āngas* (XXII, 30-35)—*Udghātyaka*, *Kathodghāta*, *Prayogātīśaya*, *Pravṛttaka* and *Avagalita*. Bhoja omits the third and has no other reason for this omission except to make uniform enumeration of four *Angas* for each of the four *Vrttis*. This kind of equation of the

Bhāratī vitti with the Āmukha is not justifiable and contradicts Bhoja's earlier definition of Bhāratī vitti as the name for all vocal activity in general (Vāg vitti ; p. 159 Vol II *Śr Pra*). The *Daśanūpaka*, like Bhoja, gives the same four Angas of Bharata for the Bhāratī vitti but, for Āmukha, it adopts an independent attitude like the *Śr Pra*. It gives only three Angas for the Āmukha. Śṅgabhūpāla follows the *Daśanūpaka*. The Angas of the other Vittis are the same and are of the same number as given by Bharata (pp. 178-180 Vol II, *Śr Pra*).

The fifth chapter of the S.K.Ā has a different story to tell. Here also, there is no difference between Bhoja and Bharata on the other three Vittis and their Angas. It is on the Angas of the Bhāratī vitti here that Bhoja differs not only from Bharata but also from himself. On pp. 613-6 of S.K.Ā, chap. V, Bhoja gives four Angas of *bharatī* following almost the text of Bharata: Prarocanā, Vithī, Prastāvanā (Āmukha of Bharata) and Prahasana. But Bhoja does not understand what Bharata means by regarding Vithī and Prahasana as two varieties of the Bhāratī vitti. The two refer to the two types of Rūpakas of those two names and not to parts of the Prologue. Later writers have made both the Vithī and Prahasana as part of the Prologue by restricting Bhāratī to Prastāvanā. All this is wrong and the true significance of this has been explained by me in the first part of my paper on the Vittis. What Bhoja has done is that he has further misunderstood by putting a completely mistaken meaning into Vithī. Vithī and Prahasana, Bharata and Dhanañjaya clearly say, are two types of Drama. Like many other writers, Bhoja also takes Prahasana as a small comic speech in the Prologue, but he is all alone when he takes the Vithī with thirteen well known Angas, as having five Angas. And what are these Angas? Here Bhoja makes a great mistake; he confuses between the Bharata's Āmukha and the Vithī and attributes to the Vithī the five Angas pertaining to Āmukha. In this particular place Bhoja seems to have understood neither Prastāvanā nor Vithī. He says

“उद्धृत्यकादीनामङ्गानां प्रवर्तनं वार्थी; उद्घृत्यक, कथोपन, प्रयोगानिश्चयः, प्रवर्तक, अवगलितमिति।”

Of the five Angas given above, Uddhṛtyaka and Avagahita are two Vithyangas, also introduced in the Prastāvanā, and it is because these happen to be Vithyangas also that the *Daśanūpaka* omits them and gives the remaining three as Āmukha-Angas. These two have misled Bhoja to identify Āmukha and Vithī and give the other three, namely Kathodghṛta, Prayogātisaya and Pravarṭaka, also as Vithyangas. Greater confusion has not been made on any other subject of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The causes for such confusion regarding the Bhāratī vitti have been explained by me in the first part of the Vitti-paper.

Chapter seventeen of the *Śr Pra*—the Anubhāva chapter—has a description of the Vittis and their given Angas. The description of the Angas of the Bhāratī here agrees more with that in the fifth chapter of the S.K.Ā than with that in the same work in the 12th chapter. It is strange how, on the same topic, Bhoja has different views at different places. The

four Angas of the Bhārati are given according to Bharata, Bhoja calling Amukha by the name *Prastāvanā*—, *Prarocanā*, *Prastāvanā*, *Vithī* and *Prahasana*. But when he comes to the *Vithī*, he seems to have realised the mistake he had committed in the *S K Ā v.* where he forgot that *Vithī* was the *Vithī* of thirteen Angas. When, however, he sets about to correct, he makes a mess of the whole thing. He gives the *Vithī* as that with the thirteen Angas but the thirteen Angas are said to be *Udghātyaka*, *Avagalita*, *Kathodghāta*, *Prayogātīśaya* and *Pravṛttaka*, with an etc?

उद्घात्यकादीनामङ्गानां प्रवृत्तिः वीथी । तानि उद्घात्यकः, कथोद्घातः, प्रयोगातिशयः, प्रवृत्तकः, अवगलितमित्यादीनि त्रयोदश ।” P. 216 Vol. III

Of these, only the first two are *Vithyanganas*; the other three are *Āmukha-Angas* as given by Bharata. Firstly it is bad to combine the two together, secondly, it is not explainable how Bhoja made bold to say that these Angas come to thirteen in number. The *Vithī*, by itself, has thirteen Angas and when the *Kathodghāta*, *Prayogātīśaya*, and *Pravṛttaka* are added, the number of Angas comes to sixteen. Lastly, it is cowardly for Bhoja to have begun to illustrate but to have left out illustrating all except the *Udghātyaka*. For a detailed illustration of the Angas would prove the real total number of the Angas to be sixteen and its contradiction with the accepted *Vithī* of thirteen Angas will become patent. Therefore Bhoja fights shy and ends thus

“एवं कथोद्घाताद्योऽपि दशरूपकादेः उदाहर्यम् ।” P. 216 Vol. III.

On the three other *Vṛttis* and their Angas, chapter xvii of the *Śr Pra* also has nothing to differ from Bharata.

There is yet a fourth treatment of *Vṛtti* and the *Vṛttyanganas* in the *Śr. Pra.* and it is in the four chapters devoted to the four *Puruṣārtha-Śrngāras* of *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa* (Chapters xviii-xxi, Vol. III. *Śr Pra*). Bhoja lays out a scheme here that each of these four *Śrngāras* is characterised by particular kinds of men, women, habits, dress, atmosphere and style of speech. That is, Bhoja gives each its appropriate *Nāyaka*, *Nāyikā*, *Pravṛtti*, *Vṛtti* and *Rīti*. Of these also I have spoken in the *Vṛtti-paper* (Pp. 51-52, *JOR*, Vol. VII). In explaining this scheme of the four *Puruṣārthas* = four *Nāyakas* = four *Vṛttis* etc., Bhoja resorts to a good deal of verbal ingenuity. It is all very clever but is most unreal. The section teems with apt examples for extreme far-fetchedness.

The Pravṛttis

The *Pravṛttis* and their relation to the *Vṛttis*, I have dealt with in a separate section in my *Vṛtti-paper* which has been mentioned here frequently (Pp. 49-51. *JOR*, Vol. VII). Bhoja treats of the *Pravṛttis* twice, once in chapter xii in the midst of topics of *Dramaturgy* and again in the midst of *Anubhāvas* which he deals with in chapter xvii. In the latter case Bhoja gives only four *Pravṛttis* because he wants their number to agree with that of the four *Vṛttis* and the four *Rītis*, all the three of which he clubs together and gives as *Buddhyārambha-anubhāvas*. But in the 12th chapter most items are five in number and to be in harmony with them, he gives the

Pravittis also as five. But Pravittis are five here only in enumeration (Uddeśa), in Lakṣaṇa and Udāharana, however, Bhoja forgets that he has increased the number of Pravittis to five and consequently gives only the old four varieties of it.

“—पञ्च सन्वयः पञ्च (वृत्तयः पञ्च प्रवृत्तयः) चतुर्विंशति प्रवृत्तयः (प्रवृत्तिहेतवः) इत्येका चतुष्पष्टिः।” p. 450. *Śr. Pra* Vol II, Chap XII

“येषां विन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः, सापि चतुर्विंशति-पौरुष्या, उद्भागादि, पार्श्वीणां च।”
p. 459 Vol II *Śr Pra* Ch XII

If we accept that Bhoja recognises only four Pravittis, we cannot get the mentioned number of 64 items, we get only 63. Bhoja could have easily invented the fifth Pravitti with a new geographical name and it is not known why Bhoja contradicts himself by first enumerating five Pravittis and then speaking of only four Pravittis.

The four Pravittis given by Bhoja are the same as found in Bharata, N Ś XIV. But Bhoja goes wrong in the naming of one of the Pravittis. Bhoja's four Pravittis are Paurastyā, Udhra-māgadhī, Dākṣinātyā and Avantiyā. Though he promises to describe them in detail latterly in chapter vii, Bhoja fails to do so in both the 12th and the 17th chapter. He does not take pains to give the countries coming under each of these four. Bharata does not have a Pravitti called Paurastyā. His four Pravittis are Pāñcālī, Udhra-māgadhī, Dākṣinātyā and Āvantī. It is in the place of Bharata's Pāñcālī that Bhoja gives his Paurastyā. Now Paurastyā does not mean Pāñcālī but means 'the eastern' and the 'eastern' Pravitti is the Udhra-māgadhī. Bharata clearly enumerates the provinces coming under these four divisions. The Dākṣinātyā comprises all the southern countries in general; the Udhra-māgadhī, all the eastern, the Āvantī, all the western and the Pāñcālī, all the north-north-western. All the illustrations found in chapter 17 of the *Śr Pra* for these Pravittis are those given by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmamsā*, I 3 pp 8-9. And in this source, of Bhoja, namely, Rājaśekhara, we do not find the Paurastyā but see in its place the Pāñcāla madhyamā (K.M. P. 8) 'Pāñcāla-madhyamā' is another and more elaborate name of the same Pāñcālī Pravitti, for, under it come the provinces of the Madhya-desa also. Bharata's text itself contains the other name of Pāñcāla madhyamā in two ślokas. Kāśī Edn XIV. 48 & 49 *Kāvya-mālā* Edn XIII 36 7 38. Therefore Bhoja follows neither the basic and remoter authority of Bharata nor the secondary and nearer authority of Rājaśekhara when he speaks of the Paurastyā Pravitti. Less would have been the mistake if Bhoja had given instead of his Paurastyā, the name Pāścātya meaning 'the western'. Paurastyā and Udhra-māgadhī are identical. When Bhoja quotes Rājaśekhara's verse describing the dress of the ladies of Mahodaya as illustration for his Paurastyā-Pravritti, he does not seem to know what he is doing.

The concepts of Vrtti, Pravrtti and Riti are very intimately related. The one involves the other. But, for the sake of classification and analytical and theoretical study, Rājaśekhara says, it is laid down that physical action is

